

1299

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

**PART 4 OF
HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING
ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
CREATED PURSUANT TO
H. Res. 298**

**NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.
JUNE 6, 20, 21, AND 28, 1950**

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House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities



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LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE, SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman), presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Albert, Brown, and O'Hara.

Also present: Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., and Louis Little, committee counsels.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Today, June 6, 1950, at this appointed time, Merwin K. Hart, Edward A. Rumely and Joseph P. Kamp have been directed by subpoena, issued May 25, 1950, and signed by me as chairman of the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities by authority of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America, to appear before this committee and to bring with them certain records:

(1) The name and address of each person¹ from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the council during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including but not limited to (a) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature; (b) contributions; (c) loans;

(2) as to each such person¹ the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more.

The subpoena was regularly served on these witnesses on the 26th and 27th day of May, 1950, by Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr. (Exhibits 1, 2, and 3, and the certified returns of such subpoenas by Benedict F. FitzGerald.) I am now offering these subpoenas as part of the record.

(These documents will be found on p. 563.)

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing today is of utmost importance. If the witnesses produce the requested and required information, the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities will continue its study of these organizations for the benefit of Congress and the people of this country.

If the witnesses fail to produce the required evidence and information, then this committee must determine what action it should take with reference to the information it may require to be necessary for the purposes of its investigation and report to the Congress.

Personally, and as chairman of the committee, I deem the information sought from these witnesses as absolutely necessary. In pre-

¹ Includes any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other organization or group.

vious hearings some of the committee, including minority members of the committee, made a similar inquiry from witnesses and declared publicly that such information is important and necessary.

How could this committee function, study, and ascertain how lobbying activities influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation without the information such as we seek from these witnesses?

The Committee for Constitutional Government and Dr. Rumely are registered under the Lobbying Act. So is the National Economic Council and Merwin K. Hart. The Constitutional Educational League and Joseph Kamp are not registered. Dr. Rumely and Joseph Kamp have previously, in congressional investigations, declined to give congressional committees information sought by those committees. As a result of such noncompliance and, perhaps, defiance, by these two men, they were both indicted. Dr. Rumely was twice tried in the Federal courts. Joseph Kamp was tried and convicted for such defiance and his conviction has recently been upheld by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

The citizenry of the United States, Members of Congress, and the public press are ever watchful of the activities of this committee. All want to know, must know, and are entitled to know—how Congress is influenced—what attempts are made to influence Congress.

If any organization, whether it be registered as a lobby or not, is doing an objective job to attain its particular ends and whether or not we agree with their purposes and motives, the men and women who support the organization financially have no reason to fear from this committee or from the Congress the recording of their names and their activities as a matter of public record.

If the lobby seeks the support of the public by indirection through the sale of books, pamphlets, etc., which influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation, Congress should know those facts and if by reason thereof a need for legislation arises, this committee may recommend such legislation.

No person or corporation, supporting any lobby, directly or indirectly, by contributions of money or otherwise, or by the purchase or sale of any book or pamphlet from that organization, affiliate, or front, should have any qualms about having his name and amount of his contribution made public.

The sponsors and officers of such organizations should likewise have no fear of such publicity, particularly if their organization is formed and is carrying out its purposes in the spirit of the Lobbying Act passed by the Congress of the United States.

Regardless of the attitude of the organizations, their sponsors, their contributors and purchasers of the literature which they recommend or sell, and regardless of the affiliates or front organizations, this committee has a duty to perform. I, as chairman, have made up my mind to perform my duty as I see it. In all previous hearings, I feel warranted in saying that I have leaned over backwards trying to be fair and reasonable with all the organizations and the witnesses which appeared before this committee. I shall continue to act in that manner, but I must be firm. The laws of our country must be respected. Our subpoenas must be respected. Congress must never yield, relax, or surrender to any groups or organization or individual trying to evade or avoid the requests of a congressional committee.

As a Congressman and as a citizen, I mean to insist that the information sought in the subpoenas in these instant cases be given to this Committee. The dignity of the Congress and of this committee is at stake. If the witnesses refuse to honor the subpoenas and refuse to produce the information and data requested, I shall do all that I can to enforce the powers of a congressional committee, whether it be by contempt proceedings against such recalcitrant witnesses or by charging such witnesses with a violation of the statutes of Congress of June 1884 and June 1938, statutes which declare it to be a misdemeanor for a witness to refuse to testify in a congressional hearing and makes such witness, on conviction, subject to a penalty by fine of not more than \$1,000 nor less than \$100 and imprisonment in a common jail for not less than 1 month nor more than 12 months.

The first witness to be called this morning is Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, would the minority be permitted to comment on your statement?

The CHAIRMAN. On my statement?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; and on the situation which confronts us.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is relevant to the statement, yes.

Mr. BROWN. I certainly wouldn't attempt to make a statement here on any matter that was not relevant, either to your statement or the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown, if you will yield for just a moment, I would like to record here the fact that we have a quorum present, and I shall announce the members of the committee and make acknowledgment of that fact as a part of the record.

Mr. Lanham, Mr. Albert, Mr. Brown, Mr. O'Hara, and myself. A quorum is thus present.

You may continue with your statement, Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I have listened with great interest to the statement which you have just made, Mr. Chairman. I feel that the chairman and this committee want to be entirely fair in the conduct of any investigation. I served as a member of the committee in 1944, the committee to investigate the conduct of elections, in which the action was taken citing Joseph Kamp and a Dr. Rumely, as mentioned in your statement. One of these gentlemen, as mentioned in the statement, was convicted and the other, I believe, was discharged by the Federal courts after two trials. So that the committee had a 500 percent batting average.

I fail to see, however, Mr. Chairman, what that particular action of that particular committee has to do with this matter, except to, perhaps, somewhat prejudice the minds of the committee against the witnesses who are here today. Because of my realization, from the experience that I had in the previous committee sessions, and in the citing of the two men—

Mr. ALBERT. Will the gentleman yield for one observation?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. ALBERT. I think the matter set forth in the chairman's statement indicates that the witnesses should be well-informed as to congressional procedures.

Mr. BROWN. Well, I am not sure whether they are well-informed on congressional procedures or not. I am not sure whether or not our committee was well-informed on congressional procedure. Seem-

ingly, the court in one case decided we were well-informed, and in the other case decided we weren't so well-informed.

That brings me to the reason why I have asked permission to make this statement. It seems to me, from my past experience, which covers a few years, some 34 or 35 years of public life—I have dealt with some of these matters before—that we should be absolutely certain we are on sound ground as far as any actions taken.

I notice that the chairman was very prompt, and I think properly so, to say there was a quorum present here this morning. The Supreme Court has held that contempt actions cannot be taken by committees where a quorum is not present.

I would like to make one or two inquiries to clear the record, if I may, and to make one or two comments. First, perhaps, the comments: As a member of the committee, I have not been informed, except through the receipt of a copy of a petition filed in court, that someone mailed to me, as to the issuance of this subpoena, knew nothing about it, did not know that it had been issued, did not know then and do not know as of this moment, what papers were subpoenaed, what questions were to be asked, or what papers were demanded, or anything about it.

I am not at all certain in my own mind that the Chair has been granted any power by this committee—it hasn't happened while I was here—to issue a subpoena and, according to the rules of the House and the provisions of the Reorganization Act, the chairman acts only in an administrative capacity in the issuance of subpoenas unless he has specific instructions and authority granted to him by the committee. At least, that is my understanding of the law.

I want to be sure that these subpoenas were issued properly, before we get ourselves involved in any litigation or any great controversy.

I also do not know whether any action has been taken by a Federal court. I received a copy of some request for an injunction. Whether action has been taken on that request or not, I do not know. The fact of the matter is, I do not even have a list of the members of the staff serving this committee. I have not had any of the information upon which the actions of the committee have been predicated, until after they were presented here in the hearing room. Although the chairman has told me that I could avail myself of the staff, I haven't had that opportunity, for some reason or other; perhaps it is partially, or, perhaps, all my fault.

But I want to be certain, first of all, that the committee has the authority—

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWN. Just a minute. I will complete my statement, sir, without interruption.

I want to be sure that the committee does have, and the chairman has had, such authority. I have protested in the past against staff members running around the country with blank subpoenas, telling people that if they don't turn over their files or let them go through them, that they would be subpoenaed.

I also would like to know, I would like to have before me, before we question these people, a list and copies of the subpoenas, that I might see; I would like to know something about when they were served, by whom, and just exactly what it was which was requested. I think

we ought to have that information, in order to predicate our case on a sound legal basis.

I have completed my statement, for the moment.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. On page 2 of the resolution under which this committee was constituted, at line 17, is the following——

Mr. BROWN. Inasmuch as I wrote that resolution, I know what is in it.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't write that section, Mr. Brown; I wrote it.

Mr. BROWN. I went over the resolution and rewrote much of it.

Mr. ALBERT (reading):

Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Mr. BROWN. Will the gentleman give me an opportunity to be heard on that?

That is the usual form followed in the establishment of all special committees having investigative authority, but notwithstanding the wording, it has been the rule of the House, and it is a provision of the reorganization law, that the action taken by the chairman, as outlined in that resolution, is simply an administrative action, such as the president of a corporation may take, and yet a president of a corporation cannot sign a deed unless authorized by the board of directors to do so.

I suggest we talk to the Parliamentarian of the House or the Speaker of the House on that question. If the committee has authorized the issuance of the supenas, I think we are entitled to know it. I am just trying to be sure we have a foolproof case, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Is the gentleman representing the persons supenaed here? It would appear so.

Mr. BROWN. No; I am not representing the persons supenaed.

Mr. LANHAM. As attorney?

Mr. BROWN. Neither am I representing any other group.

I noticed, and read with great interest, the story on page 2 of the Washington Post, which seemingly indicates some of the officials of this committee have completely prejudged this case. Because of my concern, and because of my rather sad experience in previous cases, I am hoping that we can begin this hearing on a sound basis, and know exactly where we are before we have to decide what we should do on any given matter.

Mr. LANHAM. Isn't it true that many of the questions the gentleman has asked will be proven in the hearing?

Mr. BROWN. Of course, it may be; but I hope that the gentleman from Georgia is not taking the position that the minority members of this committee have no right to be informed of what goes on, no right to know when subpenas are issued, or what such subpenas call for. I just don't believe majority rule goes quite that far. That isn't quite the American way, as I have understood it.

Mr. LANHAM. During the three-quarters of an hour that the minority has held this committee up, you might have informed yourself.

Mr. BROWN. There have been many times when the gentleman from Georgia has not been present at all and the gentleman from Ohio has been present. The gentleman from Ohio may not be as important as the gentleman from Georgia, but it just happens that the gentleman from Ohio has a number of commitments which he attempts to take care of, and will stand on his own record, as far as that is concerned.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Do you care to make a statement, Mr. O'Hara?

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, the only thing I care to say is that I do not know of any meeting at which I was present when there was any authority given to issue blanket subpoenas, or any meeting in which the Chair was authorized to issue subpoenas. That is, at any meeting at which I was present.

That is all I care to say at this time.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair will state that the resolution is very clear, as far as this point is concerned.

Mr. BROWN. The Chair does not care for the advice of the Parliamentarian of the House or of the Speaker of the House?

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair has already sought that advice.

Mr. BROWN. So has the gentleman from Ohio.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Mr. Albert has cited the resolution. We will proceed.

Again, I want to note that a quorum is present, and I instruct the stenographer to record it, if any member of the committee leaves the room at any particular time during the course of the questioning of the witnesses.

Mr. BROWN. Well, of course, I don't believe the gentleman has any detention warrants in his pocket; in fact, I hope not. But will the Chair also make very clear for the record as to whether or not the request of the minority for a copy of the subpoenas will be complied with, so that we may see what was requested and what was subpoenaed, and when it was issued, so that we may be able to, at least, prepare ourselves slightly for any examination which may be conducted?

Will the Chair answer my question on the record?

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair will see that you get the returned copies of the subpoenas served upon these individuals, and I will furnish you with the two questions that are involved, in the statement that I issued here this morning.

Mr. BROWN. I want the subpoenas; not a press statement for release. I appreciate the chairman's cooperation.

The **CHAIRMAN** (handing papers to Mr. Brown). Note that they were signed by me on May 25; they were served by Benedict F. Fitzgerald, Jr., and William Earl Griffin, clerk of the committee, on Mr. Hart and Mr. Rumely on the 26th; and on May 27 the subpoena was served on Mr. Kamp.

Mr. BROWN. It is indeed a pleasure to be able to see these records.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

Will you step forward, please.

Who is this gentleman, please?

Mr. HART. My counsel, Mr. George Montgomery.

The **CHAIRMAN.** I don't think you need a counsel, Mr. Hart.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I think perhaps he does, Mr. Chairman. We came down on the assumption—I would like to make this statement, Mr. Chairman—we came down here on the assumption, of course, that

your subpoena had been validly issued; we never questioned that. To find that there is disagreement among the committee members on that basic fact is very surprising to us. Mr. Hart is quite ready to testify, but I think he is going to do it voluntarily. It appears that you haven't got the authority. In some way or another, you have exceeded your power in issuing the subpoena. I want it clearly on the record that he is testifying voluntarily.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Will you be sworn, Mr. Hart.

Do you solemnly swear that the statements you make before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, to the last great day?

Mr. HART. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name and address, please.

Mr. HART. My name is Merwin K. Hart. My home residence is New Hartford, N. Y. My office address is the Empire State Building, New York 1.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your official connection with the National Economic Council with offices at 7501 Empire State Building, New York City?

Mr. HART. I am president of the National Economic Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you or your organization registered under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. HART. We are.

The CHAIRMAN. A subpoena was issued on the 25th day of May 1950, by authority of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United State of America commanding Benedict F. FitzGerald to summon you to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of which I, Representative Frank Buchanan, am chairman, and to bring with you such of the records of the National Economic Council as indicate:

(a) The name and address of each person from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the council during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including, but not limited to (A) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature; (B) contributions, (C) loans;

(b) As to each such person the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more.

You were to produce these records before this committee in the city of Washington on Tuesday, June 6, 1950, at room 362, Old House Office Building at 10 a. m., where and when you were to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to this committee. Is that not so?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. I am here in response to the subpoena to which Mr. Montgomery has referred.

The CHAIRMAN. The subpoena was previously received as exhibit No. 1.

You were given this subpoena by Benedict F. FitzGerald on the 26th day of May 1950, at 11:30 a. m. That is so, is it not?

Mr. HART. Substantially so.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the subpoena with you?

Mr. HART. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are familiar then with the subpoena. Do you wish to examine this copy?

Mr. HART. I assume it is the same, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may examine it if you so desire.

Mr. HART. I don't believe that is necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Look at it, please, and state whether or not it is the same as you were served.

(A paper was handed to the witness.)

Mr. HART. It seems to be the same, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to be a copy of that furnished to you?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities at the time and place stated in the subpoena; that is a fact, is it not?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you bring with you the records of the National Economic Council indicating:

(a) The name and address of each person from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the council during the period January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including, but not limited to, (A) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature, (B) contributions, (C) loans;

(b) As to each person the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more?

Are they in this room in your custody?

Mr. HART. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn them over to this committee?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. After I have made a brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. First, may we examine them?

Mr. HART. Well, sir, they are exactly in the form that you have requested, and when I have made a statement, I will turn them over to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into your statement——

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Before you make a statement, please: Are you willing to turn these over to the committee at this time?

Mr. HART. I am willing, after I have made the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. We want the records, as stated in the subpoena. I ask you again whether or not you are willing to turn them over to this committee at this time?

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, the statement I wish to make goes to the heart of this whole investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking for your statement; I am asking for the records.

Mr. BROWN. He states that he is willing to turn it over, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HART. I am willing to turn them over, after I have made a statement; but I do not want them to go out of my hands until I give them into your hands, and the reason is that there have been leaks from this committee to commentators on the air, and I do not want to have a repeat of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you wait until Mr. FitzGerald has a chance to examine them for me?

Mr. HART. He would have to read them all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. He can briefly look them over.

Mr. HART. If he will glance at them here, and bring them back to me, all right.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated, please.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am sorry. I want the record to show that you have refused to permit him to make a simultaneous statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not true. We will recognize him for a statement later.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That is the opinion of the majority—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be seated, please.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Under protest—I want that on the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give you a full opportunity, Mr. Hart, and will give your counsel a full opportunity.

(Pause.)

The CHAIRMAN. We want these statements right here.

Mr. HART. There they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn them over to me, Mr. FitzGerald?

(Documents were handed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to make a statement?

Mr. HART. I do. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to keep—

The CHAIRMAN. You may make your statement.

Mr. HART. I ask you, sir, to keep those in your possession until I have finished my brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I shall.

Mr. HART. This committee by House Resolution 298, adopted August 12, 1949—

is authorized and directed to conduct a study and investigation of (1) all lobbying activities intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation; and (2) all activities of agencies of the Federal Government intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation.

I have quoted, of course, from the resolution.

The National Economic Council concedes it to be a valid function of the Congress, or of either branch, to investigate lobbying activities. Throughout its 20 years' existence, the council has worked to maintain the integrity and full independence of the Congress against encroachments from any direction. We consider the Congress to be the one great hope of maintaining freedom in America and national independence.

Representatives of this select committee recently spent some days in our offices in New York. Under protest, but under advice of counsel, we permitted them to take and photostat such documents as they desired. We hesitated to give them lists—

I say "hesitated"—we never refused, as has been stated in the newspapers—by your authority, Mr. Chairman, I believe.

We hesitated to give them lists of the names of our financial supporters and of the people who purchase subscriptions and printed matter from us; and while we were discussing this matter with your representatives, this subpoena was served.

You said something, Mr. Chairman, in your opening remarks about recalcitrant witnesses. We have never been a recalcitrant witness.

I wish to say to the committee that the reason for our hesitation to give these financial figures which consist entirely of names of our supporters and of purchasers of our material is because we have grave fear that the material will fall into the hands of men and groups who, by their actions and words, have shown that they are willing to bring about the socialization and in some cases the communization of the United States.

These individuals and groups have called us "Fascists" and "anti-Semites." No name could possibly be more inappropriately applied to us than "Fascist;" for a fascist government is one, as Italy was, where the government controls every detail of the lives of the people. This is precisely what we have always opposed.

The name, obviously, is applied to us solely as an epithet.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue.

Mr. HART. The name "anti-Semitic" has been applied unjustly to us. We think highly of that multitude of Jews, who we believe to be a majority of all Jews, who are Americans first; but, of course, we unhesitatingly condemn any groups, whether Jews or Christians, that are willing to use the Government and the resources of the United States to further an alien interest.

It is significant, Mr. Chairman, that about 3 weeks ago an organization known as Friends of Democracy, whose head was formerly an editor of the Communist magazine, the New Masses, put out a statement to its members and supporters announcing a systematic campaign to destroy the financial support of a number of organizations, including the National Economic Council. I am leaving here with the committee a photostatic copy of this document—

The CHAIRMAN. May I see it?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

(The document handed to the chairman is as follows:)

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY,
New York 22, N. Y.

To the friends and supporters of FOD—Confidential:

Here are some very important items which I want the supporters of FOD to know about:

JUDGE GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG

One of the biggest challenges of Friends of Democracy is the case of Judge George W. Armstrong. Judge Armstrong offers \$50,000,000 to the Jefferson Military College if it would teach white supremacy, anti-Semitism, supernationalism, etc. The rejection of this money by the college angered Judge Armstrong.

Judge Armstrong is making an effort to put over the "anti" propagandas, with his \$50,000,000 fund. Armstrong and his associates intend to flood the country with their white supremacy, anti-Semitic propaganda, antiworld government, and supernationalism. Armstrong has acquired a big printing plant.

Judge Armstrong follows pretty much the Ku Klux Klan line. He furnished major support to the Dixiecrats. Judge Armstrong's propaganda line is indicated by the following:

"The Jews now rule the world, not excepting our own country."

"Send the Jew Communists to Russia and the Negroes to Africa."

Recently, I observed that Gerald L. K. Smith is very busy with the Armstrong operation. In his national headquarters in St. Louis I saw 20 girls enclosing such pamphlets and leaflets as White Man Awaken, the Jews Have Got the Atomic Bomb.

Friends of Democracy has already succeeded in cooperation with certain Members of the Congress in having tax exemption on the Judge Armstrong foundation revoked.

Friends of Democracy has obtained a copy of the Armstrong foundation charter and is making a special study of what to do about this charter.

Friends of Democracy is preparing a thorough exposé of Armstrong, his propaganda line, and the significance of his propaganda for wide distribution among those whom he may influence and those whose cooperation he may seek in spreading his propaganda.

EXTREME RIGHTIST GROUPS NOW VERY ACTIVE

(a) Very reactionary groups:

National Association of Manufacturers,
Committee for Constitutional Government:

(This committee includes such subsidiary groups as America's Future Inc., with its radio program, Speak Up America! Foundation for Free Enterprise, and Fighters for Freedom, National Industrial Conference Board, Freedoms Foundation, Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System, Wage Earners Committee of the U. S. A., National Small Businessmen's Association, Conference of American's Small Businessmen Organizations, Freedom's Forums, Tool Owners' Union, Southern States Industrial Council, Inc., Foundation for Economic Education.)

(b) "Anti" organizations of the reactionary variety:

National Council for American Education—Allen Zoll, the Constitutional Education—Allen Zoll

The Constitutional Educational League—Joseph Kamp

National Economic Council—Merwin K. Hart

Judge George W. Armstrong Foundation

Gerald L. K. Smith's Patriotic Tract

Society and Christian Nationalist Crusade

Myron Fagan's Cinema Education League

All of these organizations claim a worthy aim as their major purpose, the saving of the American way of life and the American free-enterprise system. However, most of them confuse the preservation of the American way of life with white supremacy, anti-Semitism, supernationalism, distrust of democracy and democratic procedures. Representing the power of great wealth, they invariably give aid and comfort to extremist movements.

Some of these groups, by the way, are very respectable. However, behind the scenes and undercover they have all of the "anti" attitude of Gerald L. K. Smith, but they are very careful to conceal many of their real "anti" attitudes.

APPROACH TO THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO SUBVERSIVE GROUPS

Friends of Democracy now has the answer to the question, "Who puts up all of the money for all of the subversive groups?"

A list of such contributors has been obtained and Friends of Democracy is in the midst of the project of approaching these contributors.

Letters are being sent to the boards of directors of the corporations together with documented reports about the character of the subversive groups which these big corporation groups are supporting.

Some of the meetings of the board of directors of these big corporations have already been attended, and about 150 will be eventually covered by minority stockholders.

When this project is completed, Friends of Democracy is certain that 70 to 75 percent of the support of these subversive groups will be eliminated.

Already inquiries are coming in from big corporations about the character of the subversive groups they have been supporting. They are asking Friends of Democracy to appraise so-called subversive organizations and publications.

KNOWING WHAT IS GOING ON

One of the most basic jobs that Friends of Democracy does is to collect all of the "anti" propaganda, publications, reports of meetings, fact about organizations and individuals.

Then there is the job of studying, analyzing, and interpreting this propaganda. It is important to know which organizations are most active and where and also to know all about the publications and distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, where meetings are being held and who is speaking at those meetings.

It is essential to Friends of Democracy to have this information in planning its program.

ALERT THE PUBLIC

Through *Democracy's Battle*, through Friends of Democracy's reports, pamphlets, press releases, speeches, conferences and radio programs, Friends of Democracy is alerting the public and making people aware of the amount and character of the "anti" propaganda.

Busy people—as most of us are—are not aware of the extent of the "anti" propaganda today, the millions of leaflets and pamphlets of the white supremacy, anti-Semitic, supernationalist variety. The propaganda line is very often subtle, and one of the major functions of Friends of Democracy is making people aware of this.

Thousands of copies of *Democracy's Battle* have been distributed within the past month exposing the character of much of this sinister propaganda.

INFORMATION SERVICE

Telegrams, telephone, air mail, special delivery letters and regular mail from a half a dozen to 20 inquiries come to Friends of Democracy every day. Intelligence services of the Government, teachers, preachers, radio commentators, editors, all sorts of groups, publications and individuals are asking Friends of Democracy for information and appraisal of extremist groups.

They say that there is no place in our democracy where they may turn for extreme right and extreme left information, but Friends of Democracy.

L. M. BIRKHEAD, *National Director*.

Mr. HART. The original of which is in my possession,

In it, this thoroughly left-wing organization, in speaking of a number of groups, including the National Economic Council, says:

Friends of Democracy now has the answer to the question "Who puts up all of the money for all of the subversive groups?"

A list of such contributors has been obtained, and Friends of Democracy is in the midst of the project of approaching these contributors.

Letters are being sent to the boards of directors of the corporations together with documented reports about the character of the subversive groups which these big corporations groups are supporting.

Some of the meetings of the boards of directors of these big corporations have already been attended, and about 150 will be eventually covered by minority stockholders.

When this project is completed, Friends of Democracy is certain that 70 to 75 percent of the support of these subversive groups will be eliminated.

That, gentlemen, from an organization, the executive head of it, whose nominal head, Rex Stout, is, as I say, formerly a member of the board of editors of the Communist magazine *The New Masses*.

Mr. BROWN. May we have that name, again?

Mr. HART. Rex Stout.

Mr. BROWN. I think we also investigated him back in 1944.

Mr. HART. The men and the group I have mentioned above, who always attack and seek to smear groups like the National Economic Council, that aim to preserve the republican form of government and the independence of the country, are typified by the group that has announced this systematic campaign to destroy part of the financial support we receive. This document of Friends of Democracy and the broadcasts of certain radio commentators, happening at the same time as the conduct of this lobbying investigation, clearly suggest that they expect to receive from this committee or its representatives information with which they can further their sinister purposes.

I wish to point out that the placing of any of these names in the record of the committee in open hearing will serve the purposes—

The CHAIRMAN. Continue.

Mr. HART. I would like to have your attention, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue reading.

Mr. HART. Will serve the purposes of the would-be smearers as well as though the names were given to them outright. And I protest that, in the absence of honest ground for suspicion, none of these names and none of this data should be spread on the committee record. It is given you solely for the benefit of the members of the committee, as a part of the picture of what the National Economic Council is and what it does.

The National Economic Council has always worked openly. We are not ashamed of anything we have done. We have gained the confidence of a large number of the Members of Congress, as evidenced by the fact that nearly half of all the Members of both Houses read our material. If on rare occasions we have made inaccurate statements, we have promptly admitted it.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, in obedience to the subpoena, I hereby deliver these figures into your hands. I believe it is possible for you and for your committee to prevent the leaking of any of this information into other hands. As an American citizen, I charge you with the responsibility of keeping them out of the hands of the enemies of American liberty.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. You may step down.

(The following communication was subsequently submitted for the record at this point.)

BREWSTER, N. Y., June 16, 1950.

Representative FRANK BUCHANAN,
Chairman, Select Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BUCHANAN: I am informed that on June 6, Mr. Merwin K. Hart testified before your committee to the effect that "Rex Stout, executive head of Friends of Democracy, was formerly a member of the board of editors of the Communist magazine the New Masses."

Mr. Hart and two or three other individuals, and also a couple of newspapers, especially the Chicago Tribune, continue to make this charge, although they have been carefully and completely informed of the facts—which are:

(1) At the time the magazine New Masses was started, in 1924, it was in no sense Communist. I contributed some money to help get it started, and was put on the executive board, not the board of editors.

(2) After attending a few of the monthly meetings of the executive board, I and two other members became aware that a strong effort was being made to have the magazine adopt the Communist line. The three of us strenuously opposed that effort.

(3) When, 18 months after the magazine was started, it became apparent that the Communist faction was practically in control of the editorial policy of the magazine, I resigned, along with my two colleagues.

It is ironic that one of the many occasions in the past third of a century on which I have opposed communism should be used by Mr. Hart and others to imply that I was once pro-Communist, although, as I say, they have been informed of the facts, which are on record, and therefore they know the charge is false.

Since Mr. Hart's testimony is a part of your committee's record, I would greatly appreciate it if this letter could be made also a part of the record, and its contents communicated to the members of your committee.

Respectfully,

REX STOUT.

Mr. BROWN. Just a moment—

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness, Mr. Joseph P. Kamp.

Will you step up, please.

Mr. BROWN. I wonder if the chairman would extend to the minority the courtesy of seeing the report that the gentleman submitted to the members on the other side of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

(Certain documents were passed to Mr. Brown.)

Mr. BROWN. After all, this is still an American Congress, and the minority has some rights in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness, Mr. Joseph P. Kamp.

Will the witness be sworn.

Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the statements you make before this committee will be the truth the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, to the last great day?

Mr. KAMP. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. KAMP

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name and address, please.

Mr. KAMP. My name is Joseph P. Kamp; my office address is 342 Madison Avenue, New York City; and my home is at 3 East Fifty-fourth Street, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your official connection with the Constitutional Educational League?

Mr. KAMP. I am executive vice chairman of the Constitutional Educational League.

The CHAIRMAN. And their offices are located where?

Mr. KAMP. 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you or your organization registered under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. KAMP. We are not.

The CHAIRMAN. A subpoena was issued on the 25th day of May 1950, by authority of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America, commanding Benedict F. FitzGerald to summon you to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of which I, Representative Frank Buchanan, am chairman, and to bring with you such of the records of the Constitutional Educational League as indicate:

(a) The name and address of each person from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the league during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose including but not limited to (A) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature, (B) contributions, (C) loans;

(b) As to each such person, the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more.

You were to produce these records before this committee in the city of Washington on Tuesday June 6, 1950, at room 362, Old House Office Building, at 10 a. m., where and when you were to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to this committee. Is that not a fact as stated in the subpoena?

Mr. KAMP. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to examine a copy of the subpoena to see if it is the same subpoena which has been served upon you?

(A copy of the document was handed to the witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. You were given this subpoena by Benedict F. FitzGerald on the 26th of May 1950, at 11:30 a. m. That is so; is it not, and is that a correct copy?

Mr. KAMP. It appears to me to be a correct copy; a carbon copy, probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have your subpoena with you?

Mr. KAMP. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities at the time and place stated in the subpoena. That is so; is it not?

Mr. KAMP. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you bring with you the records of the Constitutional Education League?

Mr. KAMP. No, sir; I did not. I haven't had time to do the job that the subpoena asked me to do; and, besides, I wanted the opportunity of presenting our position to this committee, our legal position.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here in response to the subpoena?

Mr. KAMP. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not have your records with you?

Mr. KAMP. That is right. I haven't had time to do anything like that. That is a job that this calls for. Since I am not sure that the Constitutional Educational League comes under the authority of your committee, as set forth in your subpoena, I wanted to have an opportunity of presenting my position to you, so that I might be informed by this committee whether or not, in its judgment, we do come within your jurisdiction.

The CHAIRMAN. You may step down.

Just a moment. If you were to be given time, how much time would you think necessary to furnish the material?

Mr. KAMP. Well, before I could begin to do the job, I would like to have the committee's statement as to how and why we come under the committee's authority. That was my purpose in coming here today. I read in the newspapers the statement of the chairman of this committee that the purpose of this hearing was to give the people who had been subpoenaed an opportunity to tell this committee why we refuse to cooperate with the representatives of the committee who called at our offices. That was my purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. BROWN. Will the minority members be permitted to ask questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you very much.

If you were permitted to make a statement to this committee, as you have requested and after you had completed your statement the committee decided you did come under the law and that you should furnish this material, would you then be ready to furnish it?

Mr. KAMP. Then I would either have to furnish the information or suffer the consequences. I would be perfectly willing to, one or the other.

Mr. BROWN. On the other hand, if after you had made your statement, and the committee decided you did not come under the jurisdiction of the committee, the committee could, of course, withdraw its subpoena; is that correct?

Mr. KAMP. That, of course, was my purpose in coming here today, sir. I felt quite certain that I could explain to this committee that under no circumstances did the Constitutional Educational League or its activities come within the purview of this resolution; and, for that reason, I was quite confident that, after I explained our position, this

committee would understand the kind of work that we do and the way in which we do it.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Kamp, I asked those questions only to clarify the record. I want to be absolutely frank with you and the committee. I have not had too good an impression of some of your activities in the past, but I do not intend to judge you on this matter because of things that you may have done in the past, of which I disapproved most heartily.

Mr. KAMP. Of course——

The CHAIRMAN. You may step down.

Mr. LANHAM. I have one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, please. Mr. Lanham would like to ask a question.

Mr. LANHAM. You say you are here in response to the subpoena. Do you refuse to give to the committee now the information asked for by the committee?

Mr. KAMP. No; I don't refuse.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you have it with you?

Mr. KAMP. No.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you propose to give it to us at any time?

Mr. KAMP. I do propose to give it to you when and if this committee can establish its right.

Mr. LANHAM. The obligation isn't on this committee to establish any right. We are a part of the Government and given the right to investigate lobbying. We have a right to this information. You are here this morning, but refuse to give it to us.

Mr. KAMP. I say to you, that we are not engaged in lobbying; therefore, do not come under your committee's authority; and that we respect the Constitution of the United States, first.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you respect the subpoena that has been served upon you?

Mr. KAMP. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. You mean to comply with it?

Mr. KAMP. First, I respect the subpoena. That is why I am here.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you intend to comply with the subpoena duces tecum to bring these records with you?

Mr. KAMP. When and if it is established by this committee that it has a legal right to the papers and the records which it requests.

Mr. LANHAM. That is a legal matter that only the courts can decide. Do you have these records with you this morning?

Mr. KAMP. Of course, men of good common sense could always——

Mr. LANHAM. Answer my question. Do you have the records with you this morning?

Mr. KAMP. I have explained that. I explained at the beginning that it was impossible for me to have the records here, because the job called for in the subpoena was beyond my ability to do in the period of time I had.

Mr. LANHAM. These records are on your books in your office. Did you bring the books with you?

Mr. KAMP. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You may step down.

Mr. Edward A. Rumely.

Mr. RUMELY. I have my counsel, Mr. Burkinshaw, here. May I have him sit beside me?

Mr. BURKINSHAW. Neil Burkinshaw; B-u-r-k-i-n-s-h-a-w.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn, Mr. Rumely?

Do you swear that the statements you make to the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, to the last great day?

Mr. RUMELY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD A. RUMELY

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name and address, please.

Mr. RUMELY. Edward A. Rumely, R-u-m-e-l-y.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your official connection with the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. I am executive secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been with this committee, sir?

Mr. RUMELY. Since it was founded in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are your official offices located?

Mr. RUMELY. 205 East Forty-second, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you or your organization registered under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. RUMELY. We are, under protest.

The CHAIRMAN. Under protest?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A subpoena was issued on the 25th day of May 1950, by authority of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America commanding Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., to summon you to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of which I, Representative Frank Buchanan, am chairman, and to bring with you such of the records of the Committee for Constitutional Government as indicate:

(a) The name and address of each person from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the Committee for Constitutional Government during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including, but not limited to (A) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature; (B) contributions; (C) loans;

(b) As to each such person the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more.

I have before me a copy of the subpoena. Do you have your subpoena with you.

Mr. RUMELY. I do; right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you examine the subpoena to determine whether or not it is an exact copy?

Mr. RUMELY. This is a photostat of the subpoena that was issued.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the photostat of the original?

Mr. RUMELY. I have the photostat of the original.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is a duplicate.

The CHAIRMAN. The copy is the same?

Mr. RUMELY. It is a copy of the same subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are here in response to the subpoena?

Mr. RUMELY. I am here in response to the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are ready to produce these records before the committee, as stated in the subpoena?

Mr. RUMELY. I am going to produce a part of the records and withhold a part.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this subpoena was served upon you by Benedict F. Fitzgerald, on the 27th of May, which I believe was on a Saturday; at what hour, do you recall?

Mr. RUMELY. 4:45. I agreed to accept it at that time. Friday—I think it was Friday.

The CHAIRMAN. Friday, at 4:45?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities at the time and place stated in the subpoena; is that not a fact?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you bring with you the records of the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. RUMELY. I brought a portion of the records that we will supply the committee. There are certain areas that you ask information on, which I believe are outside of your power. I would like to make a statement, while I am under oath and subject to cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, sir. What did you not bring?

Mr. RUMELY. The names——

The CHAIRMAN. As to points (a) and (b)?

Mr. RUMELY. I brought all on point (a).

The CHAIRMAN. That is the receipts from the sale of books?

Mr. RUMELY. No, sir; not receipts from the sale of books. If you will allow me to make the statement——

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask you as to what you did bring, first.

In other words, you have brought everything under section (a)?

Mr. RUMELY. No. One moment. Section (a)——

The CHAIRMAN. The names and addresses?

Mr. RUMELY. No; not receipts from the sale of books, or the identity of purchasers of books. I don't mind giving the total income, but not the identity of the purchasers of books and literature.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you have the records called for by the subpoena in your custody and/or in your office?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you refuse now to comply with the orders of the committee directing you to produce these books and records—do you have them with you?

Mr. RUMELY. I have information on the people who contributed——

Mr. LANHAM. We didn't ask you for information. We asked you for books and records.

Mr. RUMELY. We have transcripts.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you have the books and records with you this morning in court—before the committee?

Mr. RUMELY. I haven't them here. My auditor brought some.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you have them here and are you ready to produce them for the committee?

Mr. RUMELY. No; I do not have the books of account. We have the transcripts of them.

Mr. LANHAM. I asked you whether you had the documents called for in the subpoena, here before the committee this morning?

Mr. RUMELY. I have a portion of the documents called for.

Mr. LANHAM. You do not have all of the documents.

Mr. RUMELY. I do not have all of the documents.

Mr. LANHAM. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. You may step down.

Mr. BROWN. Just a minute. I am wondering if the gentleman will not be permitted to, at least, explain what he does have here, and what he doesn't have, and what he will furnish, and what he doesn't feel he should furnish under this subpoena. And then I have two or three questions I would like to ask him. Dr. Rumely's face is quite familiar to me. I think he has appeared before other committees I have been on.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert, do you have questions?

Mr. ALBERT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara?

Mr. O'HARA. I join with my colleague, Mr. Brown, and insist that the witness should be permitted to give that information.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Dr. Rumely, and make a statement in answer to the question of Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I would like for him to make a statement as to why he feels the way he does. If the committee is in error, we should know it. We have a right to have his views, what he is going to furnish, and what he feels he shouldn't furnish.

Mr. RUMELY. May I have the opportunity of making a statement, while I am under oath, and subject to cross-examination?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown asked a question, as to what you brought with you.

Mr. BROWN. And I asked for a statement explaining what he brought and what he didn't bring.

Mr. LANHAM. I object to his reading any statement until he has produced the records that the committee has asked for. He is in contempt of the committee until he does produce those records, and I object to his reading any statement until he has accounted for the production of those records.

Mr. BROWN. I am really amazed and ashamed that this committee will not permit any citizen to say he is furnishing certain material requested and why he cannot, or feels he should not, furnish other material.

Mr. LANHAM. I do not object to his stating what he is supplying. I want him to state that, but object to his making a long statement.

Mr. BROWN. I think we should be proud of our great democracy, of our great Republic, and of the way this committee has been conducted this morning.

Mr. LANHAM. He just wants to use the committee as a sounding-board.

Mr. BROWN. I am afraid the committee has been used as a sounding-board.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have order, please.

Mr. LANHAM. As long as he is in contempt of the committee—

Mr. BROWN. I don't know that he is in contempt.

Mr. LANHAM (continuing). I object to his reading any statement.

Mr. BROWN. I don't know whether he is in contempt of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown asked you a question, Dr. Rumely. I would like to have you give an answer to the question. Will you state it again?

Mr. BROWN. Yes. I would like to know what records you are willing to produce, and what records you feel you should not produce, and the reason therefor?

Mr. RUMELY. I am willing to produce the records of all contributions of \$1,000 or more within the period designated; I am willing to produce the records of all loans within the period designated, except a few that related to the promotion of The Road Ahead, and advertising Fighters for Freedom, which has nothing to do with lobbying. I am not going to produce the names of people who bought books because, under the Bill of Rights, that is beyond the power of your committee to investigate.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask you this question——

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, sir. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. I have no questions.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you for your courtesy, Mr. Chairman. You have indeed been very gracious.

I would like to ask you this question: Is your organization engaged in publication of books; is that part of the business of your organization?

Mr. RUMELY. That is the major occupation of our organization. We published 1,000,000 copies of Pettingill's three books.

Mr. BROWN. Pettingill?

Mr. RUMELY. Former Congressman Pettingill.

Mr. BROWN. Is that Samuel B. Pettingill, former distinguished Member of Congress?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN. Democratic Member from Indiana?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. We found that the Constitution was not being studied. We took over the rights to the best editions, to the best volumes, selected by the American Bar Association. Up to that time, less than 100,000 had been published. Since we have had the copyright, 600,000 copies have gone out.

Mr. BROWN. Is it my understanding that you contend this committee does not have authority to go into the publishing businesses of the country and to find out who buys books or who sells books? I am in the publishing business and I am interested. I want to be sure I am not a criminal.

Mr. RUMELY. That is exactly what we contend. We have given thousands of copies of Dr. Norton's book to colleges for them to give to their students.

Mr. BROWN. Is that the book on the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. RUMELY. On the Constitution.

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Norton?

Mr. RUMELY. T. J. Norton.

For example, Mr. Cowles, the publisher of Spokesman's Review, William Cowles, Jr., the publisher of Spokesman's Review——

Mr. BROWN. I know him personally.

Mr. RUMELY (continuing). Heard that Frank Gannett had been distributing this book to the schools of Rochester. He said, "I am going to give, every year, 1,000 to 1,200 copies to all the graduates of the high schools in Spokane. He has been doing it every year; after his death, his son.

Now, your committee comes and wants us to reveal his name as connected with lobbying. What under the sun has distribution of a book to a high school to do with that?

Mr. BROWN. Don't you feel that if American youngsters are given information about the Constitution, that it might be a terribly reprehensible way of influencing legislative procedure?

Mr. RUMELY. We felt it was meritorious.

Mr. BROWN. This other book you mentioned, *The Road Ahead*, is that the book by—

Mr. RUMELY. John Flynn.

Mr. BROWN. John T. Flynn?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Who is John T. Flynn?

Mr. RUMELY. John T. Flynn—

Mr. BROWN. My memory is a little bad.

Mr. RUMELY (continuing). Is one of the—he writes frequently for *Reader's Digest*; he has published many books.

Mr. BROWN. Is he the same man that for many years was a columnist for the *Scripps-Howard* newspapers?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes. And he is a radio commentator.

Mr. BROWN. And how many of the *Road Ahead* books have been sold in this country?

Mr. RUMELY. The bookstores sold about 70,000. We took up the book in December and have sold in the 5 months 600,000 copies.

Mr. BROWN. Is there anything in that book that in any way attempts to influence the Congress on any specific piece of legislation now before it?

Mr. RUMELY. Not one word.

Mr. BROWN. Is there anything in that book that might be called subversive? By the way, is Mr. Flynn a subversive character—has he been connected with radical organizations?

Mr. RUMELY. Not one word that is subversive. It is highly patriotic, because it shows the manner of our marching into socialism.

Mr. BROWN. Has Mr. Flynn ever been a member of any subversive organization—could we find out from the Un-American Activities Committee—or does the FBI have a large file on Mr. Flynn for subversive activities, do you know?

Mr. RUMELY. Not one word. On the contrary, he has a record of high patriotism.

Mr. BROWN. I am terribly interested, because I might have committed some sort of a hideous offense by buying 12 of his books, and paying for them out of my pocket, to give to my friends for Christmas about a year ago.

It is your contention that, inasmuch as you are in the publishing business, that, as a publisher—I want you to get this question very clear: Is it your contention that as a publisher, operating under a constitutional guaranty of the freedom of the press, that you are perfectly ready and willing to submit to this committee any information, any records that you may have, which you feel, or which the commit-

tee may feel, after you have had an opportunity to explain, in any way would come under the purview of the Lobby Registration Act, or under the purview of this committee, but that you do not feel you can be compelled to report to anyone as to your activities as a publisher, only as it may be in the direction of influencing legislation.

Mr. RUMELY. That is true. That is an exact statement of our position.

Mr. BROWN. In other words—and I think the press of the country should pay attention to this—the Congress has a right to investigate and to look into, under this resolution, the activities of any publisher when it comes to attempting to influence legislation—perhaps the postal rate bill might be a perfect example—but that no one in the Congress has the right to inquire into the certain field that has been held sacred under the constitutional freedom of the press, that is your right to publish books, magazines, newspapers, or whatever it is that you may publish legally, so long as they are not subversive or against the best interests of the United States?

Mr. RUMELY. That is exactly the position. I would like to say one word of explanation to Mr. Buchanan.

The CHAIRMAN. You answer Mr. Brown's questions.

Mr. BROWN. I am asking the question, because I understand, Mr. Chairman, by grapevine rumor—we don't get anything directly on this side of the aisle, but only by grapevine rumor—that this committee has been making inquiries into some of the editorials bona fide publications have published in this country, and I want to protest against such activities here, publicly. As far as I am concerned, I want to announce, as a newspaper publisher, until I am locked up, I will continue to write and run any editorials I deem wise, in my newspaper, and will not account therefor to anyone. I am, therefore, trying to determine just exactly what this committee is endeavoring to do, whether we are interested in publications or whether we are interested in lobbying.

Now, go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Could we get back to the question at issue?

Mr. BROWN. We have been right on it; dead center.

Mr. LANHAM. You refuse to produce for the committee this morning the names of persons to whom you have sold these publications?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. Does your charter give you the right to publish anything, the charter under which your corporation is organized?

Mr. RUMELY. Oh, yes.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you have the right to publish books?

Mr. RUMELY. Oh, yes. You have our charter.

Mr. LANHAM. When you say you publish books, magazines, things of that sort, just what do you do; do you actually do the printing, or do you simply pay somebody else to publish those books?

Mr. RUMELY. We distribute and pay—

Mr. LANHAM. You distribute and do not publish?

Mr. RUMELY. We do what all publishers do. Very few publishers have printing plants. Ninety percent of the publishers farm out the printing, and we do likewise.

Mr. LANHAM. As a matter of fact, you do nothing but pay for having the books printed and distributed?

Mr. RUMELY. We do exactly what all publishers do.

Mr. LANHAM. I am not asking what all publishers do. I am asking what you do, not what other publishers do. What do you do?

Mr. RUMELY. We select the manuscript; we pay for the typesetting; we work it from galley proof into page proof, and then when we have the page proof ready, we go to one of the rotogravure companies that print, and say, "Print for us 150,000 copies of this book"; we pay for it and put the book into distribution. That is the way all publishers do it.

Mr. LANHAM. How do you distribute those books—by congressional frank?

Mr. RUMELY. No, no. How we distribute them?

Mr. LANHAM. Yes. Haven't you distributed hundreds of thousands of these books through congressional frank?

Mr. RUMELY. Never.

Mr. LANHAM. None?

Mr. RUMELY. Never. In *The Road Ahead*, digest of which appeared in the February number of *Reader's Digest*, we sent out a million postcards and said:

If you want to stop socialism in the United States, read the condensation of John T. Flynn's great book in the February *Reader's Digest*.

The result of that postcard was the sale—on the other side, we said:

After you read the *Digest*, you will want to read the whole book, which gives the names of the men who are carrying, and the organizations that are carrying, America into socialism.

The response was so tremendous that on the day after Lincoln's Birthday—

Mr. ALBERT. I think you are going far afield.

Mr. RUMELY. He asked how we distribute. Then we put another 2½ million postcards out, on the same line, but let the recipient pay the postage.

The CHAIRMAN. About 3,000,000 postcards, altogether?

Mr. RUMELY. Three-and-a-half.

The CHAIRMAN. Three-and-a-half million?

Mr. RUMELY. Three-and-a-half million postcards promoting that book; and we sold 175,000 copies. I would like to say—

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you don't want to furnish to the committee the names of those who purchased these books?

Mr. RUMELY. No. We think that is beyond your power to inquire into.

Mr. ALBERT. I would like to ask the gentleman, since he has gone far afield, where his activities during World War I were. He is getting far afield here.

Mr. RUMELY. What?

Mr. ALBERT. Where were your activities in World War I? You were getting far afield, anyway.

Mr. RUMELY. I was publishing a newspaper.

Mr. ALBERT. Who financed that newspaper?

Mr. RUMELY. Loans.

Mr. ALBERT. From what country?

Mr. RUMELY. There is no proof whatever that that paper was financed by the German Government. After the conviction, the Attorney General, Harlan L. Stone, recommended to Coolidge, on the

ground that we had been innocently convicted, that a pardon be granted, and when the jury saw the evidence that was suppressed, 11 of the 12 jurors petitioned that their verdict be set aside, and President Coolidge did everything he could to right that wrong; and you have no business to bring that up here.

Mr. ALBERT. You are bringing up extraneous matter, too.

Mr. BROWN. Thank goodness that we don't engage in any smearing tactics.

The CHAIRMAN. I see that time is running out. You will be permitted to file your statement in full, Mr. Rumely.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask one other question?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this one question, this one further question——

Mr. RUMELY. Do you want the data?

The CHAIRMAN. I would be pleased if you would furnish to the committee those records that you have this morning. You have refused to give the names of people who have purchased books?

Mr. RUMELY. I will give you, Mr. Buchanan——

The CHAIRMAN. Under the terms of the subpoena that has been issued to you.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I wish to comment on at this time.

Mr. RUMELY. I want to read one sentence——

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn that over to the committee——

Mr. RUMELY. I will turn that over to the committee; if you will let me make one statement, read one sentence.

Mr. O'HARA. Why can't he make his statement?

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to see what he has.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, this committee cannot accept anything conditionally. If he is ready to produce, all right.

Mr. RUMELY. I am depending on your good grace.

(Some documents were passed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will let him make a statement.

Mr. BROWN. Certainly, there is such a thing as a constitutional guaranty.

Mr. LANHAM. Not until he produces the records——

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, these two sheets here are all that you care to furnish at this time in answer to the subpoena; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes; that is right.

Mr. BROWN. Is he to be permitted to make that statement? I want to ask him what the Federal court situation is.

Mr. RUMELY. You have 98 percent of the stuff your people asked for. They took packs of stuff from our office. We have been photostating for weeks.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask you, quickly, while this conference is going on: I understand you filed a complaint in the Federal court, asking for an injunction. What happened to that?

Mr. RUMELY. It is to come up for hearing tomorrow.

Mr. BROWN. You asked for an injunction against Louis Little, and others, in that petition. Someone sent me a copy. I don't know who sent it. I notice there are outlined the things the committee requested——

The CHAIRMAN. No; they were not requested.

You were served with an abbreviated subpoena of two parts, which has been put into the record. That was all that was requested of you this morning; is that not a fact?

Mr. RUMELY. That is all this morning.

Mr. BROWN. This morning. I am talking about this proceeding.

Mr. RUMELY. That is what they are asking for, in New Jersey.

Mr. BROWN. I guess freedom of speech doesn't even apply to members of our committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are reading into the record there, Mr. Brown—

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to find out whether or not this gentleman has given a mass of information to the representatives of the committee.

Mr. RUMELY. We have given everything on 24 points—25 points there—there are 25 points there, and everything on 24 points has been given.

The CHAIRMAN. These questions, of course, that were asked of you, you answered voluntarily—you were not under subpoena; is that right?

Mr. RUMELY. With a subpoena hanging over my head.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not served with a subpoena listing 24 items?

Mr. RUMELY. It was shown to our attorney, and when Mr. Fitzgerald came, he first served a subpoena calling for those things, and I said, "Why, I gave you that voluntarily," and then he said, "I will serve the other subpoena." And he says, "This short one"; but the subpoena he first showed me called for the 25 things in that.

Mr. BROWN. Twenty-six here. Can we ascertain whether the witness and the organization have furnished all this material?

Mr. RUMELY. We have furnished that material to the committee.

Mr. BROWN. The subpoena is only in connection with 2 points of 26?

Mr. RUMELY. That is right.

Mr. BROWN. All of this material, some having to do with the Members of the Congress, all of this material, you furnished all of that?

Mr. RUMELY. We furnished all of that. They went through the files. They sat for days going through the files.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have not furnished the committee with the complete list of things that you were subpoenaed to furnish?

Mr. RUMELY. I have not furnished the committee the list of buyers of our books and a few loans we made to publish the books.

The CHAIRMAN. And you still refuse to furnish us with that information?

Mr. RUMELY. I have been advised by counsel not to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You may file your entire statement.

That is all, as far as I am concerned, unless the other members have questions.

Mr. BROWN. I want to make it clear as to whether this witness is stating here under oath that he did furnish all this mass of material, all but two points?

Mr. RUMELY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Not under subpoena.

Mr. BROWN. He has cooperated with the committee on everything else; that is what I was interested in ascertaining.

Mr. RUMELY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. It is to his credit that he did furnish the committee with all the information with the exception of these two vital points. Mr. BROWN. Doesn't he get credit for cooperation?

The CHAIRMAN. He did get that.

Mr. BROWN. I had an awful time finding out about it. If he gave 24 of these answers, which covers the whole waterfront—he was asked about all the activities of the Members of Congress—

The CHAIRMAN. But the very vital thing requested—

Mr. RUMELY. The unconstitutional question, what you requested on that—you didn't get that.

The CHAIRMAN. You may file your statement, and step down.

Mr. RUMELY. Mr. Buchanan, may I clear one point: You said in your statement, yesterday—

The CHAIRMAN. No—

Mr. RUMELY (continuing). That the sale of books was a dodge. We sold—

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care to hear that, at this time.

Mr. RUMELY. We have sold the Road Ahead for 51 cents—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely—

Mr. BROWN. You may read that in tomorrow morning's newspaper.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. In connection with all this information—

Mr. RUMELY. I can save a lot of trouble for you if you will let me make that one statement.

Mr. LANHAM. On the question of producing information about books published, that has relevance to the issue, and we are in no way trying to control thought, or the publication of any book, but we are simply trying to get the facts about how you are attempting to influence legislation indirectly. I want to read—

Mr. RUMELY. I am not—

Mr. LANHAM. Just a minute. I want to read from Mr. Brown's questioning of Mr. Goodman, of the CIO, wherein Mr. Brown asked the question, or made this statement [reading]:

I notice that these booklets that you put out, you have a price of 25 cents each, and 20 for \$5. Do the individual local CIO organizations purchase those, or do members purchase them, and is not the sale of booklets that is outlined here on exhibit B, where you say you get so much from books, and it was expended again; contributions and expenditures?

Mr. GOODMAN. I am sorry, I don't see the item "Sale of booklets" on exhibit B.

Mr. BROWN. It says, "From books." That is all.

Mr. GOODMAN. That is from the accounting books of the organization.

Mr. BROWN. Oh, I see. I am wondering if you can furnish us, along the line that Mr. O'Hara has suggested, if you could furnish us with the number of these books that have been put out on the housing subject, not only the total different publications, but the amount or number of each issue, of each publication?

Mr. GOODMAN. That one that you have in your hands was published in 1946 by a previous regime, and I would be glad to try to secure the facts. Good Shelter, one of which you have, was published in 1945. The green one, in 1946. That one [indicating] in 1947. I would be glad to get the facts.

Mr. BROWN. You understand what I am driving at. This is all material used to influence the action of the people and the Congress, either to get the people to put pressure on the Congress, or to put pressure directly on the Congress; whether good or bad, that doesn't make any difference.

Mr. RUMELY. I won't give the names of the people who bought books.

Mr. LANHAM. He seems to think you shouldn't be questioned.

Mr. RUMELY. Our books are not of the same kind.

Mr. LANHAM. As he says, it doesn't make any difference whether good or bad, it is a question of the distribution of books. If it is legitimate to ask Goodman of the CIO, it is legitimate to ask you.

Mr. RUMELY. Not the names of the people that bought.

Mr. BROWN. Now that the gentleman has completed a stump speech—

Mr. LANHAM. It is not a stump speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. RUMELY. May I give you one sentence?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. I think you have had enough time.

Mr. RUMELY. It will save the time of the committee if I may make one statement, read one sentence.

Mr. BROWN. Be sure to shut people off, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. I want to say something. I think we have gotten along very fine through these hearings. It sometimes becomes necessary, of course, for the chairman to calm things down.

I think Mr. Brown asked for the floor.

Mr. BROWN. I thank you very much for the courtesy, Mr. Chairman.

The gentleman has mentioned a certain cross-examination I made of Mr. Goodman, who was secretary, I think, of some CIO housing committee, in connection with certain housing legislation activities. The pamphlets to which he referred were pamphlets in direct support of housing legislation and housing proposals then before the Congress. They were not books or booklets of general information. They were used primarily and only for the purpose of being distributed among those individuals who wished them, and were also presented to Members of the Congress in argument as to why housing legislation should be enacted. Therefore, I think, they come generally under the lobby law.

Mr. Rumely, if you have any booklets similar to that, in which you have set forth the reasons why certain legislative proposals before Congress should be enacted, or certain legislative proposals should be defeated, and you have sent those out over the country wholesale, either as gifts or through other organizations, then I think this committee has an absolute right to demand information on them.

Mr. RUMELY. We have issued no such books.

Mr. BROWN. However, if your publication field were—

Mr. RUMELY. We have issued no such books.

Mr. BROWN. I want to make clear, for the enlightenment and education of the committee, that a publisher and a printer is oftentimes two different individuals. I have been both, in my life. Sometimes publishers also have printing presses, but most of the larger publishers don't have their own printing plants.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, will you permit the Chair to interrogate the witness?

You have in your own statement stated that you have published The Constitution of the United States, by Thomas James Norton, and The Road Ahead, by John T. Flynn. Two additional books, not mentioned by you, were published and distributed: Compulsory Medical Care, by Melchior Palyi; and Why the Taft-Hartley Law, by Irving B. McCann. In your own statement, you admit publishing those and distributing them.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir; we are distributing them.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom?

Mr. RUMELY. The McCann book isn't yet printed, but we will be distributing it in 4 or 5 weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom?

Mr. RUMELY. We have about 10,000 orders on hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is the purpose of the subpoena—

Mr. RUMELY. We have orders for 10,000 copies of the book.

Mr. BROWN. That is about a Constitution adopted about 155 years ago; not about any legislation now before Congress.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. RUMELY. Your investigation knocked down an order of 10,000 copies of that book to 50.

The CHAIRMAN. Which book?

Mr. RUMELY. McCann's book.

The CHAIRMAN. One order went from 10,000 to 50?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir; because they heard you people were going to request the names of everyone who bought a hundred or more, and they said, "We will play safe."

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Rumely.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rumely, Mr. Albert has a question.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Rumely, you say you already furnished to the committee everything except the names of the purchasers of your books and those who have made loans for the purpose of publishing books?

Mr. RUMELY. Yes, sir. Just for the express purpose of publishing the book or printing ads on Fighters for Freedom. It has no relation to lobbying.

Mr. ALBERT. Has the committee got all of your other records except those; does the committee have in its possession all other records except those?

Mr. RUMELY. Your committee has; yes. All that you asked for, except you will find in my statement what was excepted; and what I have told you is a fact, that we have declined to give the names of the quantity purchasers of the books; 90 percent, 95 percent are bought in quantities of 1 to 10; but, for example, a doctor in the West, with a big clinic, he bought a few thousand copies of John Flynn's book, and wrote to all his patients of 10 years, "If you will write me a postcard, I will send you a copy." If I drag his name in—he isn't lobbying. The FBI bought a big bunch of the Constitution book. How would they feel? They wanted their agents to know what was legal. How would they feel if we reported they were engaged in lobbying?

Mr. ALBERT. It is not a question of how they feel. It is a question of fact. We are trying to find out what you have done and what you intend to do.

Mr. RUMELY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. RUMELY. They got 350 copies.

Mr. LANHAM. If the doctors bought this book that you say you were publishing, against socialized medicine, they would be lobbying.

Mr. RUMELY. No. May I tell you what the book is? The book is a result of a 6-month study in Europe by one of the greater European economists, to see what happened under compulsory medical care in

every country. There isn't one word about socialized medicine in this country. It is a study of what happened in Europe.

Mr. LANHAM. You distributed it because you want to discourage that sort of legislation, and a doctor, if he were to distribute it, would be getting it from you for that purpose, would he not?

Mr. RUMELY. We distribute it because we want to preserve private industry. I do it with enthusiasm, because I worked as a medical interne under the Bismarck system, and I know how disruptive that kind of medicine can be.

Mr. LANHAM. I agree with you on socialized medicine. I am not in favor of it. But the point is, if you distribute this book, and if the doctors buy it and distribute it, they are engaged in lobbying, in an attempt to influence legislation.

Mr. RUMELY. They are certainly not. If building informed public opinion is lobbying, then our whole conception of freedom is wrong. There is a copy of that book here. Look at it.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't want to see it now. I am dealing with principles. You are attempting to influence, indirectly, legislation that is now pending before Congress.

Mr. RUMELY. You have no right to go against—go into the field in which public opinion is made; you are out of bounds.

Mr. LANHAM. I understand that the jury held you out of bounds at one time. You say I am out of bounds.

Mr. BROWN. That is very gracious of the committee. We show every respect to witnesses.

Mr. LANHAM. I show all respect to all witnesses who show respect to me.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will adjourn, subject to call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene subject to call.)

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman), presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Doyle, Halleck, Brown, and O'Hara.

Also present: Louis Little and Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We have with us this morning Mr. Merwin K. Hart, of the National Economic Council.

Mr. Hart you will step forward, please.

The Chair would like to make an opening statement.

The witness will be examined and the evidence introduced by counsel for the committee. In this way, perhaps, there may be a more orderly presentation of the evidence. However, all members of the committee will be afforded every opportunity to ask questions of the witness at the conclusion of the examination by counsel on any point that they care to raise.

Attention is called to the fact that counsel, assisted by a staff of experienced investigators, made a study of these organizations. All the evidence which is material to this investigation will now be opened to the Congress and the public.

The Chairman is happy to say that at no time did he receive any complaint about the conduct of the investigators. Mr. Hart, our first witness, was kind enough to commend the investigators for their consideration in the study of his organization.

It should be noted that in these investigations considerable time has been spent, not only in the gathering of the evidence, but in the study and analysis of the exhibits and of the organization, itself.

The Chairman requests the members of the committee to give counsel full opportunity to examine the witness and bring out such salient points as may be necessary for the committee to have in order to make a proper recommendation to Congress on the techniques of lobbying, the responsibility of lobbyists and such other recommendations as the members may feel it advisable to make.

At this time I shall swear the witness in.

Mr. Hart, do you solemnly swear that the statements you make before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, until the last great day?

Mr. HART. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. At this time I will turn the examination of the witness over to Mr. Louis Little and Mr. Benedict F. Fitzgerald, counsel for the committee.

You may proceed.

Mr. HART. May my counsel sit here, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Will you introduce your counsel?

Mr. HART. Mr. George S. Montgomery, attorney, of New York.

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL—Resumed

Mr. LITTLE. Your full name, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. Merwin Kimball Hart.

Mr. LITTLE. Where do you live?

Mr. HART. My voting residence is New Hartford, N. Y.

Mr. LITTLE. And are you in any way connected with the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. I am president of National Economic Council.

Mr. LITTLE. Where are the offices of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. The offices of the council are in New York, in Utica, in Washington, and in Park City, Ky.

Mr. LITTLE. Have you your original charter with you?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, maybe we can save some time. Will you look at this exhibit and identify it. Is it the original charter of your organization?

Mr. HART. That seems to be a photostat of the original charter.

Mr. LITTLE. Were you incorporated in November of 1930, originally?

Mr. HART. At some date prior to this date; I wouldn't recall the date.

Mr. LITTLE. Originally, your council was known as the New York State Economic Council?

Mr. HART. Right.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you note the purposes for which you are incorporated?

Mr. HART. Do you wish me to read them?

Mr. LITTLE. If you please; yes, sir.

Mr. HART. The original purposes, as set forth in 1931, were as follows:

To stimulate and develop the economic life of the State of New York; to encourage government, both State and local, to practice wise economy; to urge businessmen and other leaders to take open part in public affairs, thereby assuring the public the benefit of their experience; to effect an understanding by businessmen and other leaders of the major problems of government, and an understanding by public officials of the fundamental needs of legitimate industry; to encourage a balanced development, both economically and socially, of the State of New York.

Mr. LITTLE. In other words, your original operations were limited to the State of New York?

Mr. HART. At the beginning; yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, then, in 1943 the name of your council was changed?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. And it became then the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. That is right.

Mr. LITTLE. And that change was made in April of 1948?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. I would like to add that the reason—

Mr. LITTLE. I show you an exhibit certifying this change of name.

Mr. HART. The reason we changed the name was that, since we were dealing with issues that were of national import, we had attracted attention all over the United States, and we had members then in many other States of the Union.

Mr. LITTLE. That is a correct copy of the change of name; is it not?

Mr. HART. I would say that is correct, counsel.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, then, may I read to you the purposes after you had the change of name:

To stimulate and develop the economic life of the United States and of the several States; to encourage government—Federal, State, and local—to practice wise economy in public spending; to urge all persons versed in practical affairs, as well as in other fields of endeavor, to take an active part in public affairs, thereby contributing to the people the benefit of their experience and judgment; to aid in developing an informed public opinion on the major political, social, and economic problems of the Nation and an understanding by public officials of the importance and needs of private enterprise under our system of government; to encourage a balanced economy within the United States in conformity with the principles of constitutional liberty; to stimulate respect for the Constitution and the country's laws; to stand at all times for the freedom and independence of the United States; and to take such lawful and appropriate steps to effectuate these purposes as to the directors of the corporation or its executive committee may seem proper.

Is that correct?

Mr. HART. Those sound to me like the purposes.

Mr. LITTLE. I offer, Mr. Chairman, in evidence, and for the record, the three exhibits which have been identified by the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be admitted without objection.

(The three documents referred to above are as follows:)

**CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF NEW YORK STATE ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
PURSUANT TO THE MEMBERSHIP CORPORATION'S LAW**

We, the undersigned, desiring to form a corporation pursuant to the membership corporation's law of the State of New York, do hereby make, subscribe, and acknowledge this certificate for that purpose, as follows:

1. The name of the proposed corporation is New York State Economic Council, Inc.

2. The purpose or purposes for which it is to be formed are as follows:

To stimulate and develop the economic life of the State of New York; to encourage government, both State and local, to practice wise economy; to urge businessmen and other leaders to take open part in public affairs, thereby assuring the public the benefit of their experience; to effect an understanding by businessmen and other leaders of the major problems of government, and an understanding by public officials of the fundamental needs of legitimate industry; to encourage a balanced development, both economically and socially, of the State of New York.

3. The territory in which its operations are principally to be conducted is the State of New York.

4. The office of the corporation is to be located in the city of Utica, county of Oneida, and State of New York.

5. The number of its directors is to be 29.

6. The names and residences of the directors until the first annual meeting are as follows:

Charles E. Adams, 1088 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
 Magnus W. Alexander, 1050 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
 George F. Bayle, 270 Glen Street, Glens Falls, N. Y.
 Edgar H. Betts, Spring Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
 Robert S. Binkerd, 41 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
 Elmer H. Brown, Washington Square East, New York City, N. Y.
 Myron G. Bronner, 54 North Ann Street, Little Falls, N. Y.
 H. T. Dyett, 1204 North George Street, Rome, N. Y.
 John D. Dunlop, Gesnet Avenue South, Nyack, N. Y.
 Alexander D. Fulck, 722 West Water Street, Elmira, N. Y.
 Frederick C. Ferry, College Street, Clinton, N. Y.
 James W. Gerard, 1014 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
 Merwin K. Hart, Winship Road, New Hartford, N. Y.
 Will L. Hinds, 1312 Park Street, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Elon H. Hooker, 182 East Sixty-fourth Street, New York City, N. Y.
 James H. McGraw, 79 East Seventy-ninth Street, New York City, N. Y.
 John P. Myers, 18 Macomb Street, Plattsburgh, N. Y.
 F. Allan Newell, 415 Caroline Street, Ogdensburgh, N. Y.
 Roderick Potter, 45 Tudor Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Leonard D. Moore, 7 Crouse Street, Fort Plain, N. Y.
 W. L. Forsyth, 414 South Fourth Street, Fulton, N. Y.
 Otto H. Kahn, 1100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
 John E. Sawyer, 124 Main Street, Hudson Falls, N. Y.
 Charles S. Ruffner, Rosedale Road, Schenectady, N. Y.
 Henry K. Smith, 600 East Sixth Street, Jamestown, N. Y.
 James Harvey Williams, 1100 Park Avenue, New York City
 Thomas A. Wilson, 45 Laurel Avenue, Binghamton, N. Y.
 Travis H. Whitney, 50 Broadway, New York City
 W. Howard Wright, 1278 Stratford Road, Schenectady, N. Y.

7. That all of the subscribers to the certificate are of full age; that at least two-thirds of them are citizens of the United States, that at least one of them is a resident of the State of New York, and that of the persons named as directors, at least one is a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of New York.

In witness whereof we have made, subscribed, and acknowledged this certificate in triplicate, this 13th day of November 1930.

MERWIN K. HART.
 ALEXANDER D. FAULK.
 J. HARVEY WILLIAMS.
 ELON H. HOOKER.
 EDGAR H. BETTS.
 ROBERT S. BINKERD.
 HENRY K. SMITH.
 JOHN P. MYERS.

CERTIFICATE OF CHANGE OF NAME OF NEW YORK STATE ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC., TO NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC., PURSUANT TO SECTION 40 OF THE GENERAL CORPORATION LAW

It is hereby certified that:

1. The name of this corporation is New York State Economic Council, Inc.
2. The certificate of incorporation was filed in the office of the Secretary of State on March 17, 1931, and a duplicate original thereof was filed in the office of the clerk of the county of Oneida on the 18th day of March 1931.
3. The new name to be assumed by this corporation is National Economic Council, Inc.

In witness whereof we have made and subscribed this certificate in triplicate, this 6th day of April 1943.

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.
 THOMAS M. PETERS, *Secretary*.

CERTIFICATE OF CHANGE OF PURPOSES AND POWERS AND TO PROVIDE THAT THE NUMBER OF DIRECTORS SHALL BE NOT LESS THAN A STATED MINIMUM NOR MORE THAN A STATED MAXIMUM OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC., PURSUANT TO SECTION 30 OF THE MEMBERSHIP CORPORATIONS LAW

It is hereby certified that:

1. The name of the corporation is National Economic Council, Inc.
The name under which it was originally incorporated was New York State Economic Council, Inc.

2. The certificate of incorporation was filed in the office of the Secretary of State on March 17, 1931, and a duplicate original thereof was filed in the office of the clerk of the county of Oneida on March 18, 1931.

3. The purposes, powers, and provisions to be amended are contained in section 2 of the certificate of incorporation, which, as heretofore amended, are as follows:

"2. The purpose or purposes for which it is to be formed are as follows:

"To stimulate and develop in every way the economic life of the State of New York; to encourage government—Federal, State, and local—to practice wise economy; to urge businessmen and other leaders to take open part in public affairs, thereby assuring the public the benefit of their experience; to effect an understanding by businessmen and other leaders of the major problems of government, and an understanding by public officials of the fundamental needs of legitimate industry; to encourage a balanced development, both economically and socially, of the State of New York, and, in order to accomplish the above purposes, to take any measures, whether within or without the State of New York, which, in the opinion of the board of directors, will improve conditions within the State of New York."

Said purposes, powers, and provisions are to be amended by substituting the following purposes, powers, and provisions:

"2. The purpose or purposes for which it is to be formed are as follows:

"To stimulate and develop the economic life of the United States and of the several States; to encourage government—Federal, State, and local—to practice wise economy in public spending; to urge all persons versed in practical affairs, as well as in other fields of endeavor, to take an active part in public affairs, thereby contributing to the people the benefit of their experience and judgment; to aid in developing an informed public opinion on the major political, social, and economic problems of the Nation and an understanding by public officials of the importance and needs of private enterprise under our system of government; to encourage a balanced economy within the United States in conformity with the principles of constitutional liberty; to stimulate respect for the Constitution and the country's laws; to stand at all time for the freedom and independence of the United States; and to take such lawful and appropriate steps to effectuate these purposes as to the directors of the corporation or its executive committee may seem proper."

4. The number of directors previously authorized is 85.

The number of directors is to be not less than 15 nor more than 75.

In witness whereof we have made and subscribed this certificate in triplicate this 7th day of April 1948.

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

THOMAS M. PETERS, *Secretary.*

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, prior to the incorporation of the New York Economic Council, you were engaged in politics in New York as a member of the legislature?

Mr. HART. That was a long time ago.

Mr. LITTLE. When was that?

Mr. HART. That was in 1907 and 1908. I was there at the same time as Al Smith and Bob Wagner, and those men. I was there only 2 years, when my constituents, it being a Democratic district, retired me for lack of votes.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, what is your profession?

Mr. HART. I am a lawyer by profession, although I have not practiced since 1921.

Mr. LITTLE. And have you any other interests besides the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. None excepting that I am a director in several corporations.

Mr. LITTLE. What are those corporations?

Mr. HART. The Utica Mutual Insurance Co., which I think is the fourth largest mutual casualty insurance company in the United States; the Allied Fire Insurance Co., of which I am a vice president; and I think, the John L. Train Co., which is a subsidiary.

Mr. LITTLE. Where are the offices of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. Well, the main office, in fact, is in New York. The principal office under our charter, because it was the original office, is at Utica.

Mr. LITTLE. And how many employees have you in the New York Office?

Mr. HART. Without counting them, Mr. Chairman, they vary from month to month, going up or down 1 or 2—I would say, 15.

Mr. LITTLE. And how many in Utica?

Mr. HART. Three.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, might I interrupt to ask to see a copy of the charter of the organization under which they are operating?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The exhibit was passed to Mr. Halleck.)

Mr. LITTLE. How many did you say you had in Utica?

Mr. HART. Three.

Mr. LITTLE. Three?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. And how much help have you in the Washington office?

Mr. HART. One.

Mr. LITTLE. And in Kentucky?

Mr. HART. I believe two.

Mr. LITTLE. At any time did you have any other offices outside of the city of New York and the other cities you mentioned?

Mr. HART. Yes. We had an office in Chicago for a number of years. That was discontinued 4 or 5 years ago, I would say.

Mr. LITTLE. Your organization is registered under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. HART. It is.

Mr. LITTLE. And when did you file your first registration?

Mr. HART. I should say, about a year after the act took effect. Our legal counsel on those matters advised us, at first, that we did not come within the Lobbying Act. Later, he advised us that he thought we did, that he had some doubts; and we then registered and filed a report, giving all receipts and disbursements of the appropriate kinds back to the time the act took effect.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, on form B, filed February 21, 1947, you stated that your salary was a nominal salary of \$600 a year?

Mr. HART. Well, whatever I said it was.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes. That was correct, was it?

Mr. HART. Certainly. Whatever I said it was. Now, it is quite apparent that I was speaking, perhaps, of the last quarter. I am not sure about that.

Mr. LITTLE. Well, if you were speaking of the last quarter, then your salary would have been \$2,400 a year; is that correct?

Mr. HART. I wouldn't want to say, counsel, just what the amount was, but whatever I stated it was, that it was.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you remember what your salary had been in 1947 or prior thereto?

Mr. HART. Off-hand, I do not. My salary has varied a great deal. During the 3 years of the organization, I received no salary; and in some years I have received, I think, as little as two or three thousand dollars.

Mr. LITTLE. The purpose stated in that form—and, if you care to see it, I can show it you—is that you were to aid in developing an informed public opinion on the major political, social, and economic problems of the Nation?

Mr. HART. That is right.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, I call your attention to this statement in the form:

Said National Economic Council, Inc., does not in any manner whatsoever, directly or indirectly, solicit, collect, or receive money or any other thing of value to be used principally to aid, nor is its principal purpose to aid, in the passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States or to influence, directly or indirectly, the passage or defeat of such legislation. Consequently nothing in this statement is to be construed as an admission that the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act applies to it.

I call your attention now to, and show you, Form B, of 1947, and ask you to read it; and I also ask you if my statement is not correct?

Mr. HART. Yes; I think, up to that time, that had been correct.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you mean, therefore, that up to 1947, up until the time you filed this statement, that you did not solicit or collect or receive any money for the purposes of influencing legislation?

Mr. HART. That is the meaning of that statement.

Mr. LITTLE. And——

Mr. HART. May I see the text of that, again?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Show him the text of that statement.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. I might observe that they use the word "principally," which is contained in one section of the present law and, which, as we all realize, has caused great confusion, and still causes great confusion, as to just what the law means and as to what it might apply.

Mr. LITTLE. Did you want to add anything, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. I think not.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Insert the word "principally" in his answer.

Mr. HART. Yes. That was in the question, I take it.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, I note, in Form C, filed in April 1947, the lobby statement, that you gave your salary as \$833.33 a month. How do you account for the increase in salary from \$600 yearly to \$833 a month, within a period of 3 months.

Mr. HART. Well, I stated the salary as it had been received, in the earlier report, and in the later report that was the salary that had been fixed, which I was supposed to get; and, as a matter of fact, it was the salary I was supposed to get before, but I had waived a substantial part of it.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, also, in this Form C of April 1947, you say that your publication is the National Economic Council semimonthly reports.

Mr. HART. Semimonthly Economic Council Letter.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes. And did you at that time have what you title, "Action Reports"?

Mr. HART. That was an irregularly-issued publication which appeared from time to time.

Mr. LITTLE. Did you at that time have pamphlets to send out?

Mr. HART. Yes; yes. We have what we call our council papers, which are, I think, always, or certainly usually, publications written by persons not connected with the National Economic Council.

Mr. LITTLE. Well, you didn't make note of that then in this report, I note. You said that you only had one publication, the semimonthly report.

Mr. HART. It wasn't intended to convey the idea that we had only one publication, because we had two or three. I don't know the connection in which you use that.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, your statement contains this, in answer to the question, "Publications": "National Economic Council semimonthly reports." You say that was the only one you gave; was that a mistake?

Mr. HART. I don't know what the connection would be, because we have always had—I say "always"—for some years, since long before this committee came into existence, we have had our economic council letter; we have had our review of books; we have had our action report; appearing occasionally; the book review appears monthly; and then we have had these occasional reports, council papers.

Mr. LITTLE. Then——

Mr. HART. Of course, all of these have been sent to every Member of both houses of Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, you failed then, inadvertently—I give you the benefit of the doubt—to put in this record the various publications that your council sent out?

Mr. HART. I don't know that we did.

Mr. LITTLE. Well, you didn't state anything about the action report; you didn't state anything about these pamphlets, or confidential memorandum, or anything of that sort, did you?

Mr. HART. Counsel, I don't know the application of what you are reading there, but, certainly, I think this committee would take judicial notice of the fact that we have sent everything we have published to all Members of both houses of Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. That is not the point I am talking about. I am talking about what you had stated in your lobby form report.

Mr. HART. Will you show me the lobby form report?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; surely. [A document was passed to the witness.] Question 4, the names of any papers, periodicals, magazines, or other publications, which were caused to be published. You only gave us one.

Mr. HART. Well, now, this is my personal report.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. In which I have caused to be published any articles or

editorials. The economic council letter I write, myself, and I don't write any of the others.

Mr. LITTLE. Don't you write the confidential memorandum?

Mr. HART. Well, that is something entirely different. As a matter of fact, up to that time there had been no confidential memorandum.

Mr. LITTLE. Didn't you have anything to do with the action reports?

Mr. HART. Those have been prepared by others in the organization. I have looked them over. But this question here asks what publications I have caused to be published; things of my own.

Mr. LITTLE. No; it doesn't say that.

Mr. HART. There has been no attempt to conceal.

Mr. LITTLE. Is that your answer?

Mr. HART. Yes; that is my answer.

Mr. LITTLE. All right.

Mr. HART. I take it, counsel, that the purpose of this committee is to ascertain facts about what has been published?

Mr. LITTLE. That is right.

Mr. HART. All right. We couldn't have done better in making known what we had been publishing than to send a copy to every Member of the Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. You didn't send to each Member of Congress your action report, did you?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. And—

Mr. HART. I say "Yes"—I am quite sure we did. It is my belief that we did.

Mr. LITTLE. Did you send them all pamphlets, too?

Mr. HART. I think we sent everything. Counsel, we have lived by getting publicity. If we hadn't gotten publicity by what we had written, we couldn't have survived.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, we will never get through, if we argue. Will you just answer the question, please.

Now, you say that you sent letters to all Congressmen?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. And all the Senators—you sent them this information? Isn't it a fact that in that same report you say:

The purpose of writing the 76 letters was in connection with the pending nominations in the Senate for Chairman and members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

You only sent out 76 letters in that case?

Mr. HART. Seventy-six letters, council letters?

Mr. LITTLE. I don't know what kind of letters you sent, but you say in your statement that you only sent out 76.

Mr. HART. Well, that would have meant letters such as we signed by hand. It wouldn't mean council letters, because the council letters have gone to the Members of the Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. Then, in your communications with Congressmen and Senators, you don't send them all letters; you just send the ones that you prefer to send to; is that it?

Mr. HART. Well, I forget—in the first place, I don't recall just what letter it is that you have in mind, but I would be glad to see a copy of it.

Mr. LITTLE. It is a letter on the atomic legislation and the appointment of members.

Mr. HALLECK. Was it on the legislation or the appointment of members?

Mr. LITTLE. Pending nominations in the Senate for Chairman and members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter was sent to only 76 of the 96 Members of the Senate?

Mr. HART. Was this an Economic Council letter?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. What I suspect took place is that, in addition to the things going regularly, in due course, we also sent an extra copy—this is my assumption of what took place—with an accompanying letter, written by me, or someone in the council, calling attention to it. We occasionally do that. We send copies of the letter to certain Members of Congress that we think would be particularly interested.

Mr. BROWN. The Senate, only, of course, passes on the confirmation of Presidential appointments.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. BROWN. As I hear this question and answer, it might be it referred to letters sent all Members of the Senate, and there was a typographical error—it should be 96 instead of 76. I don't know, of course.

Mr. HART. That easily might have happened. Why we should have sent it to 76, I don't know.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Brown, I will come back to that a little later. This is just preliminary.

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to the best of my ability to follow the questions.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, in form C, filed in March 1948, you stated:

The proposed legislation he is employed to support or oppose: So-called Marshall plan, bills for Federal aid to education, immigration, etc.

As a matter of fact, those three items were about one-fifth of what you were interested in at that time and were trying to influence legislation on; is that correct?

Mr. HART. Well, I think that those were probably the subjects with respect to which we were interested during that quarter. We were interested in these others, but we had probably taken action merely on those.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, I notice on Form C, filed June 1948, under question 3, you say you are charging your organization with a trip to Washington to keep informed on legislative matters and to Philadelphia to appear before resolutions committee of the Republican National Convention. Is that so?

Mr. HART. Well, if I said it in the statement, that was so.

Mr. LITTLE. And did you think that the appearance before a political convention at that time was in the sphere and scope of your business or the business of the Council?

Mr. HART. Yes; certainly. We appeared before the resolutions committee. We did that in, I think, 1936; I am sure, in 1940; and 1944 and 1948.

Mr. LITTLE. Did you—

Mr. HART. We have presented the same statement, in whatever way we deemed best, to the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, there is nothing unusual about that. I have served on the resolutions committee at the Republican National Convention several times, and I have joined with the committee in listening to people who had some ideas to present.

Mr. BROWN. Some good and some bad.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will ask Mr. Hart whether he was appearing as an individual citizen or as a representative of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. Both, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Both.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, may I just make an inquiry?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. As to whether it is the contention that the appearance, either of an individual or the representative of some organization, before the resolutions committee of any national convention, is a lobby activity—is that the contention? I don't understand what we are driving at.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Brown, this is contained in the statement. I am reading what is contained in his statements to the clerk in the lobby form.

Mr. HALLECK. Is it contended that the reports that have been filed are illegal or not in conformity with the law, or is it, rather, that we are trying to determine the adequacy of the reports under existing law and existing forms?

Mr. LITTLE. As I understand it, what we are trying to do, at this time, anyway, is to just unfold before the committee what is contained in these lobby reports.

Mr. HALLECK. I see.

Mr. HART. I would like to say this, Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. We have been puzzled by the text of the act and by the form, itself, which has not been very clear, as to just what we should report. What we have followed, I think, all the time since we have been reporting, but, I am sure, the past 2 years, is the plan of giving what we think is allocable to lobbying, and then giving all the other receipts we have had, too, so that if the committee feels that what we have reported is not enough, they can take any part of the remainder of our receipts they wish to.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee appreciates your statement on the statement filed with the Clerk of the House, and counsel will proceed.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, in October 1948, in your Form C, you said this:

Much of the period covered by the 3 months July 1 to September 30, 1948, was spent by me in Europe. I think a fair allocation, if any, to lobbying expenses would be the sum of \$421 which was one-fourth of the expenses of my trip. I include this only for the reason that some of the knowledge obtained by me on this trip was later used in the writing of certain council letters.

Now, do you wish at this time to extend your remarks on that notation?

Mr. HART. Yes, counsel. I have gone abroad each year for the last 3 years, largely to try to find out what is going on in Europe. I have visited a total of eight countries, some one year, some another. The purpose has been to learn, at first hand, what I could, and I had access to quite a few, quite a good many men over there, to learn what the true conditions were, because of the importance of their bearing

upon American foreign policy, with respect to which, it seems to us, the American people are not very familiar. I think it was farfetched for me to report any of that in these reports.

Mr. LITTLE. Well—

Mr. HART. I could only estimate that I wrote one or more letters from Madrid; I wrote one or more letters from Great Britain; I wrote one from Germany, and those having some bearing, let's say, on ECA appropriations, or the possible recognition of Spain, or possible change of our policy in Germany, it seemed best to make a stab at some part of it as possibly allocable to lobbying.

Mr. LITTLE. I am not finding fault in the portion allotted to lobbying activities.

Mr. HART. I appreciate that.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, in January 1949, you said, in Form C:

Measures discussed in Council Letters No. 200-205 both inclusive, published during this quarter, and which publications might be considered lobbying, are certain "conventions" of the ILO which will come before the Senate for ratification this winter, possible appropriations in 1949 for ERP, a general review of certain measures likely to be considered at the coming session of Congress, and the pending controversy over evidence recently produced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

That is correct, is it?

Mr. HART. I assume that you have read it correctly.

Mr. LITTLE. I mean, if that statement is contained in the report, it is correct?

Mr. HART. Yes. In other words, counsel, what we have done in preparing the reports we have prepared is, with respect to our Council Letters appearing twice a month, we have gone over the list—I did, myself—and any one which had a bearing on anything pending in Congress, we said that was lobbying; something that was general, and pertained to no particular measure, we passed over.

Mr. LITTLE. I note that in April 1949, on Form C, you give your salary as \$7,783, and in June, 1949, on Form C, salary, \$4,750.

Mr. HART. Those were the salaries including back salaries and much of them were received by me during those periods.

Mr. LITTLE. And in October of 1949, \$3,750.

Now, then, you had a number of other men during this period, from the inception of the Lobbying Act, who were registered with you as lobbyists?

Mr. HART. Right.

Mr. LITTLE. Who are they?

Mr. HART. Well, Dr. Griffith was one; Mr. Harry S. Barger, of our Washington office, was another; and there have been one or two others, I believe.

Mr. LITTLE. Could you name the others? One is Mr. McInerney?

Mr. HART. Mr. McInerney.

Mr. LITTLE. Who else?

Mr. HART. The record would show, counsel. I think that now we have Mr. Edward Jerome registered as a lobbyist; I think Dr. Elwood Rowsey, of Park City, Ky., is now registered as a lobbyist. We made a point of having registered all those whose work could be reasonably understood to constitute lobbying, as we understood the act.

Mr. LITTLE. For the moment, let us go into some of these lobbyists that you have. We will take the case of Mr. Barger, Harry S. Barger. When did you first meet Mr. Barger?

Mr. HART. I would say, a couple of years ago.

Mr. LITTLE. At the time you met him, what was his business?

Mr. HART. He had been working here for some years in Washington with various congressional committees. He had worked, I think, with Congressman Cox, Congressman Wigglesworth, and others. I have an impression, Mr. Taber—he could tell that for himself. But he had practiced law in Washington for a number of years and was familiar with a good deal that goes on here.

Mr. LITTLE. When you first began to talk with Mr. Barger about being a lobbyist, what was Mr. Barger's employment at that time?

Mr. HART. He was employed by us then.

Mr. LITTLE. When you first began to talk to him?

Mr. HART. No. You said, when I first began to talk to him about being a lobbyist.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. As soon as he came with our committee, we requested him to register and, of course, he did.

Mr. LITTLE. Is it not a fact that while Mr. Barger was still on the Government payroll, you and Mr. Barger were talking about suggestions for lobbying?

Mr. HART. I don't know; not to my knowledge was he on the Government payroll; I don't know.

Mr. LITTLE. Well—

Mr. HART. We might have talked about it before he actually joined us.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he not a member of the staff of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives at the time?

Mr. HART. He had been.

The CHAIRMAN. When you first employed him.

Mr. HART. He had been; but we did not request him to file as a lobbyist until he had joined our organization. We really know nothing about his prior connections. Those he can answer himself.

Mr. LITTLE. I show you a document—a memorandum of a conversation with Harry S. Barger—and ask you to look at it and see if that is a correct copy of a memorandum from your office?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of the memorandum?

Mr. LITTLE. Would you read the date, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. December 27, 1948.

Mr. BROWN. We had an election just before that.

Mr. HALLECK. It looks as though he was about to lose his job.

Mr. BROWN. I don't follow this. Is it to show that because someone talked to someone about employment before he retired from Government service, that that was wrong?

Mr. LITTLE. I am in no position to say what is right or wrong, Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I know, but what difference does it make? I have talked to you about lobbying activities, and you are in the employment of the House, I understand. I can't understand what difference it makes whether he talked to this man Barger before or after he was employed with somebody on this or that. I can't follow you. I am trying to grasp it. What is the difference?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, it may be for you later to decide whether it is right or wrong, after we are through with the exhibits. I don't know whether anyone of us can say now whether it is right or wrong.

Mr. BROWN. I mean, are we fishing, or something?

Mr. LITTLE. No.

Mr. BROWN. I don't quite grasp your purpose.

Mr. LITTLE. We will have this all documented, Mr. Brown.

Mr. HART. Counsel, I don't get the point of your question. That, apparently, is a memorandum that I made of a conversation I had with Mr. Barger. I frequently make memorandums of conversations with people. That, apparently, is what it is. It purports to be that.

The CHAIRMAN. For counsel's information, I might say that on January 3, 1949, the Eighty-first Congress came into being, and I would assume that possibly a number of the members of the staff of the Appropriations Committee would be replaced by the incoming majority administration on that date. That is just for the enlightenment of counsel.

Mr. BROWN. Perhaps notice had been given in advance that employment would cease at that time.

Mr. HALLECK. Might we see that memorandum?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

(A document was passed to Mr. Halleck.)

(Memorandum of conversation with Harry S. Barger is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH HARRY S. BARGER, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1948

We had before us the attached memorandum for discussion and the references are to them.

1. Mr. Barger is to draft a suggested letter for me to send to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the two Houses, with copies to the ranking Republican members of each committee, protesting against the passage of any further Federal funds to subsidize housing.

He will undertake to get appropriate publicity when the letter is put into a news release for him and released.

2. We are to prepare a council letter on the bill arising out of the allowance for deduction before taxes for expense for advertising governing activities. Barger has a lot of data on this.

3. Barger is to send me a list of all the international alphabetical agencies, showing which ones the United States has joined by ratification and which it has not joined.

4. Hart is to talk with Mark Jones and O. A. Taylor regarding the amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act and then write Barger so that he can draft proposed bill which will be designed to still further strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act.

5. We are to have an early council letter on civil rights.

6. Barger to draft an equity bill to enjoin spending of public money in violation of a statute.

Mr. HALLECK. I don't know just what our responsibilities are, here, Mr. Chairman. I know, if we were sitting as judges in a court, we might be called on to rule on the admissibility of the evidence. I don't desire at the moment to be contentious, at all, about it, but I think the scope of the inquiry, and the making of the record, should be kept fairly well within the line of what we are trying to do. Whether or not the conversations had by someone wanting to hire a lobbyist are pertinent to our inquiry, I would have some question in my mind.

Mr. HART. I would like to say that—as I say, I don't know the point of counsel's question—but this was a memorandum of a conversation

had with a man whom we had agreed to take on our staff at the conclusion of his then employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed.

Mr. LITTLE. Well, before I talk further on that, I would like to show you another letter.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. LITTLE. December 13, 1948.

I will ask you, Mr. Hart, if you remember addressing that letter to Mr. Barger at the House Office Building?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, again, I want to call attention that was after the election.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe, after the contents of the letter are read, Mr. Brown, the full story will be told.

Mr. BROWN. I just want to comment; I can remember, in October and September of 1948, that a great many of my Democratic friends downtown were talking to me as to what I knew as to positions which might be open around the first of the year. I expect that Mr. Barger, after the election, was interested in finding a position, too. So I don't understand these questions.

Mr. LITTLE. It all depends, Mr. Brown, on whether a man can have two clients at the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have evidence of the fact that he was on the payroll of the National Economic Council the last quarter of 1948?

Mr. LITTLE. No. The last quarter—yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The last quarter of 1948?

Mr. HART. This letter says the employment is to commence January 1, 1949.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, let me say this for the record, so that the attitude of some of us will not be misunderstood: I didn't know until this moment that Mr. Barger had been employed by the National Economic Council.

Mr. BROWN. I didn't either.

Mr. HALLECK. I think that goes for several of us here. Also, it is a little interesting to me, because not so long ago Mr. Barger compiled a list of 11 allegedly important votes in the House of Representatives, that was calculated to determine whether or not some of us Republicans were really Republicans or whether we were really New Dealers and Fair Dealers. That compiled list was the subject of a story in a very important newspaper in the Middle West and, if I recall correctly, Joe Martin came up wrong 11 times out of 11, and I was wrong 10 times out of 11. That is only pertinent for the record, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, so that our motives will not be misunderstood.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Unless these documents throw some light on the techniques of lobbying, I don't see the relevancy. I don't know what they contain, of course; but it seems to me that we have gone pretty far afield.

Mr. HART. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that these documents show that we engaged Mr. Barger by an agreement dated in early December, December 13, and that between then and the time it took effect, the 1st of January, he and I had one or more conferences on what we were going to try to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Little.

Mr. LITTLE. Judge, before I go further, would you like to see these exhibits?

Mr. LANHAM. I think we ought to shorten this as much as we can and really find out what these folks are doing about lobbying. I don't know whether Mr. Barger has done anything wrong or not, but we are not investigating him right now.

Mr. LITTLE. No; but we are trying to find out, as I understand—

Mr. LANHAM. Let me see them, if you don't mind. I am not objecting.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

(Documents passed to Mr. Lanham.)

Mr. HART. You will see the the letter of December 13 expressly says that Mr. Barger may have some time out for obligations that he feels will run over into 1949. To that extent, we knew he was not on our payroll entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not on your payroll in December of 1948?

Mr. HART. He was not.

Mr. LITTLE. But he was, in the month of January, was he not?

Mr. HART. Yes; but, as I say, with this proviso here, that he was to complete certain other work, and do certain other work that he thought he was under a moral obligation, anyway, to do. And as for the statement, Congressman, about the votes, Mr. Barger, as anyone who knows him knows, is a very industrious individual, and he complies many things, and sends us copies without our specifically requesting him to do it, lots of which is extremely useful.

Mr. HALLECK. Let me add, too, that I am not complaining or putting any interpretation on any series of votes as indicating where people stand. I did think that compilation was highly unfair.

Mr. BROWN. I would like to add that I do not question the right of anybody to make any comment he pleases on any vote I make—and, of course, this was similar to a vote compilation made by the Daily Worker and a few other publications—but the amazing thing was that a few of us seemed to be wrong all of the time, regardless of who put the compilation out—and maybe we have been—but I don't believe we can be wrong on both sides of the street at the same time. It is interesting, when you get yourself in that position.

Mr. HART. Congressman, I will say that such a document as that, we would merely file for such interest as it might have.

Mr. BROWN. It is very interesting to a great many people.

Mr. O'HARA. It illustrates that when you are a Member of Congress, you know you are in the middle; isn't that about it?

Mr. LANHAM. I think this is something that we are interested in.

Mr. LITTLE. I want to read from this document entitled: "Memorandum of conversation with Harry S. Barger, Tuesday, December 27, 1948." [Reading:]

We had before us the attached memorandum for discussion and the references are to them.

1. Mr. Barger is to draft a suggested letter for me to send to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the two Houses, with copies to the ranking Republican members of each committee, protesting against the passage of any further Federal funds to subsidize housing.

He will undertake to get appropriate publicity when the letter is put into a news-release for him and released.

Mr. HALLECK. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. LITTLE. December 27, 1948.

Mr. HALLECK. Of course, Congress was not in session at that time.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. The record should show that. The next Congress would come in—

The CHAIRMAN. January 3, 1949.

Mr. BROWN. He was to do something, as I understand that letter?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Does that pertain to his future employment? The fact is that when I employ anybody, I discuss, before I employ them, what they are to do after they are employed, so there won't be any question about it.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Brown, would you discuss with an employee of a competitor?

Mr. BROWN. Certainly, if the man has made arrangements with me to come to work for me at a certain time. We do that all the time; we do that with every newspaperman who is employed.

Mr. LITTLE. Would a lawyer discuss with another—

Mr. BROWN. I have seen lawyers do a lot of strange and peculiar things. Don't get me pinned down as to lawyers. I don't want to discuss that subject. I could make a speech on it. But the point is, he was saying what he was to do for them.

Mr. LITTLE. Right.

Mr. BROWN. At some future time. That is an entirely different thing, Mr. Chairman. The fact of the matter is, this person would not be his employer. I imagine he had already received notice from the new chairman of the Appropriations Committee that his services would not be necessary or required after January 3.

Mr. O'HARA. Does the memorandum indicate when the work is to be done, Mr. Little?

Mr. LITTLE. This will have to be read in connection with the other two exhibits. [Continuing reading:]

2. We are to prepare a council letter on the bill arising out of the allowance for deduction before taxes for expense for advertising governing activities. Barger has a lot of data on this.

3. Barger is to send me a list of all the international alphabetical agencies, showing which ones the United States has joined by ratification and which it has not joined.

Mr. BROWN. Read that, again.

Mr. LITTLE (repeating):

Barger is to send me a list of all the international alphabetical agencies, showing which ones the United States has joined by ratification and which it has not joined.

Mr. BROWN. That had to be at some future time, because a fellow couldn't get it prepared between December 27 and January 3. That work would take 4 or 5 months. He had to be talking about future employment.

Mr. LITTLE (continuing reading):

4. Hart is to talk with Mark Jones and O. A. Taylor regarding the amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act and then write Barger so that he can draft proposed bill which will be designed to still further strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act.

5. We are to have an early council letter on civil rights.

6. Barger to draft an equity bill to enjoin spending of public money in violation of a statute.

Did you want to look at that, again, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. No, I think not. That sounds like my recollection of the memorandum. It is an interoffice memorandum of a talk that he and I had.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. You have the Barger letter, dated December 13, 1948. Is that the next exhibit?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes. This is a letter dated December 13, 1948, Mr. Hart to Mr. Barger. It is dated December 13, 1938, but I suppose 1948 is meant. The date is "1938."

May I speak with the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(Discussion between Mr. Little and committee members, out of the hearing of the reporter.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Little.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, in the letter I have just referred to you say:

Thank you for the two memoranda received today.

This will confirm the verbal arrangement made with you the other day, namely, that we hereby employ you for a period of 4 months commencing January 1, 1949, to give your whole time (less such incidental assistance as you may feel you should render to Congressmen John Taber and R. B. Wigglesworth which we understand would not take up much time)——

Mr. LANHAM. They were members of the Appropriations Committee?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. I think we should point out that Mr. Taber was chairman of the Appropriations Committee and Mr. Wigglesworth was the next member, and both had directed the activities of this gentleman, Mr. Barger; and, of course, in all probability, in order to transfer records and other matters over to the new chairman and his assistant, they might have needed Mr. Barger's assistance at times. I don't see anything wrong with that.

Mr. LANHAM. Nothing at all.

Mr. LITTLE (continuing reading):

to representing us in Washington in connection with our support of certain measures and our opposition to certain other measures, and to assist us in whatever way you can.

While we are not in position at this moment to commit ourselves for more than 4 months, yet it is our intention in good faith to continue the arrangement after the 4-month's term has expired—

And then some other matters.

Mr. HALLECK. Let's read it all.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it all into the record.

Mr. LITTLE (continuing reading):

assuming that your work is satisfactory which, from all the good words we have heard from Walter Trohan and Gene Carey, we feel confident will be the case.

Your salary will be \$600.00 per month payable either semi-monthly or monthly, as you may prefer.

It is understood that at the start you would not require an office. We assume we could communicate with you at your apartment. Doubtless you can inform

us of some address in the House Office Building at which we could get you during daytime hours.

I shall hope to see you sometime between now and the first of the year and go over with you in some detail some of the measures in which we shall be interested in the next Congress.

I feel that you and we are going to develop a very effective teamwork, and we are glad indeed to secure your services.

If the above is your understanding of the arrangement, will you kindly sign the enclosed copy of this letter and return to us in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the two Barger exhibits will be received.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I am not objecting, but I don't see where that communication can add anything to the work of this committee.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't think it is relevant.

Mr. HALLECK. I don't think it is relevant. If it is intended to try to smear some worthy Member of Congress, I wouldn't like that, either; there could be no such possible implication; the clear evidence is, in spite of the suggestion of counsel that there was some employment of Mr. Barger at the time he was still on the Government payroll—the clear evidence is to the contrary—that he took over the job after his work with the Government as an employee of the Appropriations Committee was terminated.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a third letter, that is a part of this?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The purpose of these exhibits is to point out what, Mr. Little?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, the purpose of the exhibits is to point out, first, whom these organizations or corporations may hire as lobbyists, particularly in Washington, to represent them before Congress; and when these contracts are made; in this case conversations with the intended lobbyist took place while he was still on the Government payroll.

The CHAIRMAN. Other than showing they would retain a man with experience and who was familiar with the inside workings of various committees, there isn't anything of any doubtful significance?

Mr. LITTLE. I see nothing in any of this correspondence to reflect on any Congressman.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't see that it gives us any information we don't already have. We know they employed Mr. Barger and he is registered as a lobbyist. I think we ought to get down to something that is material, and not waste our time.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed.

Mr. LANHAM. Not waste our time on the details of employment. If you know of somebody whom they employed who hasn't registered, I think that would be material.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that it shows clearly the technique of this organization as a lobbying organization; that they take advantage of the known experience and ability of a man that has worked with a congressional committee.

Mr. HART. Isn't that good judgment?

Mr. DOYLE. Sure it is.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the prerogative of any individual.

Mr. DOYLE. Furthermore, they hire him before he is off the Government payroll, just to make sure that he is coming to work for them—and I don't criticise them for that, either. It shows the technique to me, and a very wise technique.

Mr. BROWN. You can't object to that. Half of the Cabinet had positions all picked out and arranged for along last September and October, a year ago. They thought things were going bad. And I think some Republicans had positions picked out that they didn't get, too. But you can't blame fellows for sort of looking into the future now and then. Suppose it was a crime? What has that to do with lobbying?

Mr. DOYLE. It is very clearly a technique. That is what we are after.

Mr. BROWN. Technique?

Mr. DOYLE. We want to know the technique of lobbying, and that is one, to hire the best men they can get.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, I show you a letter dated January 5, 1949, from Mr. Barger to you.

Mr. HART. I think I recall that letter.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I came here with the desire to impede the progress of this committee as little as possible, and I have waited here for nearly an hour and a half in the hope that sometime you would get down to business. It seems to me that the alley you are going up here is not only far from anything having to do with lobbying, but I am not quite sure just what you are trying to do—whether you are trying to convict Mr. Barger or Mr. Hart, I don't know; but I would like to know just what I am expected to do here. I am prepared, and Mr. Hart is prepared, to assist in every way to give you legitimate information that will help you in your lobbying investigation; but I don't think Mr. Hart is on trial, I don't think Mr. Barger is on trial. Just where can I draw the line? Is this going to go on all day?

Mr. HALLECK. May we see that proposed exhibit?

(The exhibit was passed to Mr. Halleck.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will advise counsel for Mr. Hart that he has been retained by Mr. Hart to accompany him to the committee room and to answer questions that Mr. Hart may put to him.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Do I understand that I don't have the privilege of addressing you, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. At some future time you may. You have had that privilege already this morning.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed, Mr. Little?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; as soon as I get the exhibit back; I can go on to something else while the committee is reading it.

(Letter dated January 5, 1949, from Harry Barger to M. K. Hart is as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 5, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of the 4th, received this afternoon:

I did not mean to exhibit a true aversion to registering under the Lobbying Act, and will, of course, do so at your request. I merely meant to say that it goes against the grain for any citizen to have to register under that act, and brand himself as what most people consider bad, as a condition precedent to the doing by the citizen of a perfectly lawful thing—appealing to the reason and discretion of Congress and Members thereof on matters of proposed and pending legislation, as distinguished from the use of improper methods to influence legislation. As you say, the council has nothing to hide; and it is O. K. with me to register.

However, there is a possibility they may decide to pay this staff for some part of the month of January, in lieu of notice and accrued leave; and, since I have had no leave during the 2 years I have been here, I have every expectation and intention of taking whatever they may give me.

If this meets with your approval, then, I should like to defer registering until they decide what they will do in this matter, which should be done soon.

Meantime, I will get the blank, fill it out, and send it along for your approval before filing it.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. LITTLE. I call your attention, Mr. Hart, to Form C of 1949, to which you attached a rider. The rider says:

Money not for purpose of legislation: The National Economic Council has not heretofore registered under the lobbying act for the reason that it has not in any manner whatsoever, directly, or indirectly, solicited, collected or received money or any other thing of value to be used principally to aid, and its principal purpose is not to aid, the passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States or to influence directly or indirectly the passage or defeat of any legislation of the Congress of the United States.

This report is filed so that the council shall be free henceforth to engage in any such activity.

Mr. HART. What was the date of that, counsel?

Mr. LITTLE. The date is October 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. October 1949.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you recognize that, or would you like to look at the form?

Mr. HART. No; I recognize that. That statement was prepared by our counsel in New York, Mr. Bigelow, on the first report that we filed, and prior to that time we had not sent out any letters requesting contributions for any particular purpose. It, apparently, was copied onto the second statement, and maybe a later statement and, apparently, was overlooked by me in signing it, because we had, in fact, sent out two or three letters soliciting contributions to oppose the ITO fund, and that and other purposes was the purpose of sending out those letters.

Mr. LITTLE. In other words, you admit that you did solicit money prior to this report, for the purpose of lobbying for or against legislation?

Mr. HART. We sent out the letters, as I described, for lobbying, in opposition to the ITO legislation, and the inclusion of that was, certainly, an oversight, if it was found in the statement.

Mr. LITTLE. And, according to your October 1949 report, then, you were to engage freely in activity to raise money to defeat legislation or approve legislation?

Mr. HART. Yes; we certainly solicit money for the purpose of trying, as best we can, through education, to affect legislation. That is what we are for.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Little, had that provision appeared in previous registrations?

Mr. LITTLE. No. Mr. Hart is trying to explain it. He says it was a mistake and it hadn't appeared.

Mr. HART. Yes; it did appear in the copy you read, counsel, about 2 years before; how it got in this copy, I don't know.

Mr. LANHAM. The witness explained that it had been in previous reports. I just wanted to check on that.

Mr. LITTLE. I couldn't find it in the previous reports.

Mr. HART. You read it in the 1947 report.

Mr. LITTLE. You said you are not doing it, because you are not engaged principally in that. That is what you said, previously.

Mr. HART. This, apparently, was a copying of something that had been in a former report.

Mr. LANHAM. That is what I want to know, if it was.

Mr. HALLECK. The witness has indicated that it was included in a subsequent report by inadvertence.

Mr. LANHAM. I wanted to check and see if that is true.

Mr. LITTLE. In the solicitation of funds for lobbying, did you receive money from charitable institutions?

Mr. HART. I don't—

Mr. LITTLE. Or solicit charitable institutions?

Mr. HART. I don't recall that we ever solicited money from charitable institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did receive funds from charitable institutions?

Mr. HART. We have received some from foundations. As to what the nature of the foundations is, we don't necessarily know. I recall one or two instances where we solicited money from individuals and received checks from foundations.

Mr. LITTLE. How do you account for this, in your acceptance of funds, that the Public Health Foundation for Cancer and Blood Research, of Stamford, Conn., a charitable institution, would take moneys received for that purpose and convert to the council's purposes, for legislation?

Mr. HART. I don't know anything about the charter of that organization. I know that we solicited an individual, and this check was received—received, I think, in my absence, and deposited; and I probably didn't notice it until afterward.

Mr. BROWN. May I inquire—

Mr. HART. As to whether or not that foundation had the power to give us money, I don't know.

Mr. BROWN. Is it the contention that a charitable organization could not contribute to this organization—is that the contention?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, I am just—

Mr. BROWN. In other words, if they violated the law by making contributions? Or is it the contention that the contribution was in violation of law; is that it?

Mr. LITTLE. Of course, if this charity was in violation of the charter, the council would be in violation of the law in accepting the money and would, perhaps, have to kick it back, as it were, if the question were raised.

Mr. BROWN. Is that included in lobbying activities? Where somebody has made a contribution that they shouldn't have made, what has that to do with lobbying activities?

Mr. HALLECK. I don't think there is anything in the present law which would prohibit such contributions. There is pending now tax legislation that is designed to reach the holdings of certain educational and other organizations. Conceivably, they might think they had cause to present a case in opposition to that.

I am sure, Mr. Little, you wouldn't contend that they couldn't hire somebody to come down here and make that explanation to the Congress in justification of their position?

Mr. O'HARA. Assuming you are right, Mr. Little, how would Mr. Hart be charged with that? I mean, here is somebody that makes a contribution. If they made it in violation of their charter or their articles of incorporation, or of law, that is a question which should be attacked from the viewpoint of that individual's charitable organization.

Mr. LITTLE. It did strike me, and I supposed it would strike the committee to be strange, in the case of a cancer and blood research foundation.

Mr. BROWN. A lot of strange things happen in this world all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you explain in broad outline, Mr. Little, just what the ground work is for this line of questioning? Remember that Mr. Hart is not on trial.

I want to commend Mr. Hart for his full cooperation to the committee and the staff of investigators that went in there. He is one of the three gentlemen who, as he stated, at first reluctantly did not furnish the investigative staff with the financial statement; but on Tuesday, June 6, he did so deliver it.

I would like to have the counsel state to the committee just what the ground work is, in relation to the lobbying activities of this particular organization. We are in the indirect phase of lobbying now. Naturally, we are interested in finding out how they lobby and in what manner, and the source of contributions.

Mr. LITTLE. Since you have made that remark, Mr. Chairman, let me take this opportunity to say to Mr. Hart that he and his organization were one of the most cooperative of all the organizations we went into. We went into his office and we got along quite well, didn't we, Mr. Hart?

Mr. BROWN. We should give him credit for being patient, too.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, you said we were reluctant to give up certain information—

The CHAIRMAN. You said that you did not refuse, as I recall, on Tuesday, June 6, but you hesitated—I believe that was the term you used.

Mr. HART. Yes; and we felt that, in protection of our list of contributors, of whom we are very proud, they represent a fine list, we believe, of both individuals and corporations—but, to protect them, I

wrote a letter to Mr. Little, saying that if the committee should vote, after considering our objection, that it still wanted to see that list, we would send the list down; and after I had written that letter, and pending hearing further from either Mr. Little or you, Mr. Chairman, I was subpoenaed to bring it down.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, about the line of questioning here, it seems to me the only relevance it could have would be that counsel is trying to show that Mr. Hart was trying to cover up the names of contributors by using the name of certain charitable organizations. Now, I don't know whether that is the purpose, but it is the only relevancy I can see to the line of questioning.

Mr. LITTLE. Gentlemen, I think some of these things have to be developed in greater detail later.

I would like to refer now, Mr. Hart, to the minutes of your organization. Have you your minutes with you?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. These are the originals, and all we have, so if they go out of my hands, we hope they will be treated carefully.

Mr. LITTLE. No; I want you to keep your minutes.

Mr. Hart, you will note, by your minutes, that the majority of the quorums at your meetings are employees of your own organization, employees who work in the organization; is that not so?

Mr. HART. At times, that may have been so.

Mr. LITTLE. Well, since 19—

Mr. HART. Can you tell me of any particular time?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, since 1947, have you ever had a quorum where the majority of the directors present were other than employees of your organization?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; at our board meeting on June 8 of this year. A substantial majority of all those there were not employees.

Mr. LITTLE. That is June 8. Were there any other occasions?

Mr. HART. Would you like me to go through them, meeting by meeting?

Mr. LITTLE. Let me have the board of directors' meetings. Have you that there?

Mr. HART. I have here the minutes of a special meeting of the executive committee, March 17, 1947, and only one of those—only two of those present, out of five, were employees.

Mr. LITTLE. Two out of five?

Mr. HART. Two out of five.

Mr. LITTLE. Were employees?

Mr. HART. Yes. Employees, or who received money directly or indirectly from the council. One of those was myself, and one was a man who is on a very modest retainer for occasional advice, and is an outsider.

Mr. LITTLE. And the other meetings?

Mr. HART. At the meeting of, the annual meeting of directors, on June 12, 1947—

Mr. LITTLE. Will you read the names and identify them as to their employment with your organization?

Mr. HART. Griffiths, employee; Harding, on retainer; Hart, an employee; Morgan, no; Munn, no; Pearson, no; Taylor, no; Trombly, no; Miss Schilling and Miss Schmidt, no.

So there were three regularly employed, one on a small retainer, and six who are not employed.

Mr. LITTLE. Griffiths is one; Harding is two—he was employed.

Mr. HART. Harding is on a retainer. Schilling and Schmidt—three. I beg your pardon.

Mr. LITTLE. Schilling and Schmidt.

Mr. HART. Schilling and Schmidt, five.

Mr. LITTLE. Five out of how many?

Mr. HART. I think, at that time, there were—out of 10, out of 10; but as I say, one of those 5 is simply on a small retainer of \$100 a month, for occasional advice.

Mr. LITTLE. If you follow through, you will admit, won't you, Mr. Hart, that the majority of the directors that attend the meetings are in your employ, including yourself?

Mr. HART. No; I would say the evidence so far indicates the contrary.

On Friday, November 21, 1947, we had a meeting of the executive committee, and Hart and Harding were the only two out of six who are in the employ of the company, Harding being on a modest retainer only.

Mr. LITTLE. And the other—

Mr. HART. The others being McGuire—

Mr. LITTLE. I mean the other meetings.

Mr. HART. Yes, surely.

We had a meeting on December 16, 1947; Harding and Hart were the only two. There were only two others present, Taylor and Munn.

Mr. LITTLE. Isn't this Taylor occasionally paid?

Mr. HART. Never; never. He serves voluntarily.

Mr. LITTLE. How about the other meetings?

Here it is.

Mr. HART. This is members.

Mr. LITTLE. I am talking about members' meetings.

Mr. HART. Well, members' meetings, we make no effort to get members there, other than to invite them to send in proxies, if they can't attend; and we have had several years when not a single member has shown up.

Mr. LITTLE. And the only members then that come to the meeting are the employees of the organization?

Mr. HART. No, sir. Here there were, at this meeting, on June 8, 1948—

Mr. HALLECK. I object to the question, Mr. Chairman. I don't think it has any relevancy here, at all. Are we trying to prove that the organization is effective or not effective? I don't see where that could possibly help.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will move into the technique of lobbying.

Mr. LITTLE. The purpose is to show who sets the policy of the organization—whether it is Hart or the membership, or the directors.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Little, we agreed that we weren't concerned with the beliefs of people, whether we agreed with them or not; we are concerned with the way they try to promote those beliefs in connection with legislation in Washington.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart has just stated, "We make no effort to get members there." That was his exact testimony. Let's move on to the next subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Move into the technique of lobbying, please.

Mr. HART. I think I might say this, Mr. Chairman, if I may, before we leave it, that in an organization like ours, where the members are giving their time, it is frequently hard to get them to attend many of our meetings, many of our directors coming from other cities, some from as far as Texas, and other places. Occasionally they come. We had a man from Texas the other day at a meeting. But, generally speaking, it is hard, and we have to get their advice and help to a considerable extent by mail or long-distance phone; and we solicit it frequently.

Mr. BROWN. Doesn't that same situation pertain to trustees of universities—of the American Red Cross and others?

Mr. HART. I think it does.

Mr. BROWN. And to a lot of other organizations, as well?

Mr. HART. Yes. These men get nothing out of coming, except that they are interested.

Mr. BROWN. Sometimes public officials are members of the board.

Mr. LITTLE. I will ask you now, Mr. Hart, if the legislative activities that I now mention are not part of the legislative work that you have been acting on:

First, you and your organization have been favoring a stronger labor bill, stronger than the Taft-Hartley law?

Mr. HART. Well, I don't know what you mean by "stronger."

Mr. LITTLE. Well—

Mr. HART. We believe in a law that will not leave the working people of the country under the absolute domination of a handful of men.

Mr. LITTLE. Are you in favor of amending the Taft-Hartley law?

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I thought we agreed we would not go into what a man's beliefs were, but want to know how he lobbies.

The CHAIRMAN. We are interested more in the techniques of lobbying, rather than their point of view on the issues that they have lobbied for or against.

Mr. LITTLE. Secondly, are you interested in income taxes.

Mr. HART. Yes; yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Third, in DP's and immigration?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Fourth, the FEPC?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Fifth, Federal aid to education?

Mr. HART. Yes. I think our council letters show what we are interested in, counsel.

Mr. LITTLE. I want to get this on record.

Sixth, oppose public housing?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Seventh, United Nations?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Eighth, ITO and ILO?

Mr. HART. Right.

Mr. LITTLE. Ninth, rent control and price control?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Aid to Spain?

Mr. HART. I would say, a more sensible policy in our relations with Spain, as tending to be of the most vital importance to us—not because of any interest in Spain.

Mr. LITTLE. Tax on co-ops—twelfth?

Mr. HART. We have referred to that on one or more occasions, I think.

Mr. LITTLE. The Marshall plan?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Creation of the State of Israel?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Opposition to the Federal Council of Churches?

Mr. HART. No; no opposition to the Federal Council of Churches. Opposition to the views of certain men we believe to be misguided, who are high up in the Federal Council of Churches.

Mr. LITTLE. Opposition to the Episcopal Church and a part of the Catholic Church?

Mr. HART. No. I am an Episcopalian, myself.

Mr. LITTLE. I mean, to certain policies.

Mr. HART. I have been extremely active, as vestryman and warden of my church; and I have been a church worker to a moderate extent; but I am opposed to the Episcopal leaders, bishops or otherwise, running after false gods.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. LITTLE. Unpacking the Supreme Court?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. Heretofore, in the course of the examination, I think, very wisely, the committee has proceeded on the proposition, which has, certainly, ample precedent in the law, that the pamphlets sent out, or the letters sent out, are the best evidence of the lobbying activities or the techniques of lobbying.

Now, I don't know whether it is proposed to put documents that have been issued by this organization in the record or not.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. Personally, it would seem to me to be much better practice to follow the practice that we have heretofore followed, and let those documents go into the record and let them speak for themselves, for each one to determine as to what bearing they have upon lobbying or the technique of lobbying, or as to any correction that should be made in the law, rather than to have the counsel and the witness undertaking to contend with one another here as to their interpretation of the documents.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, if counsel would permit the witness, Mr. Hart, to see the summation of the legislative positions taken by National Economic Council, we could expedite the matter.

Mr. LITTLE. There are only a few more.

The CHAIRMAN. Incorporate them all into the record. I believe there is before the members a summation of the positions taken.

Mr. BROWN. A list of what he favors and opposes?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. If that is a fair compilation of the legislative positions, let it go into the record, with the documents and pamphlets to support this list. Then we can move into the techniques employed.

(The pamphlets are in the files of the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. That was prepared by our staff on the basis of documents that Mr. Hart furnished to the investigators.

Mr. HART. For the sake of the record—

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, in fairness to the witness, and as I look over this list—and I never saw it before, I don't know who prepared it, and I don't care—and it is obvious from looking at it, that Mr. Hart's organization and I have not seen alike on many of the great issues before the country; and I have no quarrel with him about that. But it is apparent, from the questions just asked by counsel, in respect to this listing here, "Against Episcopal Church policies," that the witness would feel required to make some explanation of that.

Again, I insist, Mr. Chairman, that the documents, that, I take it, would be the basis for conclusions that our staff has drawn here, would be the best evidence; and, for myself, I would rather undertake, if it is pertinent to our inquiry, to determine from the documents than to have some analysis that is just one man's opinion, and may not be the other man's opinion.

Mr. O'HARA. I feel that way, Mr. Chairman, also.

Mr. BROWN. We don't question his right.

Mr. O'HARA. He has a right to feel either way.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is whether or not his position on these things coincides with the list as furnished, and we shall incorporate into the record the documents pertaining to the positions that led our staff to make this summation.

Mr. HALLECK. As a matter of fact, Mr. Little knows, because he is a good lawyer, obviously, that you couldn't go into a court of law and undertake to establish a disputed fact in this fashion. You would be required immediately to furnish the documents.

I take it that the conclusions that are arrived at, as indicated, have been arrived at because someone looked over the files of the organization, the pamphlets or documents that they have put out, and have concluded that this is a fair statement of their position, for and against.

All I am saying, Mr. Chairman, is that in the interest of orderly procedure and fairness all-around, that it would be better to follow the practice that we have followed heretofore, which is to put in the documents, which show, first of all, that there has been certain lobbying going on; and then they show how it has been carried on. To my mind, that is the relevant part of the work of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart, do you care to comment on any of those items there? I believe they have been taken from statements filed with the Clerk of the House and were documents furnished to the investigators of our committee when they examined your records and documents. If you have any comment on any of them, we shall be glad to receive it from you at this time.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I thought I heard counsel here ask me if I was opposed to the Episcopal Church and the Catholic Church, and I commented on what he said about the Episcopal Church; but I did not on the Catholic Church. I am certainly not opposed to the Catholic Church. I have very many warm friends among high Catholics, such warm friends, in fact, that two or three of them were able, 3 years ago, to arrange for me, a Protestant, a private audience with the Pope, in Rome; and I think that, by itself, would indicate that I stand well with the Catholic Church. I am not a

Catholic; I don't expect to become one. But I am not opposed, certainly, to the Catholic Church. I have great admiration for its stand against communism and great admiration for it for other reasons.

On these others here, additional restrictions on labor unions, yes; removal of the present Supreme Court, and barring of its Justices from holding judicial office, we have expressed the opinion that the Supreme Court is dedicated to socialism, and the only way that—the only thing to do would be to abolish the Supreme Court by constitutional amendment, and, by the same amendment, set up another Supreme Court, by whatever name.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of the Chair?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. Is it the intent and purpose of the committee to have an explanation of everything he favors, and everything he opposes? As the gentleman from Indiana said, I see some things he favors that I don't favor at all; I see he opposes some things that I don't oppose at all. But, again, that seems to be the right of every American citizen, to disagree, and to stand for or against whatever he wishes.

The question in my mind is, what he has done about it in the way of lobbying activity. He has a right, as a lobbyist, or as a private citizen, to express his viewpoint to Members of Congress. Now, if he is a lobbyist, has he filed and made disclosure as to his activities—that is the only question. It isn't what he stands for or against.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that he asked Mr. Hart to comment individually, if he cared to, on these items; and if he didn't care to, why, all right; and the documents, of course, will be incorporated into the record.

Now, he has commented on one; and if he cares to comment on any of the others, that is his privilege.

As I have stated repeatedly, we are not probing into opinions or ideas or beliefs or attitudes, but, for the purpose of setting the record straight, we do have their own statements and their own pamphlets and news letters which state their positions. We are interested in lobbying techniques, and in this case, in the fund-raising of this particular organization.

It is entirely within the discretion of Mr. Hart to comment. If he doesn't, why, we can pass over that.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, of course, I respectfully disagree with this line of questioning, as a matter of committee procedure. As I recall the hearings that I have attended, it is a complete departure from what we have heretofore done in the way of proceeding. Heretofore, we have not sought to engage the witnesses in expressions of their opinions, one way or the other. Now, unless my mental processes are sadly lacking—and on this occasion, I am constrained to say they are not—this whole line of questioning is calculated just to inquire into what the witness believes or doesn't believe about some proposition. I don't think that is material. I will sit here and listen to Mr. Hart, if he wants to talk about it, and if the committee wants to hear him, in its discretion, in that line of presentation.

Mr. BROWN. It will be a long session.

The CHAIRMAN. When Mr. Nelson and Mr. Cortright were here, they put into the record a full list of legislation they favored and opposed, with individual comments on it.

Mr. HALLECK. It is in the record, but the exhibits were extracted from the files of those organizations, and such exhibits as the chairman and the staff decided should go into the record, for the purpose of completing the record, were inserted in the record without objection, as I recall it, from any member of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I might add that, likewise, the statements that they submitted to the committee were made a part of the record. The record will show that.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, my only comment is that if we get a speech on each one of these subjects, we are going to be here a long time.

Mr. LITTLE. We have arrived at an agreement here, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart may comment, if he wishes; if not, we will pass it.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, if this exhibit is to be in the record, then, certainly, in fairness, we should let the witness reply.

Mr. HALLECK. This is not an exhibit. This is just something handed to us, prepared by the staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Supported by documents.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart and I have agreed on the issues on which they were lobbying. I have handed it to Judge Lanham. With the correction, I will ask that that be admitted.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I have stricken out three or four items that I don't think are quite properly there. As to the rest, I can talk on any or all; but I don't think I could add anything to our publications which you staff has already seen.

(Document as amended by Mr. Hart, identifying legislative positions taken by the National Economic Council is as follows:)

LEGISLATIVE POSITIONS TAKEN BY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC., AS SHOWN IN STATEMENTS FILED UNDER FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT AND IN CORRESPONDENCE FROM NEO FILES

FAVORS

Additional restrictions on labor unions.
Removal of present Supreme Court and barring of its Justices from holding judicial office.
Limiting of Government's taxing power through constitutional amendment.
A ceiling on income-tax levies.
Aid to Spain.
Withdrawal of Federal claims to tidelands in favor of States.
Taxation of cooperatives.

OPPOSES

Federal aid to education.
Displaced-persons legislation.
Further immigration.
Public housing.
Middle-income housing bill.
United States participation in UN.
United States participation in ITO.
United States participation in ILO.
United States ratification of Genocide Convention.
FEPC, anti-lynching bill, and other civil-rights measures.
Rent control.
Marshall plan.
United States support for an independent Israel.
Social security.

Farm-price support.
Point 4 program.
Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.
TVA.
Atomic Energy Act.
World Federation resolution.

OTHER POSITIONS (REFLECTED IN SAME MATERIAL)

For:

Private enterprise.
Private property.
Individual initiative.
American independence.

Against:

Communism.
World government.
United Nations.
Bipartisan foreign policy.
Militant Zionism.
Antitrust suits against A. & P., Du Pont.

Mr. LITTLE. On these issues which we have agreed that you lobby on, I would like to have you state how you do the lobbying; but before I do that, may I ask you a leading question on your technique of lobbying: You do lobby by congressional appearances?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. And not only you, but the other men employed by you as lobbyists appear before Congress, or congressional committees, and state your position?

Mr. HART. That is right.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Little, appearing before a congressional committee is not considered as lobbying, by the statute.

The CHAIRMAN. Just mere appearance.

Mr. LITTLE. I understand that.

Mr. HALLECK. You used the word "lobbying" in connection with it, and I wouldn't want the record to go unchallenged, because the ordinary citizen, who comes down to testify before a committee, frequently comes down at the invitation of the committee, and the statute specifically exempts him from any compliance as a lobbyist with the statute.

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Apropos of what my distinguished colleague has said, I think, on the broad interpretation of section 307 of the Lobbying Act, we ought to have this witness state all means and techniques taken by his organization, directly or indirectly, intended to influence Congress. Whether or not appearing before congressional committees is termed lobbying, I think, in the mind of probably the ordinary person it would be considered as an attempt, directly or indirectly, to influence Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. Isn't that the principal issue here?

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly, under section 307 and section 308, it is an attempt to influence the passage or defeat of legislation. If an appearance before a committee is not an attempt to influence legislation, what is?

Mr. LITTLE. I don't think Mr. Hart will deny that that is the purpose when appearing before committees.

Mr. HART. Yes, indeed.

Mr. DOYLE. You consider it, Mr. Hart, as part of your legitimate lobbying activity, do you not?

Mr. HART. Well, Mr. Doyle, not answering within the technical meaning of the statute, necessarily, I don't know about that—you gentlemen know that better than I do—but we do the following things: We issue our publications, which go to Members of Congress, and go to some thousands of people all over the country, and from time to time, in those letters, or in other communications, we ask them to communicate with their Congressman if their views agree with ours; we appear before committees; we have speakers that we send out as and when we can. That, I think, sums up our lobbying activities.

Mr. LITTLE. You are forgetting the Upton Close radio program.

Mr. HART. That terminated, I think, counsel, before this period.

Mr. LITTLE. After the Lobbying Act?

Mr. HART. The last appearance, yes, I would say so, I have appeared on the radio one or more times. I have appeared on one or two television programs. But I took those to be all under the head of speaking, sending out speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. What other lobbying techniques do you want to bring up, Counsel?

Mr. LITTLE. You have the semimonthly letter, the Action Report, Miscellaneous Report, and the Confidential Memorandum, together with certain pamphlets?

Mr. HART. What Confidential Memorandum do you speak of, Counsel?

Mr. LITTLE. The memorandum on your trips abroad.

Mr. HART. Well, those were never intended to be lobbying. Those were documents, mimeographed, 20 or 30 pages apiece, designed to give some low-down on conditions as I had found them in each of those countries.

Mr. LITTLE. To whom were they mailed?

Mr. HART. They were mailed in each case, as a confidential document, to persons we thought would be interested, and each one was numbered, it was marked "Confidential." It is all right, there was nothing in them that we had any hesitation, or I had any hesitation, in saying, "This was my own work," but they were not sent with any particular view to influencing legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how large in number?

Mr. HART. Three or four hundred each, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. About 400 each?

Mr. HART. Yes; sent to personal friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Sent to Members of Congress?

Mr. HART. No; not as such. I think, a half dozen Members of both Houses, perhaps, were on the list, and got them, but that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a half dozen?

Mr. HART. Just as soon send it to anybody interested. I didn't want to send it out to anybody who didn't first indicate his interest.

Mr. LITTLE. Those confidential memoranda were sent to Members of Congress to influence them on certain legislation and American foreign policy?

Mr. HART. Well, it was more to inform them, Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this: You would agree, wouldn't you, that it was indirectly, in your mind, influencing their thinking, as Members of Congress—that is one reason you sent them?

Mr. HART. Call it that.

Mr. DOYLE. Why, yes, of course. I don't criticize you for it, sir.

Mr. HART. No; no. Maybe you are right.

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly.

Mr. HART. Maybe you are right; but the principal thing was to convey to them the benefit, whatever it might have been, of my observations abroad.

Mr. DOYLE. You compared conditions abroad, you gave them the low-down on conditions abroad, as you saw them, in comparison with our own Nation, somewhat?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You were at least indirectly making comparisons?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; and in comparison with the conditions I had observed on previous trips abroad. I have been going abroad since 1897.

Mr. DOYLE. I suppose these three or four hundred people you sent those to were personal friends and acquaintances—you had known them over a term of years, and you realized those two or three hundred people were important, thinking people, and that they, in turn, would communicate their thinking to other people, including members of the Congress?

Mr. HART. I suppose, whenever anybody writes anything, he has that hope.

Mr. DOYLE. Surely. I don't criticize you. You hoped those things would be influential in connection with our own national picture, did you?

Mr. HART. I will concede that, as a part of the thought, though the major thought was simply to send them something that might be of interest to them.

Mr. DOYLE. Indirectly, you had the other thought, too?

Mr. HART. Just as I say.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything new in the technique employed by the National Economic Council, Mr. Little, that you care to bring out? The committee would like to complete that before moving on to the phase of fund raising.

Mr. LITTLE. I call Mr. Hart's attention to council letter No. 183, "Wanted—An American Foreign Policy."

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; that is a copy of it.

Mr. LITTLE. I ask you to read page 4 of that letter, in connection with your idea of what we should do about the present state of affairs in America as related to foreign policy.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter, Mr. Hart, please?

Mr. HART. The date is January 15, 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. January 15, 1948.

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. Page 4, "A Concrete Suggestion."

Mr. HART. Yes, counsel. Let me say this—

Mr. LITTLE. Will you read it, first, Mr. Hart, and then make comment on it—or shall I read it?

The CHAIRMAN. Let Mr. Hart make his comment.

Mr. HART. This statement was made solely with reference to communism. Now, certain commentators in the country, which it is unnecessary to name, have referred to this on a number of occasions and tried to make out that the statement was made with reference to Zionists, with which it had nothing to do. The discussion prior to this passage has to do with communism only.

I say (reading) :

Let it not be doubted for a moment that the Communists possess effective weapons. Laws like the New York State Sullivan law which tend to disarm all save the lawless, forbidding even the ownership by private persons of machine guns, we may be sure have been ignored by the Communists.

A CONCRETE SUGGESTION

We have one concrete suggestion to make to every citizen who is impressed by the potential danger. Let him possess himself of one or more guns, making sure that they are in good condition, that he and other members of his family know how to use them, and that he has a reasonable supply of ammunition. To buy and possess such guns will, in most States, require a license. In New York State, for instance, such a license is obtainable, outside of Greater New York, from the county judge; in New York City from the police department. In other States the statutes should be consulted as to how one may lawfully obtain and keep a gun.

These licenses apply, certainly in most places, only to guns that may be concealed—that is to pistols of the usual sort. No license is required to own a rifle or shotgun. Every citizen should make certain that he has lawfully in his possession either a pistol or a rifle, and if he has more than one it will do no harm.

It is not without significance that in recent years left-wingers have constantly pressed for passage of laws requiring a license to own a gun, or, in some instances, forbidding private citizens to have guns.

I refer to Federal legislation, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We were just commenting on that phase of it here, that the Congress for years has tried to get a registration of firearms.

Mr. HART. (Continuing reading:)

The same influences have urged Federal legislation requiring Federal registration of all firearms privately owned—which of course would enable the Communists to know exactly who possessed weapons.

Much of the reason for the massacring of private citizens and for the looting and other violence that took place in Spain prior to and in the early days of the Civil War, took place because such statutes had been passed and private citizens deprived of the only means they had available to protect themselves.

Let American not make the same mistake.

In certain jurisdictions it will be found relatively easy to obtain gun licenses; in others more difficult. Where it seems too difficult suspicion would be warranted as to why. Interested citizens might well counsel together to see what could be done about it.

In this connection it is of interest that advertisements have appeared in newspapers disclosing that some people are interested in purchasing large quantities of second-hand guns. In one case we heard of we caused inquiry to be made, and the source of the demand for these guns could not be found. Possibly they were intended to be sent to Palestine, as was the TNT discovered by accident the other day in a Palestine-bound ship in New York harbor. Possibly it was an organized effort to draw away as many guns as possible from private hands.

But in any event we advise all our readers to proceed lawfully to equip themselves so they and their households may not be defenseless if what happened in Spain and France happens here. It will be better to have guns, and have them ready, and not have to use them, than to have the need for them arise and not have them.

The Lord helps those who help themselves.

Mr. HALLECK. Did you anticipate that that would have any effect on pending legislation in Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you anticipate that that might lead to the formation of a Broadway play known as "Annie Get Your Gun"?

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, this was written 2 years ago, I can't recall what the anticipation was.

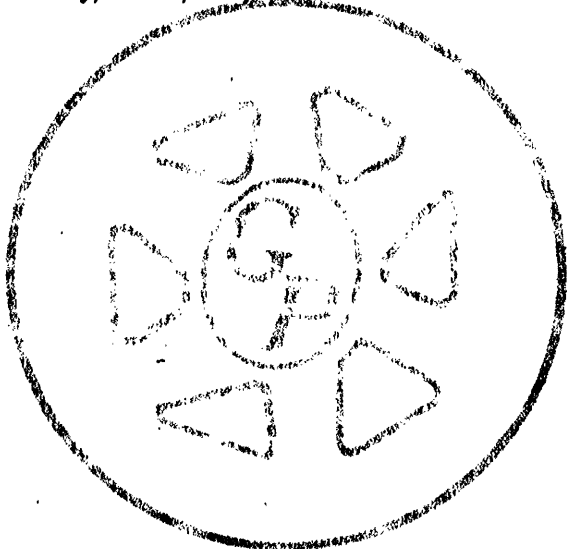
Mr. HALLECK. I don't recall any legislation pending that would have been affected by anyone's individual operation in that regard. Personally, I wouldn't have written the letter—but that is neither here nor there.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now 12 o'clock, and the committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, at which time the fund-raising angle of the NEC will be gone into.

Mr. DOYLE. Before the committee adjourns, may I request that, if arrangements have not been made, that there be introduced the publications, in the last year, for distribution and circulation. I would like to have those introduced into the files of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the list of legislative positions as amended by Mr. Hart, together with the documentation and pamphlets substantiating this list, and the letter from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart, dated January 5, 1949, will be received into the record.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Wednesday, June 21, 1950.)



LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1950

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Albert, Doyle, Halleck, Brown, and O'Hara.

Also present: Louis Little and Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We will now resume our hearing into the activities of the National Economic Council, Inc., an organization engaged primarily in the dissemination of persuasive political and economic opinions bearing on national issues which it hopes to influence through pressure from citizens upon Congress and upon candidates for office.

Yesterday we were able to agree on the issues on which this organization has taken a definite stand. There was some question raised as to the relevancy of the views of the organization to our investigation, since we are primarily concerned with determining the adequacy of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. We are not trying to probe opinions, ideas, attitudes, or beliefs.

Nevertheless, I believe it is certainly relevant for us to have a clear picture of what a lobbying organization stands for so that we can better understand the techniques employed to further those views. Otherwise, we would be acting in an intellectual vacuum.

As I said yesterday, we are not "trying" Mr. Hart or the National Economic Council in any sense, and particularly not for his views. He has been forthright in presenting and defending those views and in allowing us to dig into the intimate details of his organization; so long as he feels there is nothing to hide, I do not think we have to pussyfoot about inquiring into the organization and its work.

This hearing is part of a new series into the indirect type of lobbying represented by appeals to public opinion. The National Economic Council is one of many organizations operating in this sphere and we are fortunate to be able to show its techniques as an example.

Today we are going into the fund-raising methods of this organization. The material is interesting and enlightening. I think one point might well be made in connection with it.

Congressional committees in the past have frequently expressed skepticism about the sincerity of various lobbying organizations which

vigorously solicit funds. Mr. Hart's organization is certainly vigorous in its solicitation of funds. The implication of past investigations toward many activities of this sort has been that some organizations so engaged were set up primarily to provide employment for their promoters. I think it is safe to say that this is not true in the case of Mr. Hart; that instead, we have here a zeal which arises from deep convictions. Whether those convictions are right or wrong is not for us as a committee to determine, of course. The record can speak for itself to those who are interested in making their own determinations.

The fund-raising techniques of lobbying organizations are of great importance and concern to us, however, particularly in relation to the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act; especially the sources of the funds that support these organizations.

We will soon introduce into our record and make public a list of documents from the files of the National Economic Council, Inc. They bear on the techniques used by National Economic Council in seeking to raise money for its activities, particularly from business executives and from corporations.

A whole series of these exhibits is comprised of correspondence between Mr. Hart of the National Economic Council on the one hand, and Mr. Irénée and Mr. Lamot du Pont. These were not selected for special attention because they involve two members of one of America's greatest industrial families. They were selected instead because, first, the two du Ponts are among the most generous individual supporters of National Economic Council activities and because in this particular correspondence the essential and basic facts of National Economic Council fund-raising techniques are vividly illustrated. I believe it is very important for me to stress that.

Other letters and documents to be discussed are similarly included because of the significance of what they say rather than to whom or by whom it is said. We have literally hundreds of separate documents from National Economic Council's files and the selection of those to be used here had to be made on some basis. The selection was made on the basis of the significance of their contents as illustrations of the National Economic Council's operations and fund-raising techniques.

First, I would like to introduce into the record a staff report dated June 6, 1950, giving a summation of the activities of the National Economic Council as shown in its lobbying report to Congress. Every member has had that staff report on his desk for a number of days. I will also put in the record at this point a supplement to that report bringing it up to date by including the first-quarter reports of 1950.

(The material above-referred to is as follows:)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

JUNE 6, 1950.

The National Economic Council, Inc., 7501 Empire State Building, New York, for 17 months after the adoption of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 maintained through its president, Merwin K. Hart, that it did not carry on any activities subject to that act, but it subsequently registered as a lobbying organization on January 21, 1948, "so that the council shall be free henceforth to engage in any such activity." It filed a retroactive initial financial report for the period from August 1, 1946, to December 31, 1947, and has filed quarterly reports regularly ever since.

Organized as a nonprofit corporation under the membership corporation law

of New York State, the NEC has as its purpose, according to Hart's own registration under the Lobbying Act "to aid in developing an informed public opinion on the major political, social, and economic problems of the Nation."

During the Eighty-first Congress, according to NEC material Hart has filed with the Clerk of the House, it said it "has been carrying on its effort before congressional committees and with individual legislators to defeat Truman program for a socialized 'welfare' state, often called 'creeping socialism.'" The specific legislation which Hart and other NEC registered lobbyists have from time to time reported seeking to influence includes virtually all major foreign and domestic political issues.

Financial reports

NEC has reported collecting approximately \$140,000 in 1940 and spending, for purposes it believes allocable to lobbying, including some expenditures it says were "not for lobbying at all," a total of \$41,067.47.

Over the entire period of its reports from August 1, 1940, to December 31, 1949, it reported total contributions and receipts from all sources amounting to \$422,069.18, an average of \$123,795.84 per year or \$10,316.32 a month. These figures approximate the average expenditures reported by NEC during the period between August 1, 1940, and September 30, 1948, when it followed the practice of reporting all expenditures, which totaled \$264,859.77 for the 26-month period or an average of \$10,186.75 per month. Beginning October 1, 1948, NEC reported only that portion of its expenditures it considered allocable to lobbying, and for the 15 months to December 31, 1949, these totaled only \$54,063.21, or an average of \$3,604.21 per month.

Hart's salary

Hart's salary as president of NEC seems to have varied widely. When he registered as a lobbyist in February 1947 he stated that his salary would be "nominal," and said that "during calendar year 1946, compensation amounted to \$800." For 1947, he listed salary payments totaling \$6,583.31; for 1948, \$6,540.84; and for 1949, \$17,083.30. NEC has reported only portions of Hart's salary as an NEC lobbying expenditure and for 1949 listed allocated salary payments to Hart totaling \$4,020.85.

Receipts from sales of literature

NEC did not begin differentiating in its lobby reports between contributions and its receipts from subscriptions or sales of literature until it filed for the fourth quarter of 1948, when it first listed separately its receipts other than contributions. From October 1, 1948, through December 31, 1949, it reported receipts from subscriptions and sales of literature totaling \$72,780.92, as against contributions during that same period of \$83,222.18. In three of the five calendar quarters involved, "other receipts" were greater than all contributions reported.

Large contributors

Forty corporations or business concerns, 24 individuals, a charities fund, and a cancer and blood research foundation are listed in NEC quarterly reports as having made a total of 104 contributions of \$500 or more between August 1, 1948, and December 31, 1949. The amounts of these individual contributions were not given; they appear to have averaged about \$1,000 each, however, according to total figures which were submitted.

Multiple contributors of \$500 or more, and the number of such contributions each, included Empire State, Inc., New York (8); Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh (5); Lone State Cement Corp., New York (5); Texas Co., New York (3); Mohawk Carpet Mills, Amsterdam, N. Y. (3); Pure Oil Co., Chicago (3); William Volker & Co., Kansas City, Mo. (2); Union Carbide & Carbon Co., New York (2); Tobin Packing Co., Rochester, N. Y. (2); Armco Steel Corp., Middletown, Ohio (2); C. M. Funk, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York (4); C. S. Payson, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York (4); John J. Raskob, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York (3); Irénée du Pont, Wilmington, Del. (3); Lamont du Pont, Wilmington, Del. (2); William Volker Charities Fund, Kansas City, Kans. (2); Mrs. G. G. Whitney, 75 Highland Street, Milton, Mass. (2).

Other contributors of \$500 or more reported by NEC: Public Health Foundation for Cancer and Blood Research, 1 Atlantic Street, Stamford, Conn.; S. H. Kress & Co., New York; Vick Chemical Co., New York; Monsanto Chemical Co., St. Louis; John S. Kemper Co., Chicago; Harnischfeger Corp., Milwaukee; Sears

Roebuck & Co., Chicago; McCrory Stores, New York; Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., Topeka, Kans.; Brewing Corp. of America, Cleveland; Acme Steel Co., Chicago; Sharon Steel Corp., Sharon, Pa.; Carter Carburetor Corp., St. Louis; Air Maze Corp., Cleveland; Standard Railway Equipment Manufacturing Co., Chicago; Pressed Steel Tank Co., Milwaukee; Stockham Pipe Fittings, Birmingham, Ala.; Eddy Paper Corp., Chicago; Pittston Co., Hoboken, N. J.; Alabama Mills, Birmingham; Perfection Stove Co., Cleveland; Chapel Hill Gas System, Dallas, Tex.; Rock-Ledge Institute, South Norwalk, Conn.; Beech Air Craft, Wichita, Kans.; American Cyanamid Co., New York; S. M. Swenson & Sons, 52 Wall Street, New York; Bucyrus Erie Co., South Milwaukee, Wis.; J. I. Case Co., Racine, Wis.; S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc., Racine, Wis.; Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co., Milwaukee; Crampton & Knowles Loom Works, Worcester, Mass.; Miss Ella Mable Clark, 831 Madison Avenue, New York; John W. Blodgett, Jr., Public Service Building, Portland, Oreg.; W. Tip Davis, Box 2493, Honolulu, T. H.; Walter Regnery, care of Western Shade Cloth Co., Chicago; Dr. S. A. Brown, 75 East Fifty-fifth Street, New York; George E. Warren, 120 Broadway, New York; Ira L. Anderson, American Provident Society, 60 Beaver Street, New York; George Vidal, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago; Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee, 42 Rockview Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; R. E. Wood, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago; Albert W. Hawkes, Belgrove Avenue, Kearney, N. J.; Godfrey L. Cabot, 77 Franklin Street, Boston; N. E. Nelson, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago; Mrs. M. K. Hart, Winship Road, New Hartford, N. Y.; G. S. Anderson, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago; Ralph P. Mershon, 2000 Tiger Trail Avenue, Miami; E. G. Howes, 321 Summer Street, Boston; W. H. Regnery, Joanna Western Mills Co., Chicago.

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SUPPLEMENT TO STAFF REPORT OF JUNE 6, 1950, ON LOBBYING REPORTS FILED BY
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.

For the first calendar quarter of 1950, the National Economic Council, Inc., reported to the Clerk of the House under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, that it had received \$30,777.80 and had spent \$30,633.87. In each case, however, it stated that only one-third of these figures represented receipts and expenditures for lobbying purposes.

The receipts so allocated, representing one-third of all receipts from these sources, included dues, \$1,837.08; gifts, \$7,235.33; sales of literature, subscriptions, etc., \$4,188.77; other receipts, \$47.05; total, \$13,259.13.

Expenditures allocated for lobbying purposes, representing one-third of all expenditures for these specific purposes, included public relations and advertising \$0; wages, \$8,567.01; gifts made, \$0; printing matter, \$886.78; office overhead, \$2,086.60; telephone and telegraph, \$467.62; travel, \$805.70; all others, \$307.69; total, \$13,211.20.

Contributors of \$500 or more during the first calendar quarter of 1950 (with those listed in the attached report as having previously* made large contributions shown with an asterisk) included Pure Oil Co.,* H. C. M. Dawes, president, 25 East Wacker Drive, Chicago; Carter Carburetor Corp.,* Hugh C. Wood, president, St. Louis, Mo.; Beech Aircraft Corp.,* Wichita, Kans.; John J. Raskob,* Empire State Building, New York; the Judge Armstrong Foundation, Southside Station, Fort Worth, Tex.; W. Howard Wright, Schenectady Varnish (sic) Co., Schenectady, N. Y.; J. I. Case Co.,* 700 State Street, Racine, Wis.; Empire State, Inc.,* Empire State Building, New York; Industrial Rayon Corp., Hayden B. Kline, president, Cleveland; Texas Co.,* 135 East Forty-second Street, New York; Lone Star Cement Corp.,* 342 Madison Avenue, New York; Armeto Steel Corp.,* Charles R. Hook, Middletown, Ohio; N. E. Nelson,* 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago.

As president of NEC, Hart reported that the organization during the first 3 months of 1950 had sought to influence congressional action on "various measures before the Congress affecting the preservation of private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative, and affecting the preservation of American enterprise." He listed the social-security bill, two antilynching bills, the Senate concurrent resolution on world federation, Point 4, civil rights, and the Genocide Convention. He added: "It is possible we have uttered something either for or against other measures in the course of our activities during this quarter, which measures we cannot recall at the present time."

Publications printed by NEC during the first 3 months of 1950, as reported to the Clerk of the House, included 12,000 copies of a pamphlet on the Genocide Convention; 10,000 copies entitled "Overwhelming Threat of Government"; 11,000 copies entitled "Why Cut Our Economic Throats."

Registered lobbyists of NEC

Merwin K. Hart, registered February 25, 1947; salary first quarter of 1950; \$4,800 (one-third of which is considered for lobbying purposes); expenses, \$81.55 (travel).

Harry S. Barger, 606 National Press Building, registered February 2, 1949; salary first quarter of 1950, \$1,000.08; expenses, \$50.85.

Edward Jerome, attorney, National Economic Council, New York, registered February 20, 1950; retainer, \$818.18 (of which 50 percent is regarded for lobbying purposes); expenses, \$30.40.

H. McAllister Griffith, 101 Sixty-seventh Drive, Forest Hills, N. Y.; registered June 1, 1948; salary, \$1,205.75 (of which 50 percent is for lobbying); expenses, \$205.34. This registration has been terminated as of March 31.

Edward B. McEnerney, National Economic Council, New York; registered (with Secretary of Senate only), October 14, 1949; no lobbying reports ever filed.

**MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL—
Resumed**

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman—
The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. I wonder if the people under investigation have looked at these staff reports and if they find that they are in line with what they consider the facts to be or not?

The CHAIRMAN. They may examine them. I think Mr. Hart has had a copy.

Mr. HALLECK. I would like to inquire of counsel, who has studied the act very carefully, whether or not there is anything in the existing law that seeks in any way to control or regulate or limit the manner in which, or the persons from whom money is sought by organizations engaged in lobbying.

Mr. LITTLE. I have found nothing in the act.

Mr. HALLECK. So, there would be nothing in the way of any illegality that could be involved in any investigation as to the methods by which money is raised or the persons from whom it happens to be raised.

Mr. LITTLE. That would be my opinion.

Mr. HALLECK. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, whether it is contemplated that the law be revised to impose some regulations as to the method.

The CHAIRMAN. That certainly was not the intent of the Chair, to make any such recommendation. I don't believe that we want to curb or regulate. I have contended all along that I believe the Congress and the people have the right to know who contributes to these organizations, the sources of the funds; and I believe in having a two-sided investigation. When we have the Americans for Democratic Action here for full hearing, we will have the counterpart of an organization similar to the National Economic Council, or the Committee for Constitutional Government. Of course, the precedent has been set by members of the committee in making inquiry of persons who have testified formally before the committee, especially as to the sources of their funds, even down to \$5 and \$10 amounts.

Mr. HALLECK. I understand that has been done. I am not going to raise any question about this procedure, but I did wonder, for the purposes of the record, just what the purpose might be, because, speaking only for myself, I have not been too sure that, since there is nothing in the law that undertakes to regulate the collection of money for lobbying purposes, it simply requires the reporting, and since it probably is not contemplated that we would amend the law to impose any such regulation, because I could see manifold difficulties in that, I don't know what the real purpose is to be served by going into this in great detail—but, as far as I am concerned, I am not going to object to it.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. It seems to me one of the purposes of this investigation was to throw the light of publicity upon the whole field of lobbying—who was lobbying, how, and what money they were collecting and spending, and it seems to me that it is entirely justified from that angle. Whether or not there is any recommendation that the law be changed, there is nothing so beneficial as the light of publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any of the other members have comment?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, this isn't the technique of lobbying, but it is the technique of obtaining contributions. It might be of some benefit to the Congress, in view of the coming campaign for reelection, to find out how to go out and get money. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. I have no comment at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, there was one thought that occurred to me, as I looked through what is in the proposed list of exhibits. Is it the position of the chairman of the committee that we are going to introduce into the record various letters written by individuals who themselves are not under investigation? Is that going to be the situation?

The CHAIRMAN. As long as it is relevant to the fund-raising techniques employed by the council, I believe that it would be entirely relevant.

Mr. LITTLE. I didn't hear Mr. O'Hara's question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. O'HARA. In this and other matters other investigations as to people who themselves are not under investigation—I mean, letters, for example, as this letter from Mr. du Pont to Mr. Hart. I can see the relevancy of, possibly, Mr. Hart's letter; but I wondered about the relevancy of some of these others. Probably they are proper—I don't know.

Mr. LITTLE. You will find, Mr. O'Hara, that Mr. du Pont also solicited, at Mr. Hart's request.

Mr. O'HARA. I see.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, could I say a word?

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further statements? Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I feel that section 303 (a) of the Lobbying Act expressly covers the matter of contributions for lobbying purposes. It is certainly, therefore, pertinent for us to go into the source

of all contributions for lobbying purposes, regardless of what the source is. Not for the purpose in mind, certainly, of catching anyone in violation of the law, or trying to find any violation of the law, but merely to get the truth for the benefit of the people and the Congress.

Furthermore, we followed this procedure in all of the other sessions we have had. I feel that it is incumbent upon this committee to get the facts, whatever they are and wherever they come from, if they are material.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I think in your opening statement you said that we had undertaken to influence the opinions of candidates for office. We have scrupulously avoided trying to do that. We have limited ourselves, or that has always been the intention, anyway, to confine ourselves to officeholders. After the Congress is elected, then we approach them with our views. We take no part whatever in the election or defeat of candidates.

Mr. LANHAM. I want to ask you a question there. I intended to ask it yesterday.

You do not take any part in political action?

Mr. HART. We do not.

Mr. LANHAM. Well, what type of lobbying have you found to be the most effective?

Mr. HART. Well, I would say the most effective was to bring actual facts, as squarely as possible, to the attention of the Members of both Houses, with such arguments as we can bring out.

Mr. LANHAM. And have you ever considered turning to political action, as so many of the other organizations have done?

Mr. HART. We have not; we have never done it. National Economic Council has never done it.

Mr. BROWN. As I look over this list, Mr. Chairman, of the legislative positions taken on certain matters by Mr. Hart and his organization, in favor of some and in opposition to others, I am not so sure he has been too successful in his lobbying activities, regardless of what methods he might have followed. I see a lot of things that he favors that haven't been done; and a lot of things that he opposes that haven't been done. So, it hasn't been too effective.

Mr. ALBERT. On that point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. I just wonder how an organization such as yours, Mr. Hart, or any other, can actually get their views to Members of Congress? We get so much literature, we have so many people call on us, that we usually decide to do our own research and pay little attention to propaganda.

Mr. HART. Only in two ways, Mr. Congressman—by council publications, especially the council letter, which goes to Members of both Houses, and by appearances before committees. I will say this: Of course, a great many Members of Congress don't read our stuff. I know they get an immense amount of material. But we have a check on how many do, from the fact that every year, when the Congress recesses, we write to each person asking him for a forwarding instruc-

tion for his copies of the council publications during the recess; and, last year, 280 out of the total of 581 sent us written instructions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, may I ask a question right there?

You have only listed two ways in which you undertake to influence Members of Congress. There are other ways that you use; are there not? I know of some other ways. For instance, you send telegrams to Members of Congress.

Mr. HART. Oh, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You send multiple telegrams to Members of the Congress.

Mr. HART. Oh, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You have your employed lobbyists personally interview Members of Congress?

Mr. HART. As a matter of fact, we have done very little of that, Congressman. We haven't had the staff.

Mr. DOYLE. When you gave us two means, you didn't mean those were exclusive?

Mr. HART. No; no.

Mr. DOYLE. You use every legitimate means at your command, don't you?

Mr. HART. We do; if we have the means to do it.

Mr. DOYLE. I have named three other ways and you have named two. Name some other ways that you undertake to influence Members of Congress on legislation.

Mr. HART. I don't know that I can think of any others. Those are the essential ones, at least. There may be others that we have used in a fragmentary way, as it might happen.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you entertain them at dinner?

Mr. HART. No; I don't think I have ever had a Congressman to dinner in my life. Perhaps I should be ashamed to say that. There might have been one instance where that was the case, but we are not party givers in Washington. I think it would be perfectly appropriate for us to do it, if we had some specific message to transfer; but we haven't as far as I can recall.

Mr. ALBERT. Do you ever wire to individuals who are close friends of Members of Congress and ask them to see their Congressman?

Mr. HART. Why, we may have done it in a limited way.

Mr. ALBERT. I think all organizations have testified that they have used that technique some; that isn't limited to any group.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, just to refresh your memory, Mr. Hart: I think I saw a memorandum some place that your group entertained 56 Congressmen on the matter of the Arab situation; do you remember that?

Mr. HART. No, sir; no, sir. The only time we ever had any people in, in connection with the Arab situation, was when a prominent Arab was in New York, introduced to me by a letter of introduction from Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, who was Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Commander, and I invited, as I frequently do, some 20 or 30 men to come to my office, in late afternoon, and listen to what he had to say.

Mr. DOYLE. To further refresh your memory, I think I have read, some place in your publications or letters, that when Mr. Palmer,

from England, was here, apparently on your payroll—that is true; when he was here he was on your payroll?

Mr. HART. He was.

Mr. DOYLE. Campaigning against what you call socialized medicine and political measures?

Mr. HART. No; he wasn't campaigning against any specific measures; he was telling his audiences what the effect was, on life in Britain, of socialism as carried on in Britain.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, that is indirect lobbying?

Mr. HART. He never discussed an American measure, so far as I know.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now, in connection with his trip from England, I am sure I have seen in your communications to some of your members, or heavy contributors, that there was a dinner, under your auspices, where there were some fifty-odd Members of the House and some twenty-odd Members of the Senate present—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle, I think you are referring to the letter of February 17, 1949, in which Mr. Hart makes this comment [reading]:

He made a profound impression at a dinner—

a dinner that a former United States Senator gave in Washington on February 9, 1949—

at which 32 Senators and about 25 Representatives were present.

I believe you have that letter in mind.

Mr. HART. We had nothing to do with that, Congressman.

Mr. HALLECK. Who gave the dinner?

Mr. HART. I was present as a guest, but that was all.

Mr. DOYLE. But you were furnishing the speaker—he was on your payroll?

Mr. HART. Yes; but, usually, when we furnish a speaker, we get a substantial fee and, of course, we got no fee at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you contributed his services to this dinner; is that correct?

Mr. HART. Well—

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you were anxious to have him speak at this dinner and thereby indirectly influence the thinking of Members of Congress?

Mr. HART. I was glad that he had the chance to—but I thought he had something to say.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Doyle will yield, I would like to put in the record the packet of correspondence from the files of the National Economic Council. I believe you have had opportunity to identify them, Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. What are those, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. This packet of letters.

Mr. HART. I haven't seen them as such.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, before we get into that, would you allow me to ask him about the other means of solicitation?

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to get this correspondence into the record, so that we can discuss it from this point on; and I will also put in the record the Warren letter and the Grundy letter.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

MARCH 7, 1947.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: We have devised a plan that should greatly widen the list of readers of our council publications and strengthen us financially.

We have had legal opinion (I enclose copy) to the effect that a purchase by anybody of subscriptions to council publications to be sent to educational and religious corporations is a gift that is deductible before taxes. Furthermore, as such a gift, it may be for any amount not limited by the \$3,000 gift tax.

We are already receiving subscriptions along these lines. We have compiled a list of colleges and universities, public libraries, and Protestant churches in many sections of the country, and we are going to press this in the hope we can eventually place these publications of ours in the hands of all of these organizations throughout the country. That would be of inestimable help.

We have already covered the States of Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, and most of Illinois, so far as libraries and colleges are concerned, as well as certain other sections.

I write to ask if you would be willing to subscribe for 500 sets of these publications at \$10 each on the above lines.

The enclosed copies of letters from a college president and a librarian indicate that the gifts are being well received.

The publications in each case are sent to the institution, "Attention of" either the college president, or the librarian, or the rector or pastor of a church.

I am enclosing an order form for your consideration.

Incidentally, the legal counsel of at least two other parties, one of whom has made a substantial purchase of these subscriptions and the other intends to do so, have likewise given as their opinion that without question such an expenditure is a deductible item.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON, DEL., March 19 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HART: You asked me by telephone whether I had received your letter in regard to the sending of council publications to educational and religious organizations, and suggested I might subscribe funds for that purpose. I had not read your letter at the time, but have done so since.

If in the council publications to be sent are included the council letters, I have some misgivings. As you know, I think your language is frequently too violent and positions taken are too positive, and perhaps based on too little information to make an entirely satisfactory impression on the public. Many people who are "on the fence" would be pushed off on the wrong side by this kind of publication.

In spite of the above, I have not definitely decided to decline your proposal, but would like some further information.

In Mr. Bigelow's letter, he gives a very logical reason why a subscription for this purpose would not be taxable, but he says in the taxpayer's return he will have to claim as a charitable deduction the value of each donation. In your suggestion, that would mean that I would have to list in my tax report 500 donees. Are you prepared to send me such a list, and is the game worth the candle? Perhaps Mr. Bigelow did not mean his statement literally.

May I hear from you on this question?

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

MARCH 20, 1947.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR Mr. DU PONT: Thank you for your letter of March 19.

I suppose the language of our letters is occasionally fairly strong. Yet, quite a number of libraries, including some of the best, subscribe to our publications

and themselves pay the usual rate. Many more libraries have asked us to send them. I have an impression that a well-run library is glad to have different points of view presented. Certainly the language in our publications is not nearly as strong as that in many leftist, and even middle-of-the-road, publications. Frequently libraries will write us if they have missed so little as a single number, and request us to send duplicate copies.

You raise the question as to whether, in event you went into the matter, you would have to claim as a charitable deduction the value of each donation. We meet this situation by furnishing the person who makes such a contribution with duplicate lists of the corporations, with, of course, addresses, and with the names of the particular individual to whose attention our publications are directed. Any contributor can, therefore, append one of these to his income-tax return, or can hold it in his office and show it to the Internal Revenue examiner if it is subsequently requested. In short, we attend to all this detail ourselves.

I hope the above is satisfactory comment on the two points you raise.

Looking forward to seeing you next Tuesday evening,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 3, 1947.

MR. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: For some time past certain of the libraries and educational institutions of the country have taken our economic council publications. We have been studying methods of extending the distribution of this material to all such institutions throughout the country.

Sometime ago we received an order from a friend of ours in the Middle West for 300 sets of our publications at \$10 per set, to be sent to 300 public libraries, colleges, and universities in three or four certain Middle Western States. With the order came the assurance that he had obtained from his legal counsel an opinion to the effect that a contribution of printed matter (or anything else, for that matter) given by him to such institutions could be deducted before taxes. He specified that the material should each time go addressed to, say, the "Public Library of Ann Arbor, Mich., attention John Doe, librarian."

We have had the matter up with our legal counsel, Mr. Mason H. Bigelow, of Gould & Wilkie, 1 Wall Street, New York, who unhesitatingly confirmed this opinion, following it up with a written opinion of which the enclosed is a photostatic copy.

This opens up a new and substantial field for the council, for in the United States there are about a thousand colleges and universities, some seven or eight thousand libraries, and perhaps sixty or seventy thousand Protestant churches. We hope to organize in such a way that these publications will, within a fairly short time, be going to every one of these educational and religious corporations. For the deductibility privilege applies whether the material goes to an educational or a religious organization.

Incidentally, as examples of the satisfaction of various of the libraries and colleges now receiving this matter under the order of our midwestern friend, I am enclosing copies of two recent letters.

We are having lists prepared of all of the colleges, universities, and public libraries, and the Protestant churches in the United States. Satisfying the wishes of any donor, we can arrange for the material which he may order to go to whatever section of the country he may specify. We could, of course, be prepared to submit lists of names for his consideration, and copy of such list—with whatever additions or subtractions the donor cares to make—can be sent us with the order.

I write hoping that this matter will commend itself to you, and that you will feel you can personally send us an order for a quantity of our publications to be sent to certain libraries, colleges, and religious corporations.

I am enclosing form of letter we are sending to each beneficiary of those who are subscribing to our publications for some of these educational and religious corporations.

Check should be made payable to National Economic Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 2, 1948.

Mr. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: When in Wilmington Wednesday, I phoned your office from Mr. Lamot du Pont's office, hoping I might possibly see you. Owing to the shortness of the notice, I was not surprised that it was not convenient.

A letter was mailed you from our office here that same day. I did not know that your name was on the list of certain of our January expirations to receive this particular letter.

What I wanted most to tell you, however, was not contained in that letter. This is that the work of the council has become more and more widely recognized, and that, fortunately, new and additional friends are coming to our assistance all the time.

One such friend told me last week that he would himself put in \$5,000 and would secure at least four other persons to give \$5,000 if five of the present friends of the council would themselves contribute \$5,000 each for the coming year.

Mr. Lamot du Pont is today sending his checks for \$5,000, and I am writing to ask if you would be willing to send us \$5,000 also. Your subscription in each of the last few years has been \$3,000. Let me point out to you that it will be possible for \$2,000 of the \$5,000 that we would like you to give to be deducted before taxes. This could be accomplished by your purchasing 200 sets of our publications, each set to be sent to some educational or religious corporation, that is to say, any public library, college, university, or Protestant church.

Our legal counsel and that of quite a number of persons who have purchased our publications to be given in the way stated, to educational and religious corporations, have given their opinions that such subscription is deductible under that provision of the income-tax law that allows deduction of 15 percent of anybody's income to charitable, educational, and religious corporations.

We have definite evidence in a number of instances that our work with respect to measures before Congress has been decisive in the disposition of these measures. All we need in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures is the funds to get additional personnel and to meet other necessary costs. It is this opportunity for more extended usefulness that has prompted our new friends to make the offer referred to above.

The steps that we propose to take to effectuate this objective are the following:

1. We desire to engage a competent man whose business will be to form in each of a number of centers a small committee of five men, each impressed by the need for real educational work in the community and willing to give an amount of time, with a view to watching for and overcoming left-wing tendencies in educational institutions, in churches, and in any fields in their community. We have discussed such a committee with two prominent men of one certain up-State city in New York, and they are willing to serve.

These committees will work quietly; will aim to see that opinion formers, like members of boards of trustees, vestries, school boards, etc., etc., receive certain brief literature that will better enable them to counteract the left-wing tendencies. Each committee will serve as a nucleus around which perhaps a score or two of men can presently be gathered to fight for things that are American.

2. We shall issue a weekly sheet containing a 500- or 600-word article of current interest and importance which will be sent to as many of the country's newspapers as possible. Very possibly we could put such an article in mat form. I got this idea in England a few months ago from the British Society of Individualists, which has been carrying on work of this kind for 2 or 3 years and finds many of the country's rural newspapers anxious to receive the series.

Incidentally, this thought was stimulated in our minds by Frank C. Rand, Jr., who owns a string of newspapers in New Mexico, when he wrote us recently that he thought our stuff was so good that his papers, and he believed other papers, would like it. Properly handled, this method can achieve excellent results.

We shall need a competent additional man to handle this work.

3. Another idea that I got in England and which is being used there with a high degree of success by one or two organizations like ours is to furnish assistance to people in all parts of the country who desire to write letters to the newspapers on public subjects. Most anywhere in the country we find leftist letters appearing in newspapers. These, we are advised, are largely the work of organized effort by our communistic friends. So far as we know, there is

no agency in the country that furnishes similar help to people who think as we do. There is a field here for great usefulness.

4. We are building up a speakers' bureau. We can get many speaking engagements, a number of which will pay nothing, not even expenses, though many of which will yield a modest fee. And we already have several competent speakers and can get many more, some of whom will work for nothing in their vicinities, others will require a modest fee. We will need to have some person to take charge of this speakers' bureau if it is to be adequately developed and the speakers properly coached and directed.

5. We desire to appear more often in Washington through proper representatives before committees of Congress on widely important matters. We think our experience will enable us to do this job on a scale several times larger than in the past—if we have the means to accomplish it.

Hence, I hope very much that you will look favorably on subscribing \$5,000 to this work, which \$5,000 will be one of several that we are asking some of our present friends to give and which will be matched by the subscriptions of others of the new friends of whom I speak.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON, DEL., January 16, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Referring to your letter of January 15, there is returned herewith one copy of the list of libraries of colleges and churches, which I have approved.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

DECEMBER 6, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York, City.*

DEAR MR. HART: I have approved and am returning herewith one copy of the list of institutions to which your publications are to be sent.

Yours very truly,

IRÉNÉE DU PONT.

DECEMBER 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York, City.*

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge your letter of yesterday and return to you the list of those institutions to which the books have been sent as gifts from me.

It was my intention to make contributions for books from time to time and I am so designating all three of the contributions for that purpose solicited by you. I hope that is quite all right with you.

Yours very truly,

IRÉNÉE DU PONT.

WILMINGTON, DEL., January 7, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York, City.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of January 3, according to my record (see your letter of November 12), the \$3,000 gift of stock mentioned in the second paragraph of your letter was for the purpose of sending books to various educational institutions. Now I find that I have received from you only 800 names of recipients of the educational books and that none have been received for the \$3,000 of last January. To keep my record for tax purposes, I should have these names available when my accounts are audited by the Government. Would be obliged to you if you will send the names in question.

Yours very truly,

IRÉNÉE DU PONT.

JANUARY 10, 1949.

Memorandum.

To: Mrs. Dall.

From: Mr. Hart.

Please note attached copy of letter of January 7 from Mr. Irénée du Pont.

Mr. du Pont sent us four separate checks in 1948. In January he sent one check for \$2,000 and another (this was not a check; it was 50 shares of petroleum stock) for about \$3,000. The stock sold for between \$2,000 and 3,000.

Then, in July, he sent us \$3,000 and in late November he sent us \$3,000.

We understood that his \$2,000 check of January was for the purchase of 200 subscriptions but that the 50 shares of petroleum stock was a gift—a regular contribution. We assumed also that the \$3,000 he sent us in July was a contribution—just like the \$2,000 he sent us in January.

When he sent us \$3,000 in late November, he made clear that this was for the purchase of 300 subscriptions. Just prior to sending this late November check, he notified us that it was his intent to make the \$3,000 in July a payment for 300 subscriptions to our publications. We corrected our records to conform with this statement of his intention.

By his letter of January 7 (copy attached) he indicates that when he gave us the stock certificate in January of 1948 he intended that also to be for the purchase of 300 subscriptions.

In other words, he wants the whole \$11,000 which he sent us in 1948 to be for the purchase of 1,100 subscriptions.

We must be governed by what Mr. du Pont tells us was his intent—even though in sending the 50 shares of petroleum stock last January he erroneously stated, as I think he did, that it was a contribution.

Mr. du Pont is an extremely busy man and might easily have become confused on such a matter. Therefore, it becomes our duty to find 300 subscriptions to charitable, educational, and religious corporations, which subscriptions have been in force since January of last year, and allocate them to Mr. Irénée du Pont.

Mr. du Pont brings this matter up in response to my letter requesting him to give us \$5,000 in January 1949.

If we can't find 300 of these subscriptions, then we will have to find as large a proportion as we can. My impression is that there are 150 subscriptions which Mr. Earhart did not renew last year and which started about the same time or a little later. If that is true, we can begin with those.

Mr. du Pont is accustomed to leave a little later in January for Cuba, to be gone for 3 or 4 months, and hence it is important to get him this list as soon as possible.

(Signed) M K H
(Typed) MERWIN K. HART.

JANUARY 12, 1949.

Memorandum.

To: Mrs. Dall.

From: Mr. Hart.

I have thought of a way to handle the matter of those 300 subscriptions which Mr. Irénée du Pont thought that he was purchasing a year ago by giving us 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock.

You showed me the other day complimentary subscriptions totaling about 150 of various public libraries, colleges, and churches, and we will consider that they were paid for by Mr. du Pont's stock certificate.

This leaves 150 subscriptions unprovided for and, to meet this situation, please have Miss Schilling make up an additional list and send out publications to them for a year commencing January 1, 1949.

When this list is made up, please let me have it and I will send it in a further communication to Mr. du Pont.

In the meantime, notice attached copy of letter to Mr. du Pont.

(Signed) M K H
(Typed) MERWIN K. HART.

JANUARY 12, 1940.

MR. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: I called you on the telephone this morning to discuss the contents of your recent letter in which you told us that both contributions which you made to the National Economic Council in January 1948 were intended to purchase subscriptions.

We got an erroneous impression of your desire in the matter because you, apparently inadvertently, in your letter of January 7, 1948, mentioned the 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock as "a contribution to the work of the council."

Accordingly, we have altered our records to conform to what we now know was your desire, namely, that the proceeds of the Phillips Petroleum stock, as well as the \$2,000 for which you sent your check, were intended to purchase subscriptions.

We have about 150 subscriptions which we have been considering of a complementary nature, and which have been going to colleges, public libraries, and churches for something more than a year. It will be entirely proper to consider that these were actually paid for by your subscription.

This would leave about 150 subscriptions which we cannot properly credit to your subscription. Hence, if you so desire, we will immediately allot 150 fresh institutions of the three kinds indicated to your account and will consider that they were paid for by the other half of the proceeds of the 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock which you gave us a year ago. If we do not hear from you to the contrary, we will send you this additional list within a few days.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 17, 1940.

MR. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington 08, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: We continue almost daily to get additional checks from those to whom your letter of December 10 went. We will make you a report a little later as to those persons who gave since our last report to you.

The January letter will go out this week, and will be addressed to about 4,000 names. Scrupulous care has been taken to avoid duplication.

In this connection, several of us in the economic council have been talking, and we think it would be an excellent thing if you would be willing to join our board of directors and become chairman of our finance committee.

Membership on the board would not be very burdensome, for the board, as such, meets only once or twice a year.

The work of the chairman of the finance committee would likewise, I think, not be very burdensome. Requests for money going out over your name as such officer would have great weight with many thousands of people in all parts of the country. When letters go out over my name as president, many of the recipients probably think that I am getting a very juicy slice of what comes in. As a matter of fact, my salary, which is supposed to be \$10,000 a year (much less than half of what I formerly earned in other work), is always in arrears. I do not think there has been a single year when I have drawn the full amount.

But letters going out over your name would inspire people with confidence, for they would know that you had no financial interest in it.

It would greatly hearten us if you would give consideration to this suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON 08, DEL., January 20, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
 New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of January 17, inviting me to become a member of the board of directors of the council, was duly received.

Since my retirement from executive work, I have endeavored to reduce my responsibilities and commitments, so am very loath to take on additional responsibilities. Further, I believe that I can do the council more good by not being a member of the board than by being a member. You certainly have my interest, and I believe you will continue to have my support.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

JANUARY 24, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: As you may imagine, I am chagrined at the error in the mailing of a considerable number of your envelopes from this office, stamped and addressed, but with no contents.

We have not been able to ascertain just how it happened. But we have taken steps that will prevent such a thing happening again. I greatly regret the inconvenience and annoyance to yourself.

We received on Saturday the envelopes sent us that had been received by you, and immediately we mailed freshly addressed envelopes with the proper contents to all of those names. We shall follow this course in the case of any further envelopes that may be received from you, and we shall be obliged to you if you will forward to me promptly any that come.

Probably no explanation to the recipients will be needed, for the receipt of a letter with contents within 2 or 3 days after receiving the empty envelope will probably clear up the matter in the minds of the addressees. I regret, too, the inconvenience it has caused them.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 27, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Confirming telephone conversation today, we are especially pleased to receive a check this morning from the Beech Aircraft Corp., of Wichita, Kans., for \$5,008.65. The accompanying letter tells us that this represents one penny per share for each share of issued and outstanding stock.

On the face of the check are the words,

"Payment for work in opposing socialism and communism in America, and for the maintenance and strengthening of American private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative."

It would be a splendid thing if we could enlist other organizations to pay us for our "work" on this same basis.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

FEBRUARY 7, 1940.

Mr. C. O. HODGES,
*Vice President, American Cast Iron Pipe Co.,
Birmingham 2, Ala.*

DEAR MR. HODGES: Many thanks for your interesting letter of February 4, regarding the National Economic Council and matters relating thereto.

My thinking seems to be parallel, but, as usual, there are slight divergences. While, as you say, there is nothing that the National Economic Council can do at this stage to stem the tide, it does seem to me that the council's clients or readers are encouraged or inspired to do something that they, as individuals, can do from time to time.

There would seem to be no doubt that our troubles are mainly due to the thoughtlessness of the people. That very thoughtlessness prevents them from reading sound literature or listening to sound addresses or broadcasts. They just are not interested. Therefore, to do anything in the way of public education, the sound views have to be put in a form that the public will read more or less inadvertently. According to my thinking, that is one of the reasons why a multiplicity of organizations, such as Spiritual Mobilization, the Foundation for

Economic Education, and the National Council of Profit-Sharing Industries is effective, rather than wasteful. Each one appeals to a certain area, but no one appeals to all of them. I think the National Economic Council has a certain audience, but, as stated above, it acts as a catalyst on the other organizations and people.

Yours sincerely,

Copy: Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

LAMMOT DU PONT.

FEBRUARY 17, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Our work continues to increase. In January of this year I think we had twice as many subscriptions and purchases of publications as in any previous month of our history.

One man in Kansas City has purchased from 11,000 to 12,000 of each of our last two or three council letters and of our last book review, for circulation to his customers. Increasing attention seems to be paid to our publications by men in Congress. The morning mail brings in a reprint of one of our recent council letters published in South Africa.

You were impressed, I think, as I was with the subscription that came to us from the Beech Aircraft Corp., of Wichita, Kans., which was a subscription of one penny for each of the nearly 600,000 shares of stock outstanding. This subscription was in response to your January letter.

It has occurred to me to wonder if you would consider addressing a letter to perhaps 100 or 200 carefully selected corporations, mentioning our work and stating that one moderate-size corporation has subscribed in that manner (one cent for each share of stock), and asking them to consider making a subscription on the same basis. If we got only a few subscriptions out of such a letter, it would be well worth while.

If you think well of this, would you be willing to draft such a letter which might contain, for instance, council letter 207, copy of which I enclose, or if you prefer, I would be glad to submit a suggested draft of such a letter.

Yesterday I received a letter from Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, retired, now vice president of the International Telephone & Telegraph, in which he said he considered letter 207 the most important document that had been published in America in the last two decades. That is going pretty strong, but the letter was very well received.

Cecil Palmer, our English lecturer, is making a great hit and we are being flooded with applications for him to speak. He made a profound impression at a dinner Senator Hawkes gave in Washington on February 9, at which 32 Senators (about one-third of the Senate) and about 25 Representatives were present. We will be able to arrange good dates for him in all parts of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON 98, DEL., February 21, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of February 17 was duly received.

I cannot consent to your suggestion that a letter of mine be sent to 100 or 200 selected corporations, mentioning the work of the council and suggesting subscriptions.

There are two reasons which compel my taking this position:

First, you have just recently been following a similar effort, addressed to individuals. It is too early to repeat the performance, even to a different mailing list.

Second, and most important, I cannot individually solicit contributions from corporations when I well know that the company with which I have spent most of my working life; namely, the du Pont Co., would, in all probability not comply. The reasons why I think the du Pont Co. would not comply require considerable explanation, and I do not believe need be given.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

WILMINGTON 98, DEL., March 3, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council,
New York City, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of March 2, with list of 300 names to whom council publications will be sent, was duly received.

You are correct that it was my intention to subscribe to \$5,000 of subscriptions for 1949, and in January of this year I sent a check for \$5,000 to cover.

The list you have sent me covers only 300 names. A copy of it is returned herewith, bearing my approval. Could you not send me an additional list covering 200 names to complete the 500?

In your letter of January 7, 1949, when you acknowledged receipt of my check for \$5,000, you indicated that the list you were going to send would include the 200 to which gift subscriptions were sent last year. Does this mean that you are going to consider the list of last year as being renewed and the 300 on the current list added? If so, should I not have a list of the 200 names of last year?

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

MARCH 9, 1949.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,

Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Mr. Hart has requested me to send you a list of 200 institutions whose subscriptions you are renewing for 1949. This list is enclosed herewith. Please sign and return one copy.

You may note there are some changes in personnel which bring the list up to date.

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter received from a librarian whose library is on one of your gift lists.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
*Assistant to the President.*UNIVERSITY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY,
University City Mo., March 7, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your letter of February 24, 1949, telling us that we are to receive a gift subscription to the publications of the National Economic Council. I liked the Power to Destroy, and the March Review of Books, which were sent to us. May I say that I am heartily in accord with your article, the Power to Destroy? The complacency with which too many of our everyday citizens look upon the increasing trend toward socialism in our country is indeed distressing. We are glad to display your publications on our magazine table. Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

CONSTANCE GRIER, *Librarian.*

APRIL 4, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Further in reply to your letter of March 9, I am returning herewith list of subscriptions which have been renewed for 1949 and which I have signed as requested.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

APRIL 14, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge Mrs. Dall's letter of March 9, enclosing list of 200 institutions whose subscriptions have been renewed for 1949. Mr. du Pont is in Florida at the present time and will not return until April 4. Shortly thereafter he will return one copy to you, signed.

Yours sincerely,

MARY A. DOUGHERTY,
Secretary to Mr. du Pont.

WILMINGTON 98, DEL., November 25, 1949.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: Last December, believing the National Economic Council was doing outstanding work toward stemming the tide of communism and socialism in this country, I wrote to many Americans, urging them to contribute to the council.

Now, I have just read council letter No. 226, There Is No Peace, calling attention to the import of the trial of the 11 Communists before Judge Medina, and pointing out clearly and forcefully the work that still must be done to save our country from communism and socialism, or any other form of tyranny.

Will you not read the letter, think about it, and form your own opinion of its worth and truth? True, it is only one sample of the council's work, but in my opinion, after reading many of the council's letters, it is a fair sample.

I feel sure that you will conclude that the council is doing a good job. We all have many calls upon us, but in my opinion the National Economic Council should stand among those at the top or near the top of any businessman's list.

Will you not stretch a point and make a contribution, or make a larger contribution, and promptly?

Checks should be mailed to National Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
New York 1, N. Y., January 9, 1950.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Lammot du Pont tells us that last November he brought to your attention the work of the National Economic Council, which for the past 20 years has been combating Communist-Socialist influences in the United States.

Mr. du Pont sent you economic council letter 226 as an example of one of the activities of the council, and he asked you to read this letter and give your financial support to further council activities.

We are taking the liberty today of enclosing a subsequent council letter, No. 227, entitled "Socialism and Bankruptcy."

Any contribution that you or your company makes will be welcome and will be used in the continuing fight to prevent America from becoming a "hand-out" state.

We shall be happy to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours.

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JANUARY 22, 1950.

TURN-DOWNS TO DU PONT LETTER FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

A. E. Berlin, president of the Hearst Corp., comments: "We have been combating communism as a public service to our readers and to our fellow countrymen. Your pamphlet, Socialism and Bankruptcy, is splendid. Too much of this sort of thing cannot be circulated among the people of America."

Turn-downs to NEC from:

Koppers Co.
Collier Keyworth Co.

Canadian Foreign Investment Co.

Federal Mills, Inc.

United Light & Railways

Cerro de Pasco

Atlas Steel Castings

State Street Trust. All on Forbes says that he is working with two other similar enterprises and does not want to do more.

Hardy & Rankin Co. J. K. Rankin, president, thinks all similar committees to NCO should join together and pool their activities. His outfit is distributing a quantity of the Road Ahead.

Esso Standard. G. M. Buckingham wrote, "This company through its public and advertising devotes considerable time and expense to preserving the American way of life—and must decline doing more."

Mr. HART. They appear to be all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LITTLE. Gentlemen, Mr. Hart has identified the exhibits as being correct photostats of the originals.

Mr. HART. I have said that they seem to be, from a rather cursory examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will proceed. Bring up the George Henry Warren letter, first.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, have you had correspondence with Mr. George Henry Warren, of Newport, R. I.?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you examine that letter [handing letter to the witness] and see if it is correct?

Mr. HART. That seems to be a copy of the letter I may have written.

Mr. LITTLE. I offer the George Henry Warren letter in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 13, 1940.

Mr. GEORGE HENRY WARREN,
118 Mill Street, Newport, R. I.

DEAR GEORGE: I particularly appreciate your taking the trouble to write me about our Council Letter on World Government. That particular letter has been in great demand. We had a single order the other day for 12,000 copies from someone in the Middle West.

You have long been a subscriber to our publications. I wonder if you would not feel like making either a contribution of a substantial amount (which is not deductible under the income tax law) or else a purchase of a number of subscriptions to be sent to a selected list of churches, public libraries and colleges?

We have received thousands of these so-called gift subscriptions, and they do a great amount of good. There are no institutions in the country where there is greater need for our ideas to be circulated than in those.

Moreover, the purchase of subscriptions of this kind is deductible before taxes, according to the advice of our legal counsel, photostatic copy of whose opinion I enclose. Many men and women have acted on this advice, and we have never heard the deductibility questioned.

In the year just closed several thousand individuals and corporations contributed about \$130,000. This varied in amounts from as low as \$1 up through all kinds of amounts to \$10,000. Many have purchased 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, and even 500 subscriptions.

I saw Anne the other evening and thought she was looking very well, and she gave me news of you and Catherine. Give my love to Catherine, and with kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

Mr. LITTLE. I show you a letter which you addressed to Mr. Joseph R. Grundy, of Bristol, Pa. Did you write that letter?

Mr. HART. This seems to be a copy of what I wrote Senator Grundy.

Mr. LITTLE. I offer the Grundy letter for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 9, 1948.

HON. JOSEPH R. GRUNDY,

Bristol, Pa.

DEAR SENATOR: Again the left-wingers have captured the Republican Party.

What happened in 1940 and 1944 has happened again in 1948; and the New Deal Republicans like Russell Davenport in the Herald Tribune yesterday, not to mention men like Senator Ives of New York, have already started a campaign to throw out the remaining conservatives we have, and make the Republican Party a completely New Deal Party. It seems we need two New Deal parties—one is not enough.

However, we are not in politics, and can do nothing about this, though we hope some of our keener-minded political friends will.

What interests us is to try to block some of the international Socialists' moves originating in one or another of the international alphabetical agencies, such, as for instance, the ILO "convention" described in Council Letter 200 (copy enclosed), "World Government—By the Back Door."

If this is ratified by the Senate (and Senator George, of Georgia, has said frankly he expects it is very likely to be ratified), then the Congress and the State legislatures will be deprived of any power to legislate regarding the relations between American employers and their employees.

The National Economic Council is going to do all in its power to stop this particular ratification.

We need money to help make the fight. A lot of our good business friends gave so much money to help defeat Dewey because he was such a dumbbell, and to help defeat good solid Republican Senators and Representatives whom Dewey failed entirely to lead to victory, that it has reduced our own income just at the moment when we need to have more income and not less.

I write, therefore, to ask if you could send us a check to be used for the purpose described above?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

[Penned notation:] Subscribed \$100.

Mr. HART. May I say, Mr. Chairman, for the record, that as to letters that I have written on political subjects, or touching on political subjects, I have used my own stationery, and each time I have submitted an expense account, because I, myself, advance money for expenses and then bill the council for them; I have deducted an item at the end of the expense account for such matters as might have been personal on my part or possibly political. I recall, in my last expense account, which was for about 2 months, although I think the estimate was exaggerated, I deducted \$200 for personal expenses.

Mr. ALBERT. Is this material kept in a separate office or is it a part of the files of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. It is kept in my own personal files.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would go into the George Henry Warren letter.

Mr. LITTLE. The Warren letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the Warren letter, go into that.

Mr. LITTLE. I show you a copy of a letter addressed to George Henry Warren.

Mr. HART. You showed me that, I think, counselor.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; I did. The witness identified that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any comment on that, Mr. Counselor?

Mr. ALBERT. What letter is that?

Mr. LITTLE. George Henry Warren. Mr. Hart, with reference to this letter from you to Mr. Warren, may I call your attention to two paragraphs. The second paragraph [reading]:

You have long been a subscriber to our publications. I wonder if you would not feel like making either a contribution of a substantial amount (which is not deductible under the income-tax law), or else a purchase of a number of subscriptions to our publications to be sent to a selected list of churches, public libraries, and colleges?

And the fifth paragraph [reading]:

In the year just closed several thousand individuals and corporations contributed about \$130,000. This varied in amounts from as low as \$1 up through all kinds of amounts to \$10,000. Many have purchased 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, and even 500 subscriptions.

Is that right?

Mr. HART. I would say that is correct.

Mr. LITTLE. In this letter you call attention to—I presume you wanted to call attention to the fact that if he bought subscriptions from the National Economic Council, and sent your pamphlets and other material to colleges and schools and universities, and the like, that he could deduct that from his income tax?

Mr. HART. Right.

Mr. LITTLE. But, if he made a contribution to your organization, he could not deduct it from his income tax?

Mr. HART. That is true, counselor. May I say this, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. The National Economic Council has several times asked the Government for the deductibility privilege on behalf of persons who give to us. We have always been refused. Such an organization, however, as the one called Friends of Democracy, enjoys that privilege, advertises the fact that it does, and its principle business appears to be to smear organizations like the National Economic Council; and I wish to say that we, of course, believe that an organization like ours, doing everything aboveboard, should enjoy at least as great a privilege as an organization whose chief business appears to be to smear organizations on our side.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. HART. In particular, I would say, ours.

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt the witness, Mr. Chairman: He has deliberately taken us into the field of ideologies, which we are trying to avoid. I think, if Mr. Hart would confine himself to his own case, instead of talking about some "smearing" organization, it would be better.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe he raised the point as to why another organization should enjoy this tax-exempt status.

Mr. DOYLE. If the witness is going into the field of attacking some other organization on account of its ideologies, it leaves the committee in a position where we have to take our time on the differences in ideologies.

Mr. HART. Yesterday, the committee was looking into our ideology, and I don't see why it shouldn't look into that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart, in fairness, I believe that I extended to you the privilege of commenting on the summation that went into the record. Your comments, from then on, on that particular summation, had to deal with your own personal opinions, and it was, of course, your own prerogative to make those comments. I didn't stop you. But, nevertheless, I didn't seek your opinion on those matters. In fact, I am already familiar with what your opinion on those particular things is. That wasn't the point of the inquiry; it was merely to get a complete story of the organization and the things that they lobbied for and against, to get that into the record. A categorizing of the particular issues was the thing in the mind of the Chair when I submitted that list to you.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, of course, I contended some about that, yesterday, but in my mind no one could have sat here and heard what went on without getting a rather firm conviction that a definite effort was made to point out and, at least by implication, criticize many of the positions taken by the National Economic Council. It became so pointed that at one point I felt constrained to suggest that many of the positions taken are in line with my views; many of them are not. Only this morning, apparently, some big thing was made of the fact that some Englishman was brought over here and paid to make some lectures against British socialism. So far as I am concerned, I don't like socialism here or anywhere else. If they want to have it there, that is their business. I don't object, certainly, speaking for myself, to anybody going around here and talking against socialism. We have plenty of people talking for it. That is their right. But I am not going to get into the position of sitting by and letting it appear that, as far as I am concerned, I am objecting, directly or by any implication, to any person saying that they don't like socialism.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Halleck apparently refers to my question as to Mr. Palmer being brought here.

Mr. HALLECK. I don't object to anyone talking against socialism. I talk against it, myself.

Mr. DOYLE. My point, in bring out that the National Economic Council had brought Mr. Palmer here from England, was to show that they had brought him here at their expense, showing one way in which they spent their money, and a way in which they undertake to influence Members of Congress and the American public on any given subject. It was not, certainly, because they brought him here to talk.

Mr. BROWN. Is it the contention of the gentleman from California that such is a lobby activity?

Mr. DOYLE. If they bring a speaker to speak to Members of Congress, certainly it is an indirect method of influencing Members of Congress.

Mr. BROWN. They didn't bring him to speak to Members of Congress. I understood that he was speaking all over the country, including chambers of commerce in your State, and in my State, and

elsewhere. Of course, I think, before we go too far, we ought to start soon to try to determine what is and what is not a lobby activity. I wonder if we are going to contend that because somebody comes over here and, under the auspices of some organization, makes a series of speeches, that such speeches are lobby activities. I am going out to speak to the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, along with Mr. Biemiller, from the House, and Senator Douglas, I think, and someone else. We are going to discuss a lot of matters. I hope that that is not a lobby activity. I just can't get it.

MR. LANHAM. Mr. Brown, I think there is evidence in the record that a Senator gave a party or a dinner and he did speak to a group of Congressmen and Senators. Certainly, that would be trying to influence.

MR. BROWN. Oh, yes; I was at that dinner—that is right. That is the one to which Senator Hawkes invited several friends, at his own expense, and Mr. Palmer did talk to a number of Members of Congress, and others—I think, mostly Members of the Senate. Why I was invited to that distinguished gathering, I don't know. But all Palmer talked about was what was going on in Great Britain. I have sat and listened by the hour on the floor of the House to Members, some of whom are on this committee, talk about their visits to Europe, and what they learned there. I went to that dinner, and came away from it with the idea that perhaps I had learned something—at least, I had heard the viewpoint of a British citizen on what was going on in Great Britain. I am sure Mr. Hart didn't pay for his dinner, or I presume that he did not, as I have never known of Al Hawkes putting on a dinner where anybody paid for it; I know I didn't pay for my dinner. I did enjoy the evening, and did learn something. Once in a while it pays even Members of Congress to listen to somebody else and to learn something.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the letter of Mr. Merwin K. Hart, of February 17, 1949, to Mr. Lamot du Pont, reads—the last paragraph—as follows [reading] (see p. 82):

Cecil Palmer, our English lecturer, is making a great hit and we are being flooded with applications for him to speak. He made a profound impression at a dinner Senator Hawkes gave in Washington on February 9, at which 32 Senators (about one-third of the Senate) and about 25 Representatives were present. We will be able to arrange good dates for him in all parts of the United States.

Let me ask you, Mr. Hart, at this point, whether or not you paid his expenses to this country, or were you paying him for these lectures out of the funds of the NEC?

MR. HART. We did; we brought him over and sent him back, and we paid him while he was here.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is one of the functions of the National Economic Council, to arrange for speakers, out of these funds, of course; and the fact is that you are registered as a lobbying organization, engaged, directly or indirectly, in influencing national policy, and this was for that purpose?

MR. HART. Yes. Let me put on the record this: We have had two dinners of our own for Mr. Palmer. One was last fall, when he arrived here, at the Waldorf, at which all of the guests paid their own way; and one which we gave at the University Club for him, the previous year, at which those who came were our guests, possibly 50 or 60 men.

Mr. BROWN. I think we should emphasize, in reference to Senator Hawkes, that the word "gave" in the last paragraph indicates that Senator Hawkes gave the dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. He probably paid for it.

Mr. HART. He did.

Mr. BROWN. I would hate to pay someone back for my dinner at this late date.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I want to show the witness now a stack of letters, solicitation letters.

Here are 73 letters of different kinds that you sent out, soliciting money in the last couple of years. Will you identify them and say whether or not they were sent out by you and your organization?

Mr. HART. Do you want me to go through them one by one and identify them all? I assume that they are correct. Perhaps, if you could identify those that you wish to discuss, that would be best.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Isn't the technique you used in these letters what we would call a scare technique; in other words, to get funds—

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that is a subject here. We are concerned with the technique of solicitation of funds. As to what method he used, whether he used the fear, scare, or smear technique is beside the point.

Mr. LITTLE. Shall I read into the record some of the techniques?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any in mind that you have reference to?

Mr. LITTLE. Here is a letter called "Operation Snowball," which is a chain letter [reading]:

Will you start the ball rolling, dear American? Your family and home are in danger. Everything in which you believe is threatened, even your life may be in jeopardy.

Do you recognize that letter as having gone out?

Mr. HART. I think I recall that.

Mr. LITTLE. In solicitation of funds?

Mr. HART. I think I recall that.

Mr. BROWN. Was that written by this gentleman, Mr. Hart?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. It sounded like it might have been written overseas, where the same thing has happened.

Mr. LITTLE. And in these letters I call your attention to, referring to exhibit—

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, while counsel is getting ready to ask his next question, may I ask Mr. Hart what sort of contributors he sent that letter to?

Mr. HART. The lists that we have, Congressman, that we think will be most likely to be interested.

Mr. DOYLE. How do you determine that?

Mr. HART. By guesswork, largely.

Mr. DOYLE. Where do you get those lists, and where do you send this sort of a letter?

Mr. HART. From existing contributors, from those who have sent in and ordered copies, from lists of names. Of course, it is a whole business, by itself, the furnishing of lists of names.

Mr. DOYLE. How many thousand names, if you have that many, do you have in your files, to whom you send letters for contributions?

Mr. HART. We may have a total of 10,000 names.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all?

Mr. HART. Yes. Ten or fifteen thousand, I feel quite sure, would cover it.

Mr. DOYLE. Your largest contribution in the last year or two has amounted to what?

Mr. HART. Ten thousand dollars. I think \$11,000 was the largest.

Mr. DOYLE. The largest purchase of pamphlets, to be sent to universities and churches, has amounted to what, in cash?

Mr. HART. The largest amount we have received for either purpose was \$11,000.

Mr. DOYLE. At one time, from one person?

Mr. HART. No; in 1 year, in one calendar year.

Mr. DOYLE. From any one person?

Mr. HART. From any one person.

Mr. LITTLE. I call your attention to this letter soliciting funds [reading]:

The institution you represent has been receiving as a gift from a public-spirited citizen the publication of the National Economic Council for the last year.

The donor believes that during this time it should be established whether or not our material has proven of value. He feels that if you have found our material valuable, you will wish to subscribe independently.

Did that letter go out?

Mr. HART. I daresay. I think we have sent that letter out in a number of instances where people have purchased a number of subscriptions and then have not renewed them. So then we communicate with them in such a manner as that.

Mr. LITTLE. And in these solicitations, do you call to the attention of the would-be subscriber the fact that these pamphlets of yours are to be sent particularly to the young people?

Mr. HART. We may have done that. I couldn't recall when.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you remember this letter on solicitation [reading]:

We are trying to place our publications in all public libraries, colleges, and churches, both Catholic and Protestant, of the United States. Publications like ours are needed. Whatever you invest is deductible for taxes as a gift to educational and religious corporations.

That went out?

Mr. HART. I am quite sure that went out.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, I notice, on the first letter (see p. 75) before the committee, a letter from you to Mr. Lamot du Pont dated March 7, 1947, the third paragraph [reading]:

We are already receiving subscriptions along these lines. We have compiled a list of colleges and universities, public libraries, and Protestant churches in many sections of the country—

I wondered why you didn't include the Catholic churches?

Mr. HART. Presently, we did, Mr. Chairman, but the reason we left them out first, was that the income-tax deductibility is to charitable, educational, and religious corporations, and we were under the impression that the Catholic churches were not incorporated. When we found that they either were incorporated, or else they were included just as those that were incorporated, we afterward mentioned both Protestant and Catholic.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever send letters out to synagogues?

Mr. HART. I don't recall whether we have or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the two other parties referred to in that letter?

Mr. HART. In what paragraph?

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Incidentally, the legal counsel of at least two other parties.

Mr. HART. Yes. Well, one——

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

One of whom has made a substantial purchase of these subscriptions, and the other intends to do so.

Mr. HART. One of them was Mr. Harry B. Earhart, of Ann Arbor, Mich. I don't recall who the other was.

Mr. BROWN. You didn't mean political parties?

Mr. HART. I meant individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by the reference to the fact that these gifts are not limited to the \$8,000 limitation there?

Mr. HART. Well, because they are not gifts to us.

Mr. LITTLE. Strictly charitable. They come under charitable, educational, religious corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. They are unlimited, of course, up to 15 percent?

Mr. HART. Yes. The limitation is on the individual. Fifteen percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. Do you ever solicit any Government contractors for contributions to your cause?

Mr. HART. Not knowingly, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, many of the corporations or individuals representing these corporations to whom you have sent these letters, do have Government contracts, do they not?

Mr. HART. They very possibly have.

Mr. BROWN. Public officials?

Mr. HART. Not consciously. We have considerable lists of names.

The CHAIRMAN. They are on your free list, are they not?

Mr. HART. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. Aren't the public officials on your free list?

Mr. HART. The members of both Houses of Congress are, although a half-dozen or more subscribe.

The CHAIRMAN. How about executives in departmental agencies, of a friendly nature to your organization?

Mr. HART. We may have a few administrative officers.

Mr. BROWN. Do you ever put on any dinners at exceptionally high prices?

Mr. HART. One hundred dollars a plate?

Mr. BROWN. Well, I might have had that in mind. In other words, I am trying to bring out this—you raise all the money you can, that you need to finance your operations, which is exactly the same as everybody else does that is running any kind of an organization, on either side of the street, including both political parties; is that correct?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, you received replies to some of the literature you sent out free. Will you look at that letter and tell us whether or

not you received a letter dated March 20, 1947, from the Reverend Ralph, of the First Church of Christ, of Northampton, Mass., after you delivered some literature to him?

Mr. HART. I think, very possibly, we had that.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you read to the committee what the Reverend Ralph said to you when he received your literature?

Mr. HART. He said [reading]:

I have received—

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have a copy of that letter?

Mr. LITTLE. No.

Mr. HART (reading):

I have received samples of your literature sent to me at the request of Roy B. Smith. I do not desire to join the council as your principal writers, Mr. Hart and Miss Lane, seem to represent a reactionary type of thought, tending toward a native fascism.

At any rate my good friend, Mr. Smith, who thinks a good deal of your publications, keeps me supplied with your propaganda in sufficient quantity.

Very truly yours,

I would say, for every one we get like that, we get about 25 that are extremely favorable.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, may I direct a question to you, please:

This systematic plan that you have, of soliciting—

Mr. BROWN. What is the reason for introducing that letter?

Mr. DOYLE. Of soliciting people to purchase your publications? Can you hear my question?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. The systematic plan which you have to solicit people of some means to purchase hundreds and even thousands of your publications, and then to either use the list of names that you have—you send them the list, as I understand it, or do they furnish you a list of names, libraries, churches, and so forth—which do you do? Do you furnish them the list for their income-tax deductions, or do they furnish you?

Mr. HART. Usually, we do. We find it an advantage to hold ourselves ready to prepare and furnish lists of names that avoid duplication.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, we can't hear the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's have order, please.

Mr. DOYLE. Then, Mr. Hart, your answer, that you usually furnish the list, means that these people purchasing those pamphlets of yours are total strangers, as far as you know, to the people for whom they pay a subscription; is that correct?

Mr. HART. Frequently. Almost invariably, I suppose.

Mr. DOYLE. One other question: Have you any way of judging the extent to which these people who thus purchase pamphlets and ask you for lists of names, so that they can take the benefit for income-tax deductions, have you any way of judging whether those people purchase the pamphlets from you for the purpose of reducing their income tax, primarily, or for the purpose of helping you in your education? Which is the paramount factor in their conclusion? Why do they give you the money, in other words?

Mr. HART. I think they do it because they believe in the views we express and think the service is worth something, and we wish to present it to other people.

Mr. DOYLE. I notice these large subscribers write you and very particularly point out that they want the list in order to take the benefit for their income-tax deductions.

Mr. HART. A very natural desire on their part, I suppose.

Mr. DOYLE. Then are you able to say which is the controlling factor—whether it is the desire to be educational to the American people, or take advantage of income-tax deduction?

Mr. HART. I think it is both, but in what proportion, I can't say. I think it is principally in order to disseminate the material.

Let me say that the only way, really, as a practical matter, to furnish these lists, or to establish the lists, is for us to establish them. We always tell each person who is contemplating making a purchase of subscriptions, that they are entirely at liberty to make it up, if they will, or we will prepare it for them. One advantage of our preparing it is that we know what is being covered already, and if they did it, there might possibly be duplication.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. As I understand it, if there are people who believe in your cause, or what you are doing, after you explain what you are doing, and they want to furnish material to be sent to certain individuals to compound your theories, then you furnish the list?

Mr. HART. That is true.

Mr. BROWN. You select for them?

Mr. HART. That is true.

Mr. BROWN. In other words, we have, out in Ohio, a newspaper which has a hundred most-needy-family list, and each Christmas some of us contribute to that fund, to care for these needy families. The newspaper selects the needy families on the list. I contribute to the community chest at home; I contribute to the community chest here. The Washington Star, I think, is putting on a campaign now to send youngsters from the slums to summer camp; in each case, the people who are to get the benefit of the money contributed are selected by the group sponsoring the movement?

Mr. HART. That is true.

Mr. BROWN. In other words, the Washington Star, or some charitable agency with whom they are working, selects these youngsters to go to camp. I send money to a boys' club and a girls' club in New York, a small donation, to send kids from the slums to summer camp for a couple of weeks. I don't know who gets the benefit of that money. They select.

In other words, your operation is similar to that, except your cause is different. You believe in these things you have enunciated, on some of which I agree with you, and on some of which I disagree with you. But some people might disagree with the idea that a youngster should be sent to a summer camp, too—I don't know.

What is reprehensible or wrong about your selecting the people to receive your material, if the people that contribute the money know what you are doing?

Mr. HART. I see nothing wrong, of course, Congressman.

Mr. BROWN. I fail to see what difference it makes who selects the list.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, I have a letter here on the stationery of the National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Building, New York, N. Y., August 21, 1949. I will only read two paragraphs, and then I will hand it to you for identification. It is over your signature. [Reading:]

Recently we wrote friends in all parts of the United States, individuals and corporations, asking for money. We do know that there are a few organizations that speak out effectively against such socialistic measures as Federal aid to education, extension of social security, and other proposals, the aggregate of which will bankrupt this country, and eventually your company. You have stockholders and employees. We are safeguarding their interests.

Now, I hand you this letter for identification, after which I want to ask you: How do you select the names of the corporations to whom you send that letter?

In other words, that, on the face of it, is a clear-cut request for contributions from corporations. Now, do you have a list of American corporations to whom you send that sort of a letter?

Mr. HART. Why, Congressman, we have such things as Poor's Manual, which has every corporation in the United States—

Mr. DOYLE. I am familiar with that.

Mr. HART. With all of the officers. You are familiar with that. We have in New York City the Directory of Directors, which has the list of the corporations in that general vicinity. We have corporations that already contribute to us. We have corporations whose names are selected by friends or by the officers of corporations that are friends of ours.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you this question—

Mr. HART. We don't get them from any one source, Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you phrase that particular letter? It is over your signature. Or do you have some writer who writes those letters and then you approve?

Mr. HART. Well, I always pass on them, so any letter that goes out is mine, and I am responsible for it.

Mr. DOYLE. Again, as a matter of solicitation technique, and that is what I am confining this question to, the matter of solicitation technique—why did you name social security and the Federal aid to education as two socialistic measures, in the letter which you addressed to American corporations? Does that have some particular solicitation appeal, in your judgment?

Mr. HART. Because we think they are socialistic measures.

Mr. DOYLE. You do?

Mr. HART. Very decidedly.

Mr. DOYLE. I take it, you do or you wouldn't have signed your name over that letter. So you class those two as measures you believe socialistic—and when you say you believe, you mean your committee believes; is that correct?

Mr. HART. Yes; generally speaking. Congressman, let me say, in writing a letter of this kind, it has got to be brief. We have found by experience that a letter that goes over onto the second page, most people don't read. We have to condense it. We couldn't put in all of the proposals.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have a recollection of the approximate response to that letter which came to you, in dollars?

Mr. HART. No, I couldn't say, Congressman; I couldn't say. The response varies.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, was it substantial, a matter of several thousands of dollars.

Mr. HART. What is the date of that?

Mr. DOYLE. August, 1949.

Mr. HART. I couldn't say. We try to follow through, but I couldn't say. I would say we had some response, but not a heavy response. I think that would be a safe statement.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, this letter—

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, could I interrupt? I don't know whether I should address you or Mr. Little. I want to speak with reference to the last letter submitted, from the Church of Christ.

Now, I don't think that anybody can possibly take the position that that is not purely ideological. I want to say, that as far as ideology goes, we are ready to talk it to you, or to anybody else, until the cows come home; we are not ashamed of our principles. If your committee wants to go into that, we will go into it with you. But if you want to arrive at anything—I think we are eliminating ideology from this investigation; isn't that right?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. LITTLE. The point to be brought out by that letter was that these letters of Mr. Hart's are sent to the people to influence them and have them influence legislation, and that they always aren't received as Mr. Hart would want them to be received.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Does it take us 3 days to prove that?

Mr. LITTLE. Beg your pardon?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Certainly, he is trying to influence legislation.

Mr. LITTLE. We have been trying to show the technique.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. You are introducing letters having nothing to do with the technique.

Mr. LITTLE. That is for the committee to decide.

I show you a letter dated August 12, 1949, commenting on the fact that the corporations are holding back money, and reading:

We don't know the reason for holding back. Perhaps someone has said we are Fascist. This is a Communist trick, but we consider it a compliment.

Did you mean what you stated in that letter, that you considered it to be a compliment?

Mr. HART. Yes; yes. I would like to explain this, Mr. Chairman:

There are two meanings of the word "Fascist." One is a form of government, I take it, more or less similar to that of Italy under Mussolini, a strong central government regulating everything that goes on. I think our whole record for 20 years shows that we have been precisely, the opposite form of government. We have been for State's rights; we have been for holding back and not concentrating powers in the Central Government. Therefore, it does not seem that we can be that kind of a Fascist.

Now, the other meaning, of course, is an epithet, pure and simple. It is, I think, a matter accepted by nearly all people today, that the term "Fascist" is an epithet, and is applied by Communists, and those deceived by communism, to anybody who opposes them in any way.

In that sense, I mean it here.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Apropos of the witness' voluntary going into the field of explaining his ideology, may I ask the witness three questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, you are familiar with "America Looks at Spain", page 187?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I quote from your own language [reading]:

If one wishes to be a stickler for the theory of pure democracy, the theory of almost interminable discussions, often by people who know little about what they are discussing; or if one wishes to see virtue in the constant policy of compromise, often where compromise is harmful and results in neither one thing nor the other, one may find fault with the proposed Government of Spain.

Do you remember writing that?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. The second question: You are familiar with the "Alien Influence in our Midst"?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Pages 15 and 16, I quote—

Mr. HART. That was an address I made, I think, before the Union League Club of New York.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is the identification of it. I quote:

I wonder sometimes if one of the causes of our trouble today does not arise from the fact that we have been overdrilled into believing we are a democracy. This, too, may be one of the latest "insidious wiles of foreign influence" * * * It is time to brush aside this word with its connotations.

Mr. HART. Read the next sentence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't have that.

Mr. HART. It is always left out.

Mr. DOYLE. I invite you to write it in.

Mr. O'HARA. That was the point I was going to make.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the full letter there?

Mr. DOYLE. I am asking the witness to supply it.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, those who have quoted my remarks on that have always left out the next sentence.

The CHAIRMAN. This is from the National Economic Council Letters?

Mr. HART. This was from a speech that I made before the Union League Club in New York in September of 1940. I have repeated it on two or three other occasions. But the sentence that is always left out, after this sentence [reading]:

It is time for us to brush aside the connotations of democracy—the sentence that followed was:

It is time for us to return to the conception of a republic.

They always leave that out.

Mr. DOYLE. And that is the part you wish to supply?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't have it here; else I would have read it.

Mr. HART. I would be glad to send you a copy of that address, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I would be glad to read it.

Mr. HART. It was a pretty good address, if I say it, myself.

Mr. DOYLE. I still believe in a democracy.

Mr. BROWN. I believe in a republic, too.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Republican Party?

Mr. BROWN. I believe in it, but I believe in a republic, too. I hope we retain it.

Mr. DOYLE. My third question, Mr. Hart—and if there is any part of this quotation which is not quoted here, I would ask you to supply it:

And the barrage of references to the United States as a "democracy" as though it were an accomplished fact (that the United States is a "democracy") simply camouflages and conceals the efforts of an extremely active group of people to convert our Republic into a "democracy"—that is, from a representative form of responsible government into a mobocracy, governed eventually by a dictator.

That is the only portion of that speech which I have. If there is any part which you wish to add, I would be glad to have you add it here.

Mr. HART. I would like to add this, Congressman. We have made quite a study in the history of the United States of the terms "democracy" and "republic."

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, various forms of government were canvassed by the members, and were abandoned. They canvassed the idea of a monarchy, and they gave it up. They canvassed the idea of a democracy, and they gave it up, on the ground that it had always failed in history. Then they came to the conception of a republic. That, they adopted.

The Constitution itself does not contain the word "democracy." On the other hand, it does guarantee a republican form of government to the States.

I am not telling you gentlemen things you do not know, but I am just recapitulating them.

Mr. BROWN. I think it might be worthy of repeating here.

Mr. HART. Even Thomas Jefferson himself rarely used the word "democracy." He spoke of the "republic."

Julia Ward Howe did not write The Battle Hymn of Democracy. She wrote The Battle Hymn of the Republic.

And it was not until Woodrow Wilson came along, and why I don't know, but he began talking about the war that would make the world safe for democracy. How safe it made it, I leave to you gentlemen to decide.

And then it fell into abeyance, and then it was taken up again along in the early thirties.

Now, we trace the tremendous use of the word "democracy" largely to the international Communist meeting in Moscow in 1935. I think it came largely from the speech by George Dimitroff, of Bulgaria, who was a "big shot" in the Communist crowd. There was the use of the word "democracy" to describe Soviet Russia. And, by the use of that word, it is made to appear by, I think, left-wingers, that we are all democracies, we are all the same, when, as a matter of fact, we, of course, are very, very different.

And one other interesting comment on that: Mr. Lehman, former Governor Lehman, of New York, ran for Governor four times. In his first inaugural address, he didn't use the word "democracy" once; in his second inaugural address, 2 years later, he used it, I think, three times; in his third inaugural address, which came after the Moscow

Conference, within a year or two, he used it 27 times; and the last time he ran, he used it something like 30 times.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand, Mr. Hart—and maybe I misunderstood you—but do you mean that none of our great American leaders used the term “democracy” before 1935?

Mr. HART. Very few, excepting—

Mr. DOYLE. Who did?

Mr. HART. I don't know that I can recall any who did. It was occasionally spoken of, but rarely—it was the “Republic.” In other words, our conception, Congressman, is that the United States is unique. Great Britain, yes; she is a democracy. How is that shown? It is shown by the fact that Parliament can pass a law, and there is not a court in the Empire that can overturn the decision of Parliament. They can decide to cut the throats of all red-haired men the next morning before breakfast, and there is no court to stop them. France has been a good deal the same. We have the balance of power.

Mr. DOYLE. You have answered my question. I thank you very much for the courtesy in doing so.

The CHAIRMAN. If we can get back to the letter of March 19, 1947, from Mr. Lammont du Pont, to you the second paragraph—(see p. 76.)

Mr. HART. I don't have that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the second letter.

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. March 19, 1947 [reading]:

It in the council publications to be sent are included the council letters, I have some misgivings. As you know, I think your language is frequently too violent and positions taken are too positive, and perhaps based on too little information to make an entirely satisfactory impression on the public.

I wondered whether or not you have ever toned these letters down in conformance to the viewpoint as expressed here?

Mr. HART. Congressman, we are influenced by any opinions expressed by people in whom we have confidence. Someone said that we are all a little bit of everyone we have met. I think that is very true. And any comment, any criticism that might be made to us by anybody, if we thought he knew what he was talking about, we would bear in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice you don't have any follow-up letter—

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Hara.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, with reference to those quoted excerpts, whether this or any other witness, may I suggest that the entire text be offered in fairness—if the witness desires that it be included?

The CHAIRMAN. All the letters have been included as a part of the record.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that I agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, in connection, with your definition of “democracy,” may I offer these two exhibits in evidence, your economic letter of May 1, 1947, Letter No. 106, and your speech before the Nassau Club at Princeton.

In your speech, at page 8, you say [reading]:

If you find any organization containing the word “democracy,” it is probably directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party.

Did you mean that?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this an appeal for funds, this particular speech?

Mr. LITTLE. I want to follow that up.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I want to repeat what I said before.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the Chair is clear, Mr. Montgomery.

This should be relevant to any solicitation for funds, this particular address. I think the full text of the speech will show that.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I was wondering, because the colloquy was devoted exclusively to ideology.

Mr. DOYLE. That was because your own witness volunteered.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We are ready to stay here until the end of the week, if you want to talk ideology.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. I don't like to interrupt the proceedings, but I would like to ask whether it would be relevant, at sometime in the proceedings, to find out from the National Economic Council, and others, whether, as a part of their lobbying technique, if we want to call it that, they try to influence party platforms, and that sort of thing.

Mr. HART. That came out yesterday, I think, Congressman.

Mr. ALBERT. I am sorry.

Mr. HART. We aim to get our views before the party platform, the platform committees of both parties.

Mr. ALBERT. You haven't been very successful with either party?

Mr. HART. Not as successful as I would like. We live in hopes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have been successful to a degree?

Mr. HART. I think we have achieved some success; yes, sir.

Might I say, Congressman, that this council letter—was that No. 166?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. Did you offer that in evidence?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; that has been offered.

Mr. HART. That is the most complete statement I have seen, if I may say so, of democracy versus republic.

The CHAIRMAN. That is letter No. 206?

Mr. HART. 166.

Mr. LITTLE. Would you read from page 4—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, again, I say that I would like to confine this hearing to the question of solicitation of funds. We could be here the rest of the year, if we get into a discussion of ideologies. I would like to have counsel continue with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, could I say just this: Counsel here read a statement from this letter to the effect that most organizations that have in their names the word "democracy" are either left-wing or communist, and we mentioned six or eight. That remark was challenged by a number of people; so, in the following letter, which I would like to put in evidence, we listed 68 organizations, every one of them left-wing, and all having the word "democracy."

The CHAIRMAN. Council letters Nos. 166 and 167 will go into the record at this point.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

[Council Letter No. 166, May 1, 1947]

LET'S GET THIS STRAIGHT

On September 10, 1940, the president of the National Economic Council, in an address before the Union League Club of New York City, remarked that the United States was planned as a republic and not as a democracy. He added:

"It is time to brush aside this word (democracy) with its connotations. It is time to return to the conception of the republic—a conception so clear that all can understand."

On September 21 The New York Times, in an editorial entitled "We the People," said that Mr. Hart apparently assumed that "democracy" and the American concept of government are not the same thing. It stated that Mr. Hart had enunciated a "curious doctrine" which "must have surprised his Union League Club audience."

The editorial further said, "If power ultimately resides in a universal electorate of free adult citizens—as it does in the United States—we have a democracy. If it does not, we have something else."

Now this distinction between republic and democracy is no mere quibble of words. Even a cursory examination of American history yields overwhelming evidence that the United States is not, and never was intended to be, a democracy; that the use of the word "democracy" to describe the United States goes back (except for scattered allusions in earlier days) only about a dozen years, and that it is the result of pure propaganda. After all, Hitler said that a lie big enough and often enough told will presently be believed.

The Chinese learned, centuries ago, that "The beginning of wisdom is calling things by their right names." When we Americans become so befuddled that most of us no longer call our very country by its right name, it is time to do something about it.

The purpose of this letter, therefore, is to tell why the United States is a republic, and why, even after the passage of certain recent laws, it is not a democracy.

The members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 discussed the attributes of democracy and rejected it on the ground that it had always failed. Thus on May 31, 1787, Edmund Randolph told the Convention that the object for which the delegates had met was "to provide a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that in tracing these evils to their origin every man had found it in the turbulence and trials of democracy. * * *

No delegate protested this statement. The Convention was clearly in accord with it. Mr. Elbridge Gerry at about the same time told the Convention: "The evils we experienced flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want (that is, do not lack) virtue; but are the dupes of pretended patriots."

Let us remember these lines as this or that Senator or Representative in Washington comes forward with a bill to provide fresh control over, and regulation of, the American people—always, of course, with a further building up of bureaucracy, and too often with one eye on the vote in his State or district.

Alexander Hamilton, in a speech June 21, 1788, said in part:

"It has been observed that a pure democracy if it were practicable would be the most perfect government. Experience has proved that no position is more false than this. The ancient democracies in which the people themselves deliberated never possessed one good feature of government. Their very character was tyranny; their figure deformity."

Now let's go quickly back through the centuries and read a few opinions expressed by others.

Aristotle said, in 322 B. C., "A democracy when put to the strain grows weak, and it is supplanted by oligarchy."

Seneca said in 63 A. D. that "Democracy is more cruel than wars or tyrants."

Montesquien said in 1748 in *The Spirit of the Laws*, "Democracy hath two excesses to avoid, the spirit of inequality, which leads to aristocracy or monarchy, and the spirit of extreme equality, which leads to despotic power. * * *

Jean Jacques Rousseau said in 1762, "If there were a nation of gods, they would be governed democratically; but so perfect a government is not suitable for man."

And coming down through times that followed the Constitutional Convention James Fenimore Cooper in 1838 observed that "The tendency of democracy is in all things toward mediocrity."

Thomas Carlyle said that "Democracy is, by the nature of it, a self-canceling business and gives in the long run a net result of zero."

Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1848 said, "Democracy is morose and runs to anarchy." And elsewhere he said, "Democracy becomes a government of bullies, tempered by editors."

William H. Seward said in 1848 that "Democracies are prone to war, and war consumes them."

While we continued with the concept of a republic our country had its greatest growth and development. President Cleveland once said that it was the duty of the people to support the Government, and not the Government to support the people. We did not then have so many Government bureaus; but we did have liberty and ever-mounting strength.

Down to the time of Woodrow Wilson the United States was seldom described as anything but a republic. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Federal Constitution contains the word "democracy." It occurs rarely in state papers. Nearly always the country is "the Republic." Thomas Jefferson was the founder of the Democratic Party; but in his first inaugural address, though he refers several times to the "Republic" or the republican form of government, yet he does not once use the word "democracy" or any derivative of it.

The Federal Constitution in fact guarantees to each of the States "a republican form of government." The pledge long used in our schools is a pledge of loyalty "to the flag, and to the Republic for which it stands." Julia Ward Howe did not write the "Battle Hymn of the Democracy."

Since, however, we have been fed for a dozen years almost ad nauseam with references to the United States as a democracy, and have been told by countless fellow travelers of communism that we must "make democracy work"—since nearly every speech, many sermons, and countless news stories and columns as well as broadcasts harp on the word—since, indeed, there seems to have been largely an abandonment of the use of the term "Republic," we may well ask how we got this way.

The answer is through propaganda—well-laid propaganda. Propaganda that has swept well-nigh the whole people along with it.

Former Governor Lehman, of New York, in his first inaugural message in 1933 did not once use the word "democracy." In his message of 1935 he used it twice. But in his message of 1939 he used "democracy," or a derivative thereof, 25 times; and in his annual message to the legislature, January 3, 1940, he used it no less than 33 times.

Now, in the summer of 1935, occurred one of the great meetings of the Communist International at Moscow. Spelling out some things that happened before that meeting, and what has happened since, there is a clear inference that the use of the word "democracy" was then apparently decided upon as the term to be applied to any country opposing Hitler, while any country, or, indeed, any individuals or groups that did not violently oppose Hitler, were to be described as "Fascist."

If you are going to promote an ideology, names, including epithets, become important. "Democracy" apparently sounded somehow good—perhaps those at the meeting of the International felt the word could be put over in the western world. And as they had to have an epithet to describe those opposed to communism, which was what they were interested in, the word "Fascist" would be as good as any.

That Moscow conference was everlastingly right in thinking these words could be put over in the west. By the same high-gear propaganda all countries that later joined in the war against Hitler were "peace loving," and those that did not were "warmongers" or "Fascists"—which leads, of course, among other things, to the inference that Switzerland is not a peace-loving nation, but that Russia, Yugoslavia, etc., are.

Now Governor Lehman is not a Communist, or even communistic. He has, in fact, on occasion taken a very independent stand, as when he opposed the Court-packing bill in 1937. But he is a Democrat, and in general has supported the New Deal—the American version of collectivism.

From the time of the recognition by Roosevelt of Soviet Russia in 1933, the New Deal administration, with which, of course, Mr. Lehman can fairly be associated, was not unfriendly to the Stalin government of Russia. And our recognition of Soviet Russia led, contrary to Russia's express agreement, to a huge step-up of Communist propaganda in the United States. Hence, even Lehman himself came honestly under the spell of this Communist propaganda.

Now, the propaganda about "democracy" is really in two parts. The first is propaganda to make our people believe that the United States is a democracy; and we have only to point to the Times editorial above mentioned to see how completely that great newspaper has swallowed the idea. Without doubt those responsible for that propaganda know that the secret of success of the American Republic lies in the fact that it has been and still is a republic. And they are smart enough to know that so long as it remains a republic it will be difficult if not impossible to destroy it.

But there is a distinctive second part of this propaganda. Not only is the attempt being made to convince all the people that what they have here is a democracy, but there is at the same time an effort actually to change over our country from a republic to a democracy. For if the people have been made to believe that what they have is a democracy, then the collectivists, as they bring up each new socialistic project, have an added argument by pointing out that the country is not really a democracy unless the proposed measure is adopted.

What is the difference between a democracy and a republic?

There are two great distinctions between the kind of republic that was set up by the Constitutional Convention and which still largely remains, and the various forms of democracy which the founding fathers so clearly understood and so cordially distrusted. The working out of those two distinctions was itself the greatest triumph of the Constitutional Convention. It is not too much to say that there would have been no America such as we have known if these two distinctions had not been made.

The first distinction is the protection of the rights of minorities. We properly have in America the principle of majority rule. The President is elected by a majority of the members of the electoral college. The Congress may have a majority of the one major party, or of the other. But in such cases, neither the President nor the Congress may trample on certain vital rights of the individual citizen. Those rights are the kind described in the Declaration of Independence as inalienable. They are more fully described in the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, which itself was derived from the Bill of Rights of the 13 free and independent States, which together formed the United States of America by the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Now there are some countries in the world, even very great ones, that are democracies. Great Britain is a democracy. In Great Britain the British subject or citizen has no rights whatever of person or property that the British Parliament cannot destroy overnight. That accounts for the ease with which various industries in Britain have been nationalized. No constitutional provision, safeguarding fundamental rights, stood in the way.

The Third French Republic, which came to an end in June 1940 when France was overrun by Hitler, was essentially a democracy. Under that democracy all the sovereign powers of the people had been delegated by them to a central government sitting in Paris, whose authority over the most vital rights of the individual citizen was absolutely unlimited. As Archibald E. Stevenson, who lived and studied some years in France, and is one of our really great students of constitutional government, has said: "The citizen retained no rights that the Parliament might not lawfully violate and no courts were authorized to hear their complaint against legislative abuse."

Therefore, the attempt to class the United States with even Great Britain and the Third French Republic as a democracy is wholly inaccurate. Not just technically inaccurate, but fundamentally inaccurate. And the attempt to class Russia with either of these three countries as a democracy is, of course, preposterous. The kind of democracy existing in Soviet Russia is almost identical with the kind existing in any harshly disciplined prison.

But there is another respect in which the United States is a republic in contradistinction to a democracy. This is in the division of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial—our well-known system of checks and balances. This division recognizes that if the same man, or men, make the laws, interpret them and execute them, despotism results. The Constitutional Convention, by working out the principle of the separation of powers, gave us the freedom on which we built the greatness of our country. James Madison, one of the most active members of the Constitutional Convention, said that: "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be denounced as the very definition of tyranny."

One of the characteristics of certain phases of the New Deal, notably in the enormous development of administrative law, has been this "accumulation of

all powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, in the same hands"—often in the hands of some youth fresh out of Harvard, the College of the City of New York, or the University of Chicago. And all the while New Deal propagandists beat the tom-toms of "democracy."

Already, of course, certain changes have been made in the Constitution which savor more of a democracy than of a republic. But these have not been great enough materially to change the republican character of our Government.

One of these was the sixteenth amendment authorizing a Federal income tax "without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Another was the amendment ratified the same year, 1913, providing for the direct election of United States Senators. Prior to 1913, Senators had, of course, been elected by State legislatures. That method gave us on the average a higher type of legislator.

A member of the committee that waited upon Elihu Root in 1908 and offered him the Republican senatorial nomination, which he readily accepted, was likewise on the committee that 6 years later offered him renomination. But this second time Mr. Root promptly declined, saying in substance that he would not submit under the direct election plan to a petty scramble for that great office.

It is in some of the measures passed by Congress under the New Deal that we see the tyranny that results from "democracy." There is no better example of this than the labor laws—and especially in the operation of the so-called closed shop. On countless occasions under the closed shop the majority of those voting in a meeting of a minority of the workers in an entire plant have thus become enabled to compel every employee in the plant to join the union. The minority have thus been deprived by the Wagner Act, as construed by the Supreme Court, of some of their most precious and vital liberties. The fact that no matter how skilled and valuable a worker may be, if he refuses to join the union and have union dues subtracted from his pay envelope, he loses his job—this alone is enough to condemn the Wagner Act as utterly repugnant to the republican form of government.

But from the most of the tyrannies which we are asked to accept in the name of "democracy" the country has thus far escaped. An examination of them strongly suggests the similarity between them and the various planks of the Communist Party platform.

One of these tyrannies is represented by the various antidiscrimination bills introduced in the Congress and in many State legislatures (and indeed already adopted in three States). Nobody desires unjust discrimination. There is much that can be done voluntarily and without compulsion to bring about better understanding between people of different races and creeds. But to pass a law which compels a dozen employees to accept association with another person under penalty of fine and imprisonment may in truth prevent discrimination against the thirteenth, but it certainly is discrimination against the remaining 12. It is compulsion of the majority by a minority.

We have said previously that most organizations that have in their names the word "democracy" are either left-wing or communistic, if not outright Communist. This has been denied.

Yet there is abundant evidence of its truth. To name a few such organizations there is the Church League for Industrial Democracy; the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Youth for Democracy; Friends of Democracy; the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; the American League for Peace and Democracy. And we could name at least a dozen more. Some of them have been unanimously found by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to be Communist-front groups.

Superficial minds in the Democratic Party may see a reason for falling for the "democracy" idea. But for Republicans, whose party name derives from the Republic itself, likewise to be taken in, is indeed a tribute to left-wing propaganda.

Mr. Stevenson recently remarked:

"De Tocqueville once warned us that: 'If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event will arise from the unlimited tyranny of the majority.' But a majority will never be permitted to exercise such 'unlimited tyranny' so long as we cling to the American ideals of republican liberty and turn a deaf ear to the strenuous voices now calling us to democracy. This is not a question relating to the form of our government. That can always be changed by constitutional amendment. It is one affecting the underlying philosophy of our system—a

philosophy which brought new dignity to the individual, more safety for minorities, and greater justice in the administration of government. We are in grave danger of dissipating this splendid heritage through mistaking it for democracy."

Truly, if we will but read our own history we will learn that the United States is a Republic. And learning that—and its meaning—will go far to insure that we retain our liberties.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.

[Council Letter No. 167, May 15, 1947]

LO, THE GENTLE OCTOPUS!

In recent months a warm, comfortable idea has entered the American mind. "The UN may not be much good," it whispers. "But, after all, it is rather harmless. Just a debating society where the world can blow off steam. No harm to let it try."

This idea did not appear by spontaneous generation. It was planted. It was planted by those who want busy Americans to continue complacent while these world planners complete a little unfinished business.

What is this unfinished business? Nothing less than a bigger and better New Deal—not merely for America this time, but for all the world. A new New Deal that will eventually force every nation to abdicate its sovereignty, and submit to rigid economic and social controls. A new New Deal that is being put over on us in one of the slickest, most audacious moves in human history.

The American people—in spite of 2,300,000 of the faithful on the Federal payroll—decisively rejected the American New Deal in November 1946. But they will have no opportunity to clean out the executive department until November 1948. Meanwhile, within our State Department and other executive agencies sit experts who know best. "If the people are too stupid to vote for what is good for them," they say to themselves, "let us give it to them some other way."

So they are planning to do it by international agreement, upon which the people will have no direct opportunity to vote. And they are disguising it as a measure to establish "freedom of world trade."

The planners have drafted a master plan, described by Mr. Gareth Garrett, editor of *American Affairs*, as "prepared by experts and clothed in a language that only experts could understand." No serious observer will think its obscurity is accidental. How else than by such concealment could totalitarian control of the internal and external economies of all nations be peddled for the exact opposite of what it really is?

The method of putting this deception over on the American people is simple. While we are lulled into imagining that the UN is all mouth, a harmless debating society, the planners are busy attaching tentacles to its body—tentacles specially designed to grip hard just where they are intended to grip. These tentacles are "agencies" of the UN. We are counted upon to assume naively that the agencies of a harmless body must be harmless, too.

The tentacles have names. They are, the International Trade Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Labor Office, the World Health Organization, the International Refugee Organization, the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the Economic and Employment Commission. These will all work together, directed by a common brain for a common purpose, through the UN Economic and Social Council. It is the first of these—the International Trade Organization (ITO)—we are considering now.

With the ostensible objective—a full flow of world trade upon terms advantageous to all—nobody will quarrel. But is the ostensible objective the real objective? Let us see.

If some one should approach you at the Aquarium, and say: "I want to bring you the free, abundant life. Please submit quietly while I throw you to this hungry octopus," would you submit? You would not. You would judge the sincerity of the objective by the means proposed to attain it. And if your would-be emancipator should say: "If you won't let me throw you to the octopus that proves you don't believe in democracy and liberty," you would be even less favorably disposed.

That, in essence, is exactly what the plan hatched by our State Department experts proposes to do. It has been under discussion for several weeks at an International Conference in Geneva, where the charter will be hammered into final shape. As proposed by the United States, it would establish an international planning and enforcement authority to set and maintain an economic pattern for the whole world. To this world pattern all nations would be required to adjust their own domestic patterns—under threat of heavy penalties.

What is this world pattern to which we would have to conform? And how is it to be enforced?

Today the world is divided between those who would organize human life about one principle, and those who would organize it about another. The principles are mutually exclusive. Each results in a distinctive pattern.

The first is the Christian principle of human freedom. Once you grant the intrinsic value, the divinely conferred and inalienable rights of the individual, then for that kind of person you must have a kind of society that will promote those rights and is bound to respect them. To men who hold to this principle, government is an instrument to promote their well-being and convenience by performing certain designated tasks. It is their servant. They are its master. This is the pattern of freedom.

The second principle is the exact opposite of the first. Man must be considered collectively, in the mass. The individual has no intrinsic value. Neither has he any divinely conferred and inalienable rights which others are bound to respect. This mass man is wholly subject to the omnipotent state, against which no individual possesses any maintainable rights. The state is master. To achieve whatever it deems the "common good," the individual is its instrument. He is, and can become, nothing more. This is the pattern of slavery.

Our Republic from the beginning was based on the Christian principle of freedom.

All collectivist nations, including the Soviet Union, are anchored to the principle of slavery, though the Soviets choose to call it "security." So is every other government or people which has succumbed to socialism. Socialism and communism are merely rival sects of the religion of collectivism. The differences between them are unimportant. They share a common organizing principle. Both enslave the same kind of world. They are against all that America has stood for.

The sincere souls who imagine we can have socialism and liberty are a pathetic lot. You can no more have both together than you can jump off a thousand-foot cliff and then by an exercise of sheer will suddenly stop in midair. The choice before mankind is rigorous. It is one or the other. Each country must decide which it will have.

Which course do those statesmen choose who designed the ITO?

They choose a statist, collectivist world. And they are proposing it in the name of the United States of America. So, while our Secretary of State was sternly resisting Mr. Molotoff in Moscow, and while the President has been pleading with Congress to hurry our aid to Greece and Turkey against communism, our delegates at Geneva have been getting ready to persuade the rest of the world to reorganize itself on the collectivist principle.

And who are the men who are thinking the great thoughts designed to put across this international new deal? For the most part they are among those who fathered the now discredited American domestic New Deal.

Here's how the new international new deal will work. All signatory nations are to accept the principle that maintenance of full employment and full demand for goods is a responsibility of the state. They all accept joint responsibility as well, for conditions within any particular nation. If there are dislocations anywhere, all must share them equally. The words sound noble, but the results would be noble for nobody. When this first principle is conceded, everything that follows is by inexorable consequence conceded, too.

Suppose a world surplus of corn. America could not say, "We shall purchase no more from abroad; we shall keep our entire market for our own farmers." No. The ITO would inform us that the world surplus is, say, 15 percent. Then we would be obligated to force our farmers to reduce production by 15 percent, while we reduced our imports 15 percent, but we shall not be able to refuse imports we do not need. We must continue to purchase the remaining 85 percent of our normal imports from abroad.

Inescapably this means two things: It means, first, that America could no longer do as it likes in its own market, not even to protect the jobs and interest of its own people. It means, second, in the word of Mr. Garrett, that "as the

trade of the world is planned and controlled by an international authority, so the American economy must be planned and controlled, for unless the Government did plan and control production in this country it could not fulfill its obligations under the Charter."

It is not agriculture alone that is to be controlled in America and everywhere else in this International New Deal. Everything in world trade is to come under the tentacles of the octopus—and have we not had it dinned into our ears these 16 years that nearly everything men make or grow and sell goes into the stream of world trade? When there are world surpluses, our own Government must order factories to be shut down; then it must select the workers to be thrown out of jobs. But since such economic shock effects are like widening ripples in a pond, Government must plan for our whole internal economy that such shocks may be absorbed. It must do this to "share world unemployment." And, by extension of the same principle, when there are world shortages we shall be compelled to export an amount fixed by an international authority at what it decides is a fair price, even if our own people go without.

The political implications of all this are perfectly apparent to anyone who stops to consider them. They lead straight to world government. And the whole grand scheme would be, in its working out, a scheme to pool and share the world's poverty.

Our present New Deal Government has on its payroll, as we have said, about 2,800,000 bureaucrats—somewhat less than 2 percent of our population. With the International New Dealers planning a world control far more effective than the one we have had domestically, it is not rash to guess that the world bureaucrats would number 2 percent of the world population—or about 40,000,000 employees. And, at least in the early days of the program, we may be sure that a large part of their pay would come out of the savings of the American people.

Here is a paradox for the centuries. That the one great Nation and people who have built up the greatest economy ever known to man, and who have done it by organizing their lives around the principle of freedom, is now proposing to the unsuccessful that their way, not ours, should be the way of all.

And here is another paradox: What is it that makes these other, unsuccessful ones willing to consider adoption of the ITO pattern? Largely because, if they do not, if free enterprise survives in America, they themselves will not be able to meet it in fair competition.

Is there any reasonable doubt about what may happen? None at all. Planning on an international scale makes the freedom of any national economy impossible of maintenance. Is that, then, why the New Dealers, defeated and balked at last in America, chose to transfer from the national to the international sphere? What other inference is possible?

In a recent speech before the American Petroleum Institute in Chicago, Mr. J. Howard Pew clearly recognized what is happening and pointed out the peril in the method by which it may be put over on us:

"* * * Many of these men for the last 14 years have been seeking to force a system of collectivism upon us, but with only partial success. Now they see the opportunity of establishing such a system in this country through the rear door of international agreements and treaties designed to weld us to the collectivism of the remainder of the world.

"In this way, they apparently hope to achieve in a constitutional manner what otherwise would be unconstitutional. The Constitution makes treaties the supreme law of the land, on a par with the Constitution itself, overriding other Federal laws and nullifying State constitutions and laws which may be in conflict with the treaty."

The supposed advantages claimed for the ITO may be simply stated. The first is that by it all the other nations of the world are to have free access to the richest market in the world—the United States. Except in the case of things we do not produce this is, of course, no advantage to the United States. Indeed, it may well be just the opposite if our country is to be flooded with articles produced by slave labor abroad.

The second supposed advantage is that by the ITO plan other nations will be assured of protection against American competition, which is the competition they fear most. That, again, is no advantage to us.

In fact, what is proposed is a vast interlocking system of state cartels, directed from a single seat of international authority. It is monopoly in its worst form raised to the highest conceivable human power. Yet, it is interesting to note that the very elements in this country that have been most "antibusiness," and

who profess to see a wicked international cartel behind every factory smoke-stack, are the very forces which see in the supercartel of the ITO a new charter of liberty for mankind.

But could we not withdraw from the ITO, or regard its instructions as advisory, if they threatened our national interest? Not at all.

The decrees of the ITO would be enforceable by penalties. These penalties are discrimination and boycott. If one nation represents that the activities of another have injured it, and if the ITO agrees—each nation has one vote—the complaining nation may be authorized to institute compensating discriminations. If these and the instructions of the ITO are of insufficient effect, the whole membership of the ITO may boycott the offender. This merely means that it would be cast out of the family of nations, unable to export or import until it was ready and willing to come to repentance.

It has been impossible, in this short space, to give a complete idea of the ramifications of the UN-ITO plan and its inevitable consequences for our daily occupations and lives. But it is almost an understatement to say that if this American proposal for collectivizing the world (principally ourselves, as the last great stronghold of private initiative) is adopted, our liberties will be gone. In the name of "security" and "sharing" and "freedom of trade," we shall have surrendered all. We shall have surrendered it for the promise of a mess of global pottage we shall not even get.

We shall not get the mess of pottage because, although the spokesmen of collectivism talk glibly or even eloquently about it, no statist-slave economy has ever been able to produce real security. It offers what it never can deliver.

Only a free economy has ever in the world's history produced a security based upon abundance. It has done that there, in the United States of America. Now we are asked to abandon it for the mere, naked promise of a system that has always failed in the past, that is failing all over the world at this moment.

Nevertheless, the new octopus of the international state insists upon a down payment, which is human freedom. The balance it will take in our willingness to submit progressively to new and more rigid controls which will so bind us as to render us incapable of ever regaining that freedom.

Today the Republic stands in its greatest danger. It is in peril of being destroyed without knowing it, under the impression that there is no issue, that this is a matter for the experts who are working hard to benefit everybody by stimulating free world trade. Our people have watched the big mouth of the UN octopus with tolerant amusement, not observing the growth and the power of the developing tentacles. When our final moment comes, we shall find that the mouth has developed teeth, too.

Perhaps all this is what the men of the Kremlin are really waiting for. If we intend to be so obliging as to abandon our system and adopt theirs, they may not need to fight us or even to work on us much longer. For the task of joining together the two halves of a collectivist world would not then be difficult.

With essential differences of principle removed, that would be merely another job for the experts.

One or more of our friends, having read letter 166 entitled "Let's Get This Straight," have asked us whether there are really many left-wing organizations whose names contain the word "democracy."

So, for the record, we list the following in addition to those mentioned in letter 166:

- American Friends of Polish Democracy.
- American School of Christian Democracy.
- American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy.
- American Union for Democracy.
- American Friends of Spanish Democracy.
- American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy.
- Anti-Nazi League for Defense of American Democracy.
- Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
- Citizens Democracy League of Missouri.
- Committee of Democratic Action.
- Commission on the Defense of Democracy Through Education.
- Conference on Pan-American Democracy.
- Congress on Education for Democracy.
- Congress of Peace and Democracy.
- Congress for Democracy.
- Constitutional Democracy Association.
- Council for Democracy.

Council for Pan-American Democracy.
 Defenders of Democracy, Inc.
 Democratic League of America.
 Democracy's Volunteers.
 Democratic Youth Federation of California.
 Democratic Councils.
 Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
 Film Audiences for Democracy.
 Friends of German Democracy.
 German-American Congress for Democracy.
 Hollywood Anti-Nazi League for the Defense of American Democracy.
 Inter-Democracy Federal Unionists.
 Japanese-American Committee for Democracy.
 League for Christian Democracy of Ohio.
 League for Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy.
 League for Inter-American Democracy.
 League for Industrial Democracy.
 League of Youth for Democracy, Inc.
 Legions of Democracy.
 Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.
 National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education.
 National Council for Democracy.
 New York City Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action.
 North American Democratic Hungarian Federation.
 People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.
 Roland German-American Democratic Society.
 St. Louis Council for American Democracy.
 Society for American Democracy.
 Social Workers to Aid Spanish Democracy.
 Slavonic Committee for Democracy, Inc.
 Society for United Democratic Action.
 Social Democratic Federation.
 Social Democratic Party of America.
 Student League for Democracy.
 Student League for Industrial Democracy.
 Student Defenders of Democracy.
 United Christian Council for Democracy.
 United League for the Protection of Democracy.
 United Organization for Defense of Democratic Rights.
 Union of Democratic Control.
 Union for Democratic Action.
 University Federation for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
 Vanguard of Democracy.
 Washington Committee for Democratic Action.
 Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy.
 Women in Democracy.
 Women's Inter-American Congress for Peace and Democracy.
 World Congress on Education for Democracy (Teachers College)
 Youth Council for American Democracy.
 Youth Committee for Democracy.
 Young Defenders of Spanish Democracy.

Some of these may no longer be in existence. All or nearly all of them (we do not know of one that is not) are leftist in varying degrees. They are far removed from the aims and purposes and traditions of the American Republic.

And while speaking of the "democracy" type of organization, it is worth pointing out that in a publication known as Democracy's Battle published by Friends of Democracy, we find on page 3 of its April issue, an article which, in speaking of the tool owners union, contains the following passage:

"For example, Merwin K. Hart, staunch defender of the Fascist Generalissimo Franco, said in August 1946: 'I am one of the founders of the tool owners union. Everyone I know is a member. I know Allen Rucker very well. We meet each other very often.'"

On May 6 the president of the Economic Council wrote to the Reverend L. M. Birkhead, head of Friends of Democracy, citing the above passage and adding: "Every statement about me in this passage is a lie. I was not a founder of the tool owners union, and never told anybody that I was. I never said to anybody that everyone I know is a member. I never said that I knew Allen Rucker

very well—as a matter of fact I have never even seen him. And I never said that we meet each other often.

"This kind of falsehood is just about the stuff most of us expect to see in the publications of the Friends of Democracy."

Down to the hour this publication went to press, we have heard nothing in reply.

MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.

MR. LITTLE. October 4, 1949 [reading] :

I am addressing this communication to 50 well-known industrial executives who are large employers of labor.

MR. HART. What number is that?

MR. LITTLE. That is a letter to which you addressed, soliciting funds.

MR. HART. October 4, 1949.

MR. LITTLE. Did you ever address a letter to labor, soliciting funds?

MR. HART. No; we never did.

MR. BROWN. Do you think you would have got it, if you did?

THE CHAIRMAN. He might have.

MR. BROWN. You generally go to the well where the water is, if you want to drink.

MR. HART. I think it is fair to put in the record at this point that the New York State Economic Council, which we were for 12 years, was formed following a movement started by three men: Mr. James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany; Mr. Emanuel Kovelesky, of Rochester; and I—who were three nonlegislative members of the Industrial Survey Commission, which was a New York State Legislative Commission that sat from 1936 to 1939, and following whose deliberations, though it is entirely unofficial, the New York State Economic Council was organized.

I say, those three men started a movement that led to the formation of the New York State Economic Council. Mr. Kovelesky, who was president of the State bartenders' union and vice president of the State federation of labor, was greatly interested in the formation of this organization, and he was on a committee to arrange a dinner at which, incidentally, my classmate, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the chief speaker, and out of which came this organization of the New York State Economic Council.

MR. BROWN. What strange company you keep, Mr. Hart.

MR. HART. What is that, sir?

MR. BROWN. I say, what strange company you keep.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you want that in the record?

MR. BROWN. I don't care. Period.

MR. HART. As bearing on the question of why we don't go and ask the labor people, Mr. Kovelesky said to me, in advance, "My friends will try to pull me off of this, but I will stick." A month later he came to me, with tears in his eyes, and said, "It is no use; I have either got to get off or I lose my job." I told him, of course, that he couldn't lose his job, and out he went.

But that is one of the reasons, perhaps, why we haven't approached the labor people, worthy as many of them are, with requests for funds.

If the committee can tell me any direction in which they think I can get funds, naturally, I would be happy.

The CHAIRMAN. In your letter of March 20, 1947, to Mr. Lamot du Pont, that you refer to [reading]: (see p. 76)

Many more libraries have asked us to send them—these letters.

I have an impression that a well-run library is glad to have different points of view presented.

Do any libraries actually pay for your material, when they could be getting it free?

Mr. HART. There are a handful that do pay; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you notify these recipients of their good fortune in getting these gifts?

Mr. HART. Each one gets a letter from us.

The CHAIRMAN. As to who the donor is?

Mr. HART. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The donor remains anonymous?

Mr. HART. He remains anonymous.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you describe these gifts to libraries, colleges, universities, or churches?

Mr. HART. We have a form letter that we send in, in which we tell the recipient that a public-spirited citizen has subscribed for our publication for its benefit. We get many fine letters from presidents of colleges and libraries, and a great many people we don't hear from at all.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call this to the attention of the committee:

Your letter of January 2, 1948, to Mr. du Pont, you say [reading]: (see p. 77.)

We have definite evidence in a number of instances that our work with respect to measures before Congress has been decisive in the disposition of these measures. All we need, in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures, is the funds to get additional personnel and to meet other necessary costs.

Mr. HART. I don't know that I have that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the three-page letter of January 2, 1948.

Mr. LITTLE. January 2, 1948; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The three-page letter, Mr. Hart.

Mr. LITTLE. Now, what definite evidence did you have at that time, when you wrote to Mr. du Pont, that your work was decisive in the disposition of some measures before Congress?

Mr. HART. Well, Mr. Chairman, I will have to jump back quick and try to find one. President Roosevelt, in the late days of November 1942, sent a message to Congress asking for what he called his third war powers bill, which would have given him power, in his discretion, to suspend any and all immigration legislation, and any and all tariff legislation. I wrote a council letter, December 1, 1942, on that subject, and I appeared before the Ways and Means Committee, and requested the committee to put the matter over at least until the following Congress. I knew enough about politics to know that the complexion of that following Congress would be less likely to pass it than that one.

The following day, the Ways and Means Committee took exactly that action, unanimously. And I had a letter a few days later from Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, whom I have never met, and he said to me in

substance, "If it is of any interest to you, I think your council letter, and your appearance before the committee, were one of the major influences under which the committee acted."

Incidentally, one of the Members of Congress, who was very much in favor of that bill, spent 20 minutes on the floor—the record will show this—a few days after that, in which he complained that the Economic Council had apparently too much influence on the Congress.

Mr. LITTLE. What do you mean, then, when you say [reading]:

in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures—all we need is to get additional funds.

Mr. HART. I mean, of course, that we have not been able to cover all measures in the field. We have been able to cover some. It has been rather spotty. But, I mean, that if we had enough funds, so that we could employ competent personnel, and cover the whole field, we would have a proportionately greater value.

Mr. LITTLE. I can't understand the word "conclusive."

All we need, in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures in the funds—

Mr. HART. Well, I think that is explained. Kaltenborn thought that we had been a conclusive influence on Congress. That is the only one I have mentioned. I could think of, perhaps, several others. If we had adequate funds we could, perhaps, be a conclusive influence on others.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, you are a lawyer, and so am I. Mr. Kaltenborn's statement to you was sort of hearsay evidence, wasn't it?

Mr. HART. It was a voluntary statement of a man who didn't have to say anything.

Mr. BROWN. A statement of opinion of a man who had been an observer of national events for some 40 years?

Mr. HART. I would say so, yes, Congressman.

Mr. LITTLE. I also call attention to page 2 of that letter, in which you state [reading]:

We desire to engage a competent man whose business will be to form in each of a number of centers a small committee of five men, each impressed by the need for real educational work in the community and willing to give an amount of time. * * *

These committees will work quietly; will aim to see that opinion-formers, like members of boards of trustees, vestries, school boards, etc., receive certain brief literature that will better enable them to counteract the left-wing tendencies. Each committee will serve as a nucleus around which perhaps a score or two of men can presently be gathered to fight for things that are American.

We shall issue a weekly sheet containing a five- or six-hundred-word article of current interest and importance which will be sent to as many of the country's newspapers as possible. Very possibly we could put such an article in mat form. I got this idea in England a few months ago from the British Society of Individualists which has been carrying on work of this kind for 2 or 3 years and finds many of the country's rural newspapers anxious to receive the series.

Was that contained in that letter?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. Is that the scheme you had evolved?

Mr. HART. Counsellor, we have worked on that idea for a number of years. We have not yet brought it to the stage where we would like it to be. We are still working on it.

Incidentally, we don't get all of our ideas from England.

This method of assisting in the expression of opinion is a method that I think you all know is very effectively cultivated by our labor friends and by various left-wing organizations in the country. It is nothing new.

Mr. ALBERT. You, I am sure, approve this sort of procedure?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. ALBERT. As do the labor unions, and everybody else?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. ALBERT. Isn't that a sort of confession that you like the way the democratic process works?

Mr. HART. No; now we are getting into the use of words, Congressman. You can call it the democratic process, or you can call it the republican process.

Mr. BROWN. So long as it is done under a republic, it is all right?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, are we going to adjourn at 12 o'clock?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; to accommodate Mr. Hart, who has a very important business engagement tomorrow in New York, we would like to complete today and, if necessary, we will run an afternoon session, or even an evening session, to accommodate him in being in New York tomorrow morning.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I have an executive committee meeting, a meeting that was put off partly to accommodate me, and I cannot be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle stated that he is able to be here. I think some of us can be here after the conference report on rent control. Let's say 3 o'clock.

Mr. BROWN. I will try to make it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess this session at 12 o'clock.

Mr. BROWN. You will notify all members of the afternoon session?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

We have 10 minutes to go.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I be privileged to have the committee record show that all of my absences, beginning Monday, May 15, down to the date of my return to the committee, were occasioned by the fact that I was in my native State of California, along with 20 other Members of Congress from California. We had a primary election out there, and I was home for that purpose.

Now, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, at the time I asked you about political activity, I had in mind that I had seen, some place, some record of some political activity by your committee. I now have in my hands a memorandum from you to Mr. Barger, dated October 17, 1949. I understood you to say that you did not participate in political activity, about an hour ago in your testimony. I read you this, and ask you to identify it [reading]:

As soon as the session is over, and there is no reason why you should not start sooner than that, if you feel you have the time, Will you please compile the voting record on important measures of each Member of Congress who was elected in 1948 by a majority of up to 15 percent, that is, by anyone who had 15 percent more votes than the next man?

We want to leave out the men in those districts, most of them in the cities and in the South, who were reelected by overwhelming majorities.

As to the Senators, we want those Senators that were reelected in 1944 and 1946 as well as those elected in 1948.

Don't think we are getting into politics, we are not. But in our effort to educate the public in various sections of the country, we want to concentrate on those places where it would really pay a citizen to communicate with his Congressman and two Senators. If he is sure of a seat by reason of having had a large majority, he may be unresponsive to public opinion, even from the citizens of his own district.

Am I in error when I appraise that as political action?

Mr. HART. Yes; I think you are, Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you appraise it as?

Mr. HART. It is a legislative matter, pure and simple. We are interested in influencing what Members of Congress we can. We are wasting our time if we attempt to influence somebody in an overwhelmingly Republican or Democratic district. We communicate with them all; we send them all our publications.

Mr. DOYLE. I think the instrument speaks for itself. I would, perhaps, differ with the appraisal you put on it. I call your attention to one paragraph in the letter—

Mr. BROWN. Have you concluded on that one subject, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No; this is the same letter.

Mr. BROWN. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to be completely clear in my thinking on the subject.

Here is a letter by you, dated April 21, 1948, to Gen. Brice P. Disque, 60 East Forty-second Street, New York. I read one paragraph of it:

The other part of the adequate effort is in field organization. In every congressional district we have got to find a small number of men—not less, perhaps, than 5 or 6, and not more than 10 or 12—who will agree to go to work on the job of standing back of the Congressman from that district when he is right, and endeavoring to change his viewpoint when he is wrong. Ten or a dozen of the right men in almost any congressional district (in some city districts this would not be true), who are as devoted to their job of seeing that the Congressman is right as they would be, for instance, in the job of being a director of a bank or insurance company, can go a long way toward offsetting the work of the left-wing propaganda organization.

Again, I ask you, isn't that political action?

Mr. HART. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What is it?

Mr. HART. It is legislative action.

Mr. DOYLE. And how do you differentiate between political action and legislative action?

Mr. HART. Political action is the effort to influence the election or defeat of candidates for office. Those measures come under the Corrupt Practices Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you file under the Corrupt Practices Act?

Mr. HART. No, sir; we do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, sir.

(The Gen. Brice P. Disque letter referred to above is as follows:)

APRIL 21, 1948.

Personal.

Gen. BRICE P. DISQUE,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR GENERAL DISQUE: I was very glad of the chance to talk with you at some length when we lunched together a couple of days ago. I think I know how the present trend in public affairs can be arrested and turned back, and I am sure that you can be a powerful factor in the project.

The Congress cannot do it unaided. The ground has to be plowed and harrowed and planted by private citizens. The Congress must register the result. But the Congress cannot act alone.

Of course quite a few organizations such as the National Economic Council have, in a small way, been trying to do the private citizens' end of this job. But neither the Economic Council nor any other organization, nor all such organizations together, have been doing an adequate job.

Yet there is reason to believe that an adequate job can be done. The business of socializing or even communizing the United States is big business—the stakes are so great that any amount of effort and expense is worth while to those who seek to destroy us. The only way this effort can be met and counteracted, and the American system reasserted and reinvigorated, is by likewise making the countereffort "big business." This adequate countereffort had better begin very, very soon if we are not to lose so much of our American heritage that what remains will be hard to salvage.

The adequate job, in order to counteract and defeat these subversive forces, would be done partly in Washington and partly in the districts of Congressmen and Senators—that is, throughout the United States.

The adequate effort would see to it that there is set up in Washington a large enough staff of competent men to examine all proposals that come up, reduce them to their simplest terms—all from the standpoint of preserving private property, private enterprise, and individual initiative. It would be at the service of any Congressman who desired help. I know the Congressional Library is supposed to do this. But the Congressional Library has, as I understand it, a lot of left-wingers who often prevent the presentation of a matter favorable to our side. I know, too, that Lewis Brown's American Enterprise Association does a good job of analyzing bills, giving the pros and cons in each case.

But what is wanted is more than this: We have got to have men who can prepare adequate memoranda and speech material. It has got to be a private-enterprise staff that can do a lot of work for the Members of both Houses.

The other part of the adequate effort is in field organization. In every congressional district we have got to find a small number of men—not less, perhaps, than 5 or 6, and not more than 10 or 12—who will agree to go to work on the job of standing back of the Congressman from that district when he is right, and endeavoring to change his viewpoint when he is wrong. Ten or a dozen of the right men in almost any congressional district (in some city districts this would not be true), who are as devoted to their job of seeing that the Congressman is right as they would be, for instance, in the job of being a director of a bank or insurance company, can go a long way toward offsetting the work of the left-wing propaganda organization.

Such a group could stimulate letter writing. If a Congressman voted right on a contentious question, they would see to it that one or more letters were sent to the newspapers, quietly but firmly supporting him and incidentally praising him. If the Congressman tended to go the other way, they could cause letters to be sent that in firm, measured language of good will would criticize him. Such a group could interest itself in the use of subversive textbooks in schools and colleges; it would not overlook subversive activities in the churches; it could influence the bringing into the district of good speakers, and could prevent in many cases the bringing in of left-wing speakers. It could see that the truth was told in the home district.

Obviously, if this were done in all or a majority of the districts comprising a State, benefit would accrue to the Senators from that State.

It seems to me, from my years of being interested in legislation, both in State capitols and in Washington, that a very large part of the work of pushing or defeating a given measure is done in districts back home. Organizations like the League of Women Voters and like the old Anti-Saloon League have, or have had, a tremendous influence on many, if not most, Congressmen. And except occasionally, as, for instance, when the court-packing bill was up, no adequate effort is done to offset it. I believe, too, that only a fraction of the time and effort now spent by these many left-wing organizations would be sufficient, if wisely used, completely to offset them.

Of course such a program would take considerable money. But when we consider what is at stake almost any price would appear cheap. Unless such an adequate effort is made, then I think we will continue to lose the American system and presently it will all be gone, without any possibility of getting it back. The job should be undertaken as one that will take 4 or 5 years. Probably from \$3 to \$5 million a year could well be expended.

My idea is not to duplicate the work of any existing organization. But after considering the work of all existing organizations, we find there is some overlapping, though I do not think it is harmful; and there are many gaps in the American front lines where no organization, or none of any consequence, is working to protect it.

I believe there are men, informed, able, wise, and patriotic, who in this time of peril could put together a movement that could save this country.

In any event, such an organization could, to the great advantage of the country, make it its business to see that really good organizations on our side—and you and I can think of several—are adequately financed.

The makings of the adequate effort are all available. They simply await the hands and brains and experience of men big enough to attract and hold the attention of the entire country.

I will enclose herewith a list of a small number of men whom I think it would be well to invite to a dinner or luncheon to discuss this matter, and I would be very glad to arrange such a meeting at the University Club at a convenient date.

I shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

Brig. Gen. Brice P. Disque, retired; George S. Montgomery, Jr., partner in Coudert Bros.; Frank E. Gannett, newspaper publisher; Earl Harding, public relations; Senator Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey; H. Smith Richardson, chairman, Vick Chemical Co.; H. Smith Richardson, Jr.; Col. Charles Lindbergh; Arthur Bliss Lane, former American Ambassador to Poland; Charles S. Payson, president, Rustless Iron & Steel Co.; Leonard E. Read, president, Foundation for Economic Education; David Goodrich, chairman, Goodrich Tire & Rubber Co.; Stanley Resor, president, J. Walter Thompson Co.; Congressman Howard H. Buffett, of Nebraska.

MR. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown.

MR. BROWN. As I understand it, in this letter (October 17, 1949, on p. 114) you were suggesting to Mr. Barger that he prepare a record of votes. I imagine that is the one that Mr. Halleck and I mentioned yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN. That was for Mr. Barger's comments on Members of Congress.

MR. BROWN. No; whether he was right or wrong, he selected the issues which he thought were important, and marked whether or not Members voted right. Of course, it was along the same line or method as followed by the New Republic, the CIO, and the AFL.

I want to mention, however, just for the record, that I believe, Mr. Doyle, there was either a court decision, or a ruling in connection with the publication of these lists, or reports, on the votes of Members of Congress, that such was entirely within the right of a person, to publish them, and he couldn't be restrained from doing so, or anything of that sort. In other words, the New Republic's action, the action of the labor newspapers, and others, was entirely within their right to do.

And, of course, you were following the same method, as I understand it.

I disagree with most of these polls, perhaps I might not do any better at determining what the principal issues are, or whether a person voted right or wrong, but I do agree that any citizen, or any organization, has the right to give their conception of what the important issues are, and whether somebody voted right or wrong on it.

But this other matter, as I understand it, that was trying to mold public opinion, direct legislative activity, wasn't it, rather than to tell the people whom they should vote for or against in the election?

Of course, I imagine the publication of these lists of votes, as to how you voted on the subject, whether you voted right or wrong, has

far more influence on an election than anything else. I know they are used as guides by some organizations. But, nevertheless, it is, at least on the surface, and, I think, technically and legally, a legislative activity, that is being reported upon.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, if I may again direct your attention to the same line of questioning, as to whether or not your committee is engaged in political action, political activity, do you know a Robert B. Dresser, the very distinguished attorney of Providence, R. I.?

Mr. HART. Robert B. Dresser; yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Robert B. Dresser. I have in my hand what appears to be a photostat of an original letter dated December 14, 1949, to you, from Mr. Dresser [reading]:

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you very much for your letter of December 13 with the additional copies of your excellent council letter of November 15.

The Buckley committee to which I referred was the little committee which was appointed at your meeting at the University Club in New York the early part of October, consisting of William F. Buckley, head of the Pantepec Oil Co., General Disque, George Peck, and myself. The purpose of the committee was to work on a coalition between the southern Democrats and the northern Republicans.

Now, is that political action or not?

Mr. HART. That isn't my statement.

Mr. DOYLE. No; but this is a letter to you, sir. Do you remember getting it?

Mr. HART. Yes; I do.

Mr. DOYLE. And do you have a carbon copy of your letter of December 13, 1949, to him? If you do, I would like you to produce it, so that we can clarify it for the record.

Mr. HART. I should have that.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you try to produce it for the committee?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I ask you that in good faith, Mr. Hart. It is a letter by you to him, dated December 13, 1949.

(The letter above referred to was not furnished in time for printing.)

Mr. HART. Congressman, let me say this: By being connected with the National Economic Council, I do not forego my rights as a citizen.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course not.

Mr. HART. To discuss politics.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course not.

Mr. HART. With various people. I am not employed full time, though I spend most of my time on the Council; but I do feel free, if I want to sit in with a group of people and discuss the political situation, I feel free to do so.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course.

Mr. HART. This was a personal letter to me and had nothing to do with the Economic Council, the National Economic Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you correspond on the letterhead of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. On my personal letterhead, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, may I comment on that: I have heard a great deal of talk, ever since I have been in Congress, about some sort of a coalition between the Republicans and southern or conservative Democrats—not always from the South, but conservatives. That coalition may or may not exist, according to the imagination or

opinions of individuals; but if it does exist, certainly, the record of both political parties does not demonstrate that it has ever existed on a political front, but only on the legislative front. There have been many times when the conservatives, from all sections of the country, regardless of party affiliation, have voted the same way on legislation; there have been times when the left-wingers, or radicals, of all political parties have voted the same way on legislative proposals, or other issues. So that we have reached the place, or have come very close to it, in this country, where the division has not been one of party affiliation within the Congress but, instead, has been one of political philosophy or political belief, as to whether you believe in this type or that type of governmental action, and party lines are crossed by members from both sides of the aisle quite often, many times on important issues.

So that I think that any so-called coalition, whether it did or did not exist, would certainly have to be more legislative than it would be political.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a memorandum, dated January 10, 1949, to Mrs. Dall from Mr. Hart. I would like to ask you a question, Mr. Hart, in reference to the January 10 memorandum. (See p. 394.) Were all of these 1948 contributions reported on your lobbying report? At least three of them, in my opinion, should have been, in three separate quarters.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, we reported all that we had received. Which one of these? This \$3,000?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the 200 subscriptions that were in 50 shares of petroleum stock, offered as a gift. That was one.

Mr. HART. They were reported, Mr. Chairman, either as contributions or else they fell into the heading of purchases of subscriptions or publications.

The CHAIRMAN. In July, a \$3,000 item; in November, another \$3,000 item. In checking the lobbying reports, I do not find those three listed in any way whatsoever.

Mr. HART. Well, they should be there. I don't know why they are not in there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question, then, your attorney certainly ought to look them over: Why did you change your method of reporting on sales of literature at this point under the Lobbying Act? You previously regarded them as contributions and then, beginning with the report you filed about this, they were merely lumped together as "Other receipts." Now, why?

Mr. HART. Because the nature of the money that passed was—the purpose was different. In one case it was a direct contribution on which the donor would have paid a tax to the extent it was more than \$3,000, a gift tax. At least, I assume so. In the other case, where he purchased material, then, under the opinion of our counsel, who passed on this for us, he gave us an opinion, saying that it was a contribution; it was simply a purchase of material, which was given by him to charitable, educational, and religious corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have you read very carefully that letter of January 10, 1949, the memorandum to Mrs. Dall, who is obviously the secretary to—is it Mr. Irénée du Pont?

Mr. LITTLE. Mrs. Dall is in Mr. Hart's office.

Mr. HART. One of our vice presidents.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would study that. When we resume, I would like to question you further on it.

Let me ask you, Mr. Hart, did the Committee for Constitutional Government, or Mr. Mason Bigelow, suggest that you change your method of reporting at that time; did that enter into your decision to alter your form of reporting on lobbying?

Mr. HART. I don't know that he suggested it, but he approved it.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been the technique of the Committee for Constitutional Government in making their reports, from the reports that we have examined, and I noted at this point that the National Economic Council shifted over to that form of reporting.

Mr. HART. Our doing it had nothing to do with the Committee for Constitutional Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered whether or not your decision was influenced by their practice?

Mr. HART. Not in the least.

The CHAIRMAN. You are rather closely associated with them, of course?

Mr. HART. No; excepting that I know several of the personnel very well; but I rarely see them, except Mr. Harding, who is on our executive committee. I see him two or three times a month, perhaps.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the only one of the directorate who is on the boards of both the Committee for Constitutional Government and the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. He is no longer on the board of the Committee for Constitutional Government. I think he is a director of America's Future, which is another organization, that is more or less affiliated.

The CHAIRMAN. Set up by the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Earhart? You mentioned [reading]:

If we can't find 300 of these subscriptions, then we will have to find as large a proportion as we can. My impression is that there are 150 subscriptions which Mr. Earhart did not renew last year and which started about the same time or a little later. If that is true, we can begin with those.

Who is Mr. Earhart?

Mr. HART. Did you ask me why we changed over?

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know who Mr. Earhart is.

Mr. HART. He is a man in Ann Arbor, Mich., retired.

The CHAIRMAN. He paid for contributions?

Mr. HART. He is retired. He called to my attention, Mr. Chairman, some 3 years ago, the fact that while he could not deduct a contribution to us of \$3,000, yet he could purchase 300 of our subscriptions and give them to these corporations, and his counsel advised him that that would be deductible. I turned to our counsel, Mr. Mason Bigelow, and he said at once that that was true; and then we began trying to get persons who would subscribe to the publication on the same basis.

Mr. LITTLE. I think we should have, as a matter of record, that there are three directors of CCG who are directors in your organization, Mr. Dresser, Mr. Gipson, and Mr. Harding.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. I think we should have, as a matter of record, too, that of your executive committee there is one, two, three, four, five—five out of nine of the executive committee are employees in your office.

Mr. HART. No; only two—only one. I am the only one.

Mr. LITTLE. Mrs. Dall—

Mr. HART. Mrs. Dall is not on the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one further question on Mr. Earhart: Although you state who he is on the list of material that you furnished us under oath on June 6, 1950, you never furnished his address.

Mr. HART. Earhart?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Earhart. Was that accidental?

Mr. HART. His address is Ann Arbor, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Earhart did renew those 150 subscriptions?

Mr. HART. He renewed half of them. That is why I said that apparently there were 150. They were transferred to somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. They were assigned to Mr. du Pont.

Mr. HART. Whoever it was.

The CHAIRMAN. The memorandum states that.

Since you were reporting sales as actually being contributions, in your earlier lobbying reports, why was Mr. Earhart's name never reported?

Mr. HART. Well, it fell into the category, as I say, of those who had purchased subscriptions, and we did not regard him as a contributor—he was a purchaser of subscriptions.

The CHAIRMAN. His name did not come into the entire list that you furnished us on June 6 of 1950.

Mr. HART. He contributed only twice, in 1947 and 1948, as I recall. He did not renew, the third year, anything.

The CHAIRMAN. To correct myself, it is in your list that you furnished, the name, but not the address, and it is not in the lobbying report of that particular period.

Mr. HART. He did not contribute after, I think it was, the winter of 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 3 p. m. this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 3 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL—Resumed

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, I call your attention to the letter of February 17, 1949. (See p. 82.)

The CHAIRMAN. In the packet?

Mr. LITTLE. In the packet; yes. Have you that letter before you?

Mr. HART. February 17?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. This is a letter addressed to Mr. Lamot du Pont and the third paragraph states [reading]:

You were impressed, I think, as I was, with the subscription that came to me from the Beech Aircraft Corp. of Wichita, Kans., which was a subscription of 1 penny for each of the nearly 600,000 shares of stock outstanding. This subscription was in response to your January letter.

Of course you stated the fact in that letter?

Mr. HART. Yes; excepting you said it "came to me." It says "came to us."

Mr. LITTLE. "Came to us," pardon me. It further states:

It has occurred to me to wonder if you would consider addressing a letter to perhaps 100 or 200 carefully selected corporations, mentioning our work and stating that one moderate-size corporation has subscribed in that manner (1 cent for each share of stock), and asking them to consider making a subscription on the same basis. If we got only a few subscriptions out of such a letter, it would be well worth while.

Mr. Hart, may I ask you this: Did any other company since that time subscribe on the basis of outstanding stock?

Mr. HART. No, sir; I do not recall that any did.

Mr. Chairman, could I interject this, if you please?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HART. This morning I think Mr. Brown pointed out that Mr. Barger of our Washington office had made a compilation of votes on various measures. I understood him to say he had marked some right and some wrong. Mr. Barger has given me a copy of the compilation—which, incidentally, he did on his own time, as he was working for us only part time—and there is no characterization of the vote either right or wrong, or good or bad, or anything else. It simply says whether they voted for or against. I just wanted to get that into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to put the entire listing in at this time?

Mr. HART. I don't think so. It has nothing particularly to do with lobbying.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement will be accepted.

Mr. HART. Excuse the interruption.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, will you please refer to the letter of February 21, 1949, from Mr. Lammot du Pont to you, and will you look at the last paragraph as I read it to you: (See p. 88.)

Second, and most important, I cannot individually solicit contributions from corporations when I well know that the company with which I have spent most of my working life, namely, the du Pont Co., would, in all probability, not comply. The reasons why I think the du Pont Co. would not comply require considerable explanation, and I do not believe need be given.

That is signed by Lammot du Pont. Can you explain why Mr. du Pont would write such a letter before and after he did solicit money from other corporations?

Mr. HART. Well, I think he solicited money more from individuals than from corporations. The du Pont Co.'s charter, Mr. du Pont has explained to me, prevents the company giving any money to any purpose unless the du Pont Co. itself, and its stockholders, will directly benefit.

Now, Mr. du Pont did write the two letters, in the fall of 1948 and in the fall of 1949, soliciting subscriptions from a substantial number of people. It may be that they were addressed both to individuals and corporate officials. I am inclined to think they did. But when this matter came up, of soliciting subscriptions from corporations alone, he apparently preferred not to do it.

Mr. LITTLE. And that is the excuse he gave you, that he was bound by the provisions of the charter?

Mr. HART. I would not say an excuse, I would say a reason.

Mr. LITTLE. A reason?

Mr. HART. Yes. He did not say he was bound by the provisions of the charter. The provisions of the charter of his company do not control him in any way, he acts purely as an individual.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; but his company did not donate any money. These were individual donations?

Mr. HART. Individual donations.

Mr. LITTLE. Is it your understanding that the du Pont Corp. cannot make a charitable gift?

Mr. HART. Oh, I assume they do make charitable gifts where, in their opinion—as, for instance, a hospital in Wilmington or any other place, wherever it might be—where they have a plant.

Mr. LITTLE. Then these gifts that the du Ponts made individually, they charge as charitable contributions, isn't that right?

These gifts that Mr. Lamont and Mr. Irénée du Pont made were charged off their income tax as charitable contributions, were they not?

Mr. HART. Only in the case where they purchased subscriptions.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HART. But not where they made contributions, as I understand it.

Mr. LITTLE. Going over the correspondence I find that on the 20th of January 1949—

Mr. HART. Is that in this bunch here?

Mr. LITTLE. No. I find that on the 20th of January 1949 your organization received \$500 from the Rock Ledge Institute. What is that? A hospital?

Mr. HART. I don't know.

Mr. LITTLE. Did not you make an inquiry?

Mr. HART. No. The check, when I recall it, came as I was away and was promptly deposited.

Mr. LITTLE. Your organization did receive that \$500 check?

Mr. HART. I believe so.

Mr. LITTLE. Did they make that donation at the request of Mr. James H. Rand?

Mr. HART. It is my impression that they did.

Mr. LITTLE. Who is James H. Rand?

Mr. HART. He is the president or chairman of the board, I guess, of the Remington Rand Co.

Mr. LITTLE. Is he also a director for the Committee for Constitutional Government?

Mr. HART. I never heard that he was. I don't know.

Mr. LITTLE. Is he a director of the National Economic Council?

Mr. HART. No; and never has been.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you remember the letter that the treasurer of the Rock Ledge Institute sent you?

Mr. HART. No; I do not.

Mr. LITTLE. May I refresh your recollection and see if this is not what the letter said. It is dated January 19, 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it in the packet?

Mr. LITTLE. No; this is another letter. [Reading:]

DEAR MR. HART: At the request of Mr. James H. Rand, the trustees of the institute, which was organized for medical research, have considered the matter of contributing to the National Economic Council.

Due to the fact that the institute was organized for medical research, they feel that such a contribution is not proper. However, they are making an exception this year and have approved a contribution of \$500. The trustees feel that they should not be asked to contribute any further.

Accordingly, there is enclosed herewith check in the amount of \$500, payable to the National Economic Council, Inc.

W. C. Hoyt, *Treasurer.*

You are familiar with that?

Mr. HART. I think I recall the letter now.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that same subject, when did the Public Health Foundation for Cancer and Blood Research make its contribution? I assume it was before January 1, 1947, because it is not included, by name or amount, on the list you furnished us.

Mr. HART. Is that the institution that Mr. Little just mentioned?

The CHAIRMAN. This is the Public Health Foundation for Cancer and Blood Research.

Mr. LITTLE. The one we talked about yesterday.

Mr. HART. I assume it must have been before that, otherwise it should be on that list. That was \$500, too, as I recall it, wasn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know just what the amount is.

Mr. HART. My impression is it was \$500, and I don't know whether it was before or after that date.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in your first report, filed for the first quarter of 1946, and it was 500 or more dollars. As to what the amount was, of course, we don't know, and the list we asked you for, of course, covered only the period from January 1, 1947.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I assume the trustees of these institutions know what they are doing, and I think it is customary, in the charters of many institutions, to provide a sort of omnibus clause over and beyond the specific purposes of the organization in question. It may very easily be, and I would expect to find it to be, that there was such omnibus clause in the charters of these two institutions.

Mr. LITTLE. Is there more than a legal concept connected with the donations from an institute for medical research or an institute established for cancer and blood research? Is there some concept of to whom they should give their money that is collected on the pretense of helping these medical research hospitals and institutions.

Mr. HART. Counselor, I think it is conceivable that the trustees of these institutions felt that if the principles for which the National Economic Council stood prevailed their own institutions could function to greater advantage.

Mr. LITTLE. How would a cancer and blood research institute, or a medical institute, benefit by giving the money that they collected for medical purposes, and research purposes to the National Economic Council? How could the institute benefit?

Mr. HART. Because I would assume it possible that they would think that their respective institutions could get on better and flourish better and be freer of any possibility of taxation themselves in the future if our efforts to keep down the cost of government were to be successful. I am just supposing.

Mr. LITTLE. I am just trying to find out. Did you make an effort to get money from J. Howard Pew?

Mr. HART. On several occasions I have talked with J. Howard Pew.

Mr. LITTLE. And did you employ anybody to get money from J. Howard Pew or the Pew family?

Mr. HART. One who is in our employ went and called on Mr. J. Howard Pew once either on my suggestion or with my approval.

Mr. LITTLE. Was he to get a bonus for getting money from Pew?

Mr. HART. The arrangement we had with that man was that on certain names that we gave him, which I think were former subscribers, he would have a certain commission, which I think was 10 percent, as against his drawing account, and that on new names for whom we had not had subscriptions he would get, I think it was, 20 percent. As a matter of fact, he never got any subscriptions that equaled the drawing account that we gave him during the roughly 10 weeks that he was in our employ.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a profit on these subscriptions, Mr. Hart, for the organization?

Mr. HART. How do you mean, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you issue these subscriptions for \$10 a year. Now there is the preparation of the news letter, so to speak, the council letter, the letter that you send out for the subscription. Is that letter sent out weekly or semimonthly?

Mr. HART. Semimonthly.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that absorb the entire cost of the contribution?

Mr. HART. Well, the actual shop cost of production does not, but we regard the rest of it as consisting of editorial cost, and almost everything we do is reflected, most of the money we spend is reflected in the information we would get, and the ideas that evolve, that we put into these council letters.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you make no profit whatsoever from the subscription?

Mr. HART. From that standpoint, we do not. If you figure, on the other hand, simply the actual printer's cost, and postage, and actual out-of-pocket cost, there is an amount over and above that which, as I say, goes to what we call the editorial cost.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a round figure that you use, as a number of organizations do? For instance, that the issuance of the letters and the service cost, say \$10 a person, or \$15 a person, or \$25 a person? Do you have any round figures for your own organization?

Mr. HART. My impression is that the actual shop cost of production, plus postage, plus cost of mailing, and so forth, would be something under \$4 per subscriber, which would leave \$6 for editorial cost, rent, and everything else, everything that goes in the editorial cost.

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to ask you a question along that line.

Do you, or any other person receiving any money, or does the National Economic Council, get any commission, brokerage, or fees based on the number of subscriptions or gifts received?

Mr. HART. No, sir; we do not. We had an arrangement with a man once, when we had our radio program about 4 years ago, whereby on certain moneys that he brought in he got a commission of 10 percent.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you or any of the other persons, other than that one man, get any commission on any receipts?

Mr. HART. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Either directly or indirectly?

Mr. HART. Neither directly nor indirectly.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you or any of the others get any commission or percentage on the pamphlets sold in any way?

Mr. HART. There is nothing contingent of that nature, no.

Mr. DOYLE. How is your salary and their salaries fixed?

Mr. HART. How is their salary fixed?

Mr. DOYLE. How is your salary fixed?

Mr. HART. It is fixed by the board of directors or the executive committee.

Mr. DOYLE. The executive committee, according to the testimony yesterday, is largely composed of employees of the company.

Mr. HART. I am the only employee of the company that is on the executive committee.

Mr. DOYLE. The executive committee then is chosen by the annual meeting, is it?

Mr. HART. That is chosen by the annual meeting of the directors, after they themselves have been elected by the members.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you testified you did not make any effort to get the members to be present at the meeting.

Mr. HART. We send out the usual corporate notice, with a proxy in case they cannot attend personally.

Mr. DOYLE. I am interested in that procedure. I am on the board of directors of some nonprofit charitable organizations, too, and I am not unfamiliar with that procedure. Then the directors fix the salaries for yourself and others in effect because the members do not attend numerously enough to, in fact, control the board, do they?

What I am getting at, Mr. Hart, you are a lawyer and you see what I am asking. In other words, the control of your organization rests in the board of directors, which is, in fact, the only active group in the organization, because you testified you do not make an effort to get the members there, and consequently they do not come.

Mr. HART. We make the effort so far as sending them notices of the meetings, and they may come.

Mr. DOYLE. Sure, the routine of sending out postcards for the calling of the meeting.

Mr. HART. These are all mailed notices.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of the members come to those annual meetings?

Mr. HART. At the last meeting, which was held early this month, June 8, only three outside members showed up.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right. How many of the members of the board of directors showed up?

Mr. HART. I think there were 17 who attended the board of directors meeting.

Mr. DOYLE. And the year before that, how many more than three attended the annual meeting of the members?

Mr. HART. Well, I am speaking from memory, but we never had more than three—that is not right. For several years we never had more than three or four members who showed up. The problem is to get them out, Congressman, as you know from your experience.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that.

Mr. HART. We had present at this meeting, of course, I think it was 518 proxies sent in by members.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you a couple of more questions, Mr. Hart, right at this point.

I don't know whether the committee counsel is going to bring out anything about the action report or not, but I have a copy here in my hand. I refer, Mr. Hart, to this [handing document to Mr. Hart].

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date?

Mr. DOYLE. This is under date of August 15, 1949. How many of this sort of thing are printed, and how often?

Mr. HART. I don't think we have had any for a year or so, Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. When it was in circulation, how many did you print, and how often?

Mr. HART. Well, we would send as many out as we have members.

Mr. DOYLE. Why did you discontinue it as a part of your lobbying procedure?

Mr. HART. Well, the press of other matters.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to be perfectly fair in my statement when I say as part of your lobbying procedure, because on the last page it says [reading]:

Watch for same flights in House, and write your Congressman to support such an amendment.

I would like to offer this as an exhibit. I don't know if any have been offered before, but it is apparently the standard procedure.

Mr. HART. We turned over to your committee a copy of every publication, including these, that have been published since January 1, 1947.

Mr. DOYLE. I just happen to have this copy, and I offer it in evidence. Also I happen to have this copy. You are familiar with it. It is a pamphlet dated April 15, 1950, entitled "Emergency," and this is as to procedures in your effort to influence Congress directly or indirectly.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be made part of the record.

(The document headed "Economic Council letter—Emergency" will be found on p. 502.)

Mr. DOYLE. It states [reading]:

On the reverse side of this letter is a list of the members of the United States Senate, each of whom should be addressed at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. We are setting forth also a list of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Will you kindly write a letter immediately to each of your own Senators, urging them to do everything in their power to secure adoption of the Kem amendment.

Then you also say in big type:

Don't send this council letter to any of these legislators. Phrase your letter in your own language. Illustrate your letter with any information that is based on your own experience.

And we shall appreciate it if you will mail us a copy of what you write. Here is a chance to accomplish a very concrete result.

That is part of your procedure, isn't it?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. And then you list all the Senators.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't think we had such a typical example before.

Mr. HART. This is the Economic Council letter of April 15, 1950, and in asking them, Congressman, to write to their Senators based on their own observation and experience, we thought we were trying to get them to be of the utmost possible use to their Senators.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course also in making that suggestion I assume, as every able public-relations man works, you also wanted to give the Senators the impression that this was not a stereotype form, that they were not being propagandized but that they were receiving independent expressions, isn't that true?

Mr. HART. Well, we wanted to have our members give their Senators the greatest possible benefit of their experience. We do not think a stereotyped form of letter or telegram is worth much.

Mr. DOYLE. I agree with you.

Mr. HART. I am sure you do.

Mr. DOYLE. Sure. I don't criticize that at all.

Mr. BROWN. I think he is being very frank. May I ask this question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. BROWN. The gentleman has filed, or his organization has filed, documents which indicated they were engaged in lobbying activities. You admit it openly and emphatically, and this is one of the ways in which you do lobby. This technique, as I understood it, is similar, or is almost the same as the techniques that we found on the other side of the street. Perhaps it does not go quite as far as the Public Housing Conference material which every member gets, that we put in the record here, where they sent out prepared radio speeches to local communities, where they sent out advertisements, and statements for local people to give to the press, that were sent to a good many veterans and their friends in the community, that were sent to homes, and so forth and so on, where they would ask for all sorts of information, where the local supporter only had to write his name in the blank release furnished to the local newspaper. I think it has been demonstrated everybody uses the same technique to influence legislation. Most of them do not influence it as much as they think they do.

Mr. DOYLE. It would be interesting to find out what they do.

Mr. BROWN. I learned about this by experience. I don't think there has been any group which has been hesitant in adopting any plan that they thought would work. They certainly do not respect copyrights, if that is what the gentleman has in mind.

That is the same technique, as I understand it, that we discover time after time on both sides of the street. I think Mr. Goodman did the same thing, and I think most lobbyists do it, because the folks at home have more influence with the Members of Congress than organizations away from home.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the question that Mr. Doyle asked relative to whether or not commissions are paid, let me call your attention, Mr. Hart, to your minutes of March 17, 1949, at the time you hired Mr. Palmer, the Englishman, to lecture on the effect of socialism in Europe or Great Britain.

Mr. HART. December 15?

Mr. LITTLE. March 17, 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. The minutes.

Mr. BROWN. That is a good day.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Irish day.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you read the agreement that was adopted on that day between your organization and Mr. Palmer?

Mr. HART. Does that begin in the fifth paragraph, counselor?

Mr. LITTLE. Wherever it might begin. Where you reported on Palmer's visit.

Mr. HART. Yes. [Reading:]

The president also reported on Mr. Palmer's visit to this country, stating that a special fund of \$5,600 had been raised to cover the cost of this trip; that so far funds have been received in excess of \$900, and further funds down to and including May 12 are expected to be about \$5,000.

Mr. Hart explained that the moneys paid into the Palmer lecture fund were not an underwriting but had been contributed to the Council, and if the receipts from lectures pass the sum of \$5,000, all above that amount was to be divided evenly between the Council and Mr. Palmer.

That, of course, had nothing to do with subscriptions. That was an arrangement whereby it was hoped that Mr. Palmer might get something over and above the very modest retainer we paid him.

The CHAIRMAN. And you set up a separate lecture fund for that purpose?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; we set up \$5,600, as the statement shows, in a special fund, and that was to be a cushion. We did not know whether Mr. Palmer's trip would be a success or not. As it turned out, at the end of the year there was nothing to divide. The fund had been depleted by about \$2,700 or \$2,800, owing largely to the fact that Mr. Palmer had been very ill and we had had heavy expenses for hospitals and doctors, and also we had had to cancel several lectures.

Mr. BROWN. How long was Mr. Palmer in this country on that trip?

Mr. HART. He arrived in the first week of February 1949, and left the middle of July.

Mr. BROWN. And under the laws of Great Britain citizens can bring in only so much money with them?

Mr. HART. They allowed him to bring in 5 pounds.

Mr. BROWN. And that is now about \$10 or \$12?

Mr. HART. \$14, I should say, at the rate of \$2.80.

Mr. BROWN. And he received how much for his speeches during that period?

Mr. HART. Well, the arrangement with him and his wife—and his wife came with him because his health was not good, that is, he needs someone to travel with him—we bring him over and take him back and pay the expenses, and we pay the retainer of \$100 a week. After he had paid his American taxes and British taxes that nets him \$35 a week.

Mr. BROWN. What is his income in Great Britain, do you know?

Mr. HART. I don't know. My impression is it is a modest income.

Mr. BROWN. And what percentage did you get out of these lectures, for your organization? Did you have anything left for yourselves?

Mr. HART. No; we had a deficit of \$2,800, which came out of this \$5,600 fund. So the \$5,600 fund was depleted by about one-half. We picked it up last October when he returned, and this season the fund will be just about \$2,800, when he goes back.

Mr. BROWN. I have been the guarantor, with other local businessmen, on some of our home-town lecture series and we generally ended up with a deficit. I presume you learned something about economics in that connection, too.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, was Upton Close on a contingent-fee contract, too?

Mr. HART. This is going back several years.

The CHAIRMAN. You do have a radio fund, is that right, outside the lecture fund?

Mr. HART. Of course, this lecture fund we had beginning only a year ago, last February.

With respect to Mr. Close, we solicited subscriptions, we hired this man to get them, and he proved to be a pretty good man on getting subscriptions solely for the radio fund. We paid Mr. Close a weekly retainer, and we paid the radio corporation bills, and whatever incidental bills there were.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Close then was compensated out of your radio fund, is that right?

Mr. HART. I don't know that we had a radio fund—yes; I suppose it could be called that. We were responsible for the talent fee, I believe the term is, which he got. We paid him the same fee he had been receiving before. When I say "before," he had been broadcasting for one or more years for the Sheaffer Pen Co. in Fort Madison, Iowa, and for the Lumbermen's Mutual Insurance Co. of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You have an international trade association fund also, is that right?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you handle in that particular fund, what item?

Mr. HART. From that fund we handle any disbursements used for the publication of the council letter, or appearances before committees in Washington, or any expenses incurred in opposing the ITO.

The CHAIRMAN. And you itemized these funds, of course, in your lobbying report to the Congress?

Mr. HART. They are all included in the report which you have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other separate funds other than the three mentioned, the lecture fund, the radio fund, and the international trade organization fund?

Mr. HART. No; and of course we have had no radio fund for more than 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the form of the lecture fund solicitation letter that we could put in the record here at this point, do you have one with you?

Mr. HART. I don't think we have.

Mr. LITTLE. I don't think there is any particular form on that.

Mr. HART. A good deal of that solicitation was done by me on long-distance telephone, and some by letter.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, in order to complete—

Mr. BROWN. May I ask one other question about this lecture before you go into that? Did you have anything to do with bringing the Red Dean over from Great Britain, who lectured throughout the country in favor of communism? Did your organization finance his trip or have any connection with it?

Mr. HART. No, Congressman; we did not.

Mr. BROWN. You don't know who arranged his lecture tour, or whether he was compensated or not?

Mr. HART. I do not.

Mr. BROWN. Do you have any information on that?

Mr. HART. I think it would be very interesting to find out.

Mr. BROWN. I think it might be interesting to find out, as a matter of information, who brought the Red Dean to this country and allowed him to lecture all over the United States in favor of communism. I think perhaps our committee, or the counsel, if they have any extra time, ought to make an effort to find out.

Mr. LITTLE. Do you know of any way to do that job?

Mr. BROWN. I am not as close to those people as other people are.

Mr. LITTLE. Don't put me into it.

Mr. BROWN. No, I won't. I am not opposed to Mr. Palmer, and I never saw Mr. Hart until he came down here, but I am a great believer in freedom of speech, so on and so forth. I claim that right for myself and I try to extend it to others, even though I disagree with them, and I just wondered, while we are looking into one man's lecture tour, whether we ought not look into the other fellow's lecture tour, too. Both of them come from Great Britain with directly opposite ideologies and try to tell our people what they think. If the American people cannot do a little thinking for themselves and they cannot reach a sound decision from the facts, then we are in a bad fix.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Lanham asked about politics and I find a note in the minutes that might enlighten us. Will you refer to your minutes of December 20, 1949?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you read the paragraph that I pointed to in the minutes?

Mr. HART. This is from the minutes of the executive committee meeting of December 20 [reading]:

The president also explained that he had had discussions with one or more ex-Members of Congress who were familiar with the problems of the country today and a search was being made as to how to set up these district organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here—just to go back to this form letter—a copy of a letter addressed by Mrs. Enid H. Griswold, chairman, speakers' bureau, the National Economic Council, dated May 8, 1950, and the letter states [reading]:

The National Economic Council will bring Mr. Cecil Palmer, noted English author and speaker, to the United States for the third successive season.

He will be available to audiences in various parts of the country who wish to know what socialism is doing to the people of Britain.

The enclosed circular tells the essentials of the story. I am sending, also, copies of letters of appreciation that have come to us following Mr. Palmer's addresses.

Already a considerable number of dates have been made for Mr. Palmer. If you are interested in his speaking in your neighborhood, or before any organization or college with which you are connected, will you kindly advise us and we will inform you of terms and see if we can agree upon a date.

Then I have a copy of a letter here which has been sent to Mr. H. W. Luhnnow, of Kansas City, Mo., dated April 28, 1949, box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo., and it is a letter from you over your signature,

"Merwin K. Hart," in which, of course, the purpose of the visit and the type of the talk that he gives is mentioned.

(The letter to Mr. Luhnow is as follows:)

APRIL 28, 1940.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
Box 168, Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Mr. Ceell Palmer, toward whose coming to America you contributed generously, continues to make a most favorable impression. I think without doubt he has done more than any other single lecturer to convey to the American people the truth about the utter failure of socialism in Britain.

Mr. Palmer has now spoken in Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C., South Carolina, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California, and Texas. During the next 4 or 5 weeks he will speak a number of times in Texas, and also in Louisiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and a number of times in and near Greater New York. Numerous requests have been made for Mr. Palmer to speak, but for which there have been no vacant dates.

I am enclosing herewith sample letters received by us with respect to certain meetings where he has spoken. These are typical. I am enclosing also photostatic copies of certain publicity that he has received, which are likewise typical.

I was myself present at a dinner given in honor of Mr. Palmer in Sacramento in late March, at which all but five members of the State senate, and a large majority of the lower house of the California Legislature, were present. I am certain, as I am sure all of us outsiders who attended that dinner are certain, that there is less likelihood of socialistic legislation's passing in California since Mr. Palmer has spoken.

When Mr. Palmer first came to this country we were obliged to make a number of speaking dates for which no fee could be charged, and a number of engagements where, under the circumstances, it was inappropriate to expect a fee. Since Mr. Palmer's reputation as an authority and as a speaker has become so well established, we have been able to get fees ranging from \$300 to \$500. Thus, you will be glad to learn that the prospects are we will close the season having made satisfactory compensation to Mr. Palmer and covered all of the necessarily heavy expenses, with the Palmer fund practically intact and ready to bring him back, as we plan to do, in October for a longer season of 7 or 8 months.

The above is in the nature of a report on the progress of Mr. Palmer's speaking campaign.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Luhnow?

Mr. HART. Mr. Luhnow is a businessman formerly of Kansas City and now of Palo Alto, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in any way connected with the William Volker Charities Fund in Kansas City?

Mr. HART. I believe he is president of the William Volker Charities Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Volker Charities Fund?

Mr. HART. I am not sure of the exact name. It is a foundation.

Mr. BROWN. I have gone out to Kansas City once or twice myself, trying to bring a little political light to people in that community. I have not been very successful. Maybe Palmer did better than I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any reason why the company is in Kansas City, Mo., and the Charities Fund in Kansas City, Kans. In other words, if you know, are there any special provisions of the State law there with respect to that set-up?

Mr. HART. I am not informed about that.

The CHAIRMAN. It appeared to me peculiar that the company itself is in Kansas City, Mo., and the fund operates out of Kansas City, Kans. They are one of your large contributors, of course.

Mr. HART. They have been; yes; they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, why have some of the contributions to the National Economic Council, as reported on the lobbying statement, been attributed to the Charities Fund, when the information that you have given the committee confidentially in the report you filed on June 6 attributes all these contributions to the Volker & Co.? Are the two interchangeable?

Mr. HART. I don't know about that, Mr. Chairman. My recollection is that the checks, as they have come, have not always been signed by the same name.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice there is a very large and a very high aggregate sum.

Mr. HART. My impression is some of the money has come from Luhnnow personally, and some has come from the fund.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are all listed in the report you filed with the committee on June 6, 1950, from Volker & Co.?

Mr. HART. I don't know. It may be that that came from the different names, however, all connected with the Volker group, and that was overlooked in making those things up. I would not know for sure. I assume they were listed correctly, but I do remember as checks have come in they have sometimes been over one signature and sometimes over another. "Volker," however, has always been in the name, although I think one or more checks have come from Mr. Luhnnow himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Luhnnow the executive officer and president of the Volker & Co.?

Mr. HART. I believe he is.

Mr. LITTLE. And he is the president of the William Volker Charities Fund? We have a memorandum of a trip of yours to see him.

Mr. HART. He is a very active man in a good many things.

(Memorandum on trip to Kansas City, February 6, 1948, is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM OF TRIP TO KANSAS CITY FEBRUARY 6, 1948

Spent an hour with W. H. Luhnnow at his office, 230 Main Street. He had given us \$5,000 last year. I reviewed the situation with him, saying that the program we had started out on to restore the republic we had modified considerably, believing that a quieter method of campaign would be more effective than a noisy one. In this he concurred rather definitely. He told me that they would go along with us for \$5,000 more for 1948, but it could not be payable until after July 1—probably in July or August, the reason being that they have already allocated all of their income for the first half of the year.

He remarked that they are committing themselves now far ahead, which prompted me to say that I wished he would consider this an application for \$5,000 in 1949 and 1950. He did not positively say so, but indicated the likelihood was that they would.

He urged me to get in touch with George Benson to whom they are contributing heavily and of whose program they think very well. He thought we might in some way cooperate with Benson. I had told him that we had been asked to get out brief broadcasts on the news situation, and that we might presently reach that. He had in mind cooperation particularly with regard to broadcasts.

In answer to questions he said he liked our publications, but said, "You are, of course, tagged."

He spoke of Bertrand de Jouvenal, giving me copy of a letter he had received from him saying I could use it in any way I wanted.

I spoke of Sir William Darling and of Dr. Ignacio Lojendio of Seville as possible lecturers, and he told me to write Robert A. Walker, director of the Institute of citizenship, Kansas City College, Manhattan, Kans.

I called on John N. Foyle, vice president of the Giston-Bacon Manufacturing Co. He appears to be the chief executive, but he introduced me to one Ralph O. Harden, who lately came out from New York to be vice president of the company. Harden told me he is personally a subscriber. He expressed interest in the book Mainspring which I mentioned, and I have sent him a copy.

Both men were very greatly in agreement with what I told them about our work and its objectives, and Foyle said they would send \$50 if we would bill them, which we are doing February 9.

I called on V. E. Speas, a man probably 45 years of age, and head of the firm of Speas & Co., large manufacturers of vinegar. He brought in a Mr. Kemper who told me he is a cousin of J. M. Kemper of Kansas City.

Speas started out by saying rather pointedly that if what I had to say cost any money the answer was "No" in advance. After 15 minutes of talk, he remarked, "You talk damned sensibly," and a few minutes later, "You can bill us for \$250 with the understanding that you will not ask for any more before July 1," which condition I said we would observe.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there are quite a number of other corporations and individuals whose names were included in your lobbying report as having paid \$500 or more to your organization between August 1, 1946, and December 31, 1947, whose names do not appear on the list you furnished us on June 6. We asked only for those names, from January 1, 1947, up to May 1, 1950, who contributed to the total sum of \$1,000. We did not go back beyond 1947. It would appear that they contributed total sums less than \$1,000, so that these particular contributions, which were reported in your first lobbying report, do not appear in the subpoenaed records. Or were they all made between August 1, 1946, and December 1, 1946? Have you lost a lot of those contributors or are they just small contributors?

Mr. HART. I could not answer that, Mr. Chairman, without consulting the records. I would assume that might be the case. Some might have been made once and not made again, some might have been made in that amount, and then other amounts given later, or earlier, and yet the total might not have been enough to equal \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am leading up to is this: Of course, the Lobbying Act was in force in 1946. I wonder whether or not the provisions of the act requiring identification of contributors might have been taken as a ground for refusal upon the part of these firms and groups to make any further sizable contribution to your organization.

Mr. HART. There may have been one or more who have not contributed again. On the other hand, most of them have contributed again, and some of them have increased their subscriptions, and some of them have given additional subscriptions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether or not you have correspondence to that effect in your files that would indicate those who had previously been on your list and for some reason or other just did not want their names made known?

Mr. HART. There are very few, I am glad to say, Mr. Chairman, that seemed to be bothered by having their names made public. I wrote to each of those whose names were on the list that we gave you June 6, and told them just what we had done and why we had done it, on advice of counsel, and all that I have heard from since have said it is perfectly satisfactory to them to have their names made public, and the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, we will make that part of the record. (See list on p. 155.)

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, before I introduce the list of colleges, universities, and libraries that they sent this literature to I would like to read a letter to Mr. Hart from Mr. Jackson, of Hinsdale, Ill., dated February 7, 1950. He says [reading]:

However, as far as making any converts goes, your distribution to people like myself is wasted. It is my belief that in the case of the older men, convictions and philosophies have pretty much crystallized, with the result people are inclined to read such material as favors their own viewpoint and to pay scant attention to anything else. I realize that there is value in this dissemination of information nevertheless.

However, it seems to me that both the opportunity and the need are much greater in the case of younger men, say from 18 to 25 or 30.

* * * * *

This all leads me to believe that a significant part of your distribution of information material should reach college students and other high-school graduates up through the first several years of their vocational activity. May I ask what you may be doing along those lines or what you may have in prospect?

Do you remember receiving that letter from Mr. Jackson?

Mr. HART. I think I do.

Mr. BROWN. What is the point of that letter, Mr. Little?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, the point of the letter is that this literature is sent out to these schools and colleges not merely as an educational matter but as an influence on the college students.

Mr. BROWN. I think the activities mentioned there are not to the point. The gentleman has already admitted they are trying to influence people to be against socialism, or against this, that, and the other thing, or in favor of this or that. That reads almost like a letter that either the Democratic National Committee or the Republican National Committee might send out to some field worker. Both parties, the Republicans and Democrats, are urging the children in their respective communities to take part in the youth plan. I think it is all a matter of philosophy.

Mr. LITTLE. I am not quarreling whether it is philosophy, I just want it on the record.

Mr. O'HARA. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. LITTLE. February 7, 1950.

Mr. O'HARA. I might ask the witness this question:

Mr. Hart, have you changed your whole system of lobbying after the receipt of that letter, or did it have any effect or impact on your activities?

Mr. HART. No, sir; it did not. We got a few letters like that. A few people write us. The implication is he knows all about it, when, as a matter of fact, he does not know all about it. We try to point out if he is going to be able to talk intelligently on these problems he has got to keep informed on developments as they come along, and then usually we get a reply back saying, well, he guesses we are right. I forget what we said to this gentleman here, but I, in effect, would say we said something along those lines.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, I don't see where the letter makes any difference, unless the Foundation takes some action following the letter.

Mr. BROWN. I agree with Mr. O'Hara. Once in a while somebody writes me a letter that is critical of my action.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it has been testified by the witness and it is admitted that they feel the reason they send these books, and so forth, to colleges, is because the young mind is more susceptible of believing them.

Mr. BROWN. Do you know of any philosophy, political or otherwise, that does not attempt to reach the youth of the country, whether it be religious philosophy, whether it be political philosophy, whether it be on the question of labor-management problems, or anything else? You always try to inform the young.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is the most fertile field, Mr. Brown. I think we ought to get those letters into the record and then go on to another subject.

Mr. BROWN. Can't we just put the letters in the record and get along here?

The CHAIRMAN. The entire batch of these documents is composed of what?

Mr. LITTLE. Suggested lists of colleges, universities, and libraries to receive National Economic Council publications from Mr. Lammot du Pont, and another one from Irénée du Pont.

Mr. BROWN. Those are typical of what you have shown us before?

Mr. LITTLE. These are lists of colleges, one O. K'd by Mr. Lammot du Pont and another by Mr. Irénée du Pont.

Mr. DOYLE. Those are typical of the procedure followed. Let us get them in and go to another subject.

(The lists referred to will be found in the appendix on pp. 217, 218, 492 and 504.)

Mr. LITTLE. Here is a list of the Volker Foundation.

(The list referred to will be found in the appendix on p. 556.)

Mr. DOYLE. I might ask, while counsel is getting ready for the next question, how many additional lists has it been in your procedure to furnish?

Mr. HART. I should say there are perhaps 20 or 25.

Mr. DOYLE. Similar lists?

Mr. HART. Similar lists.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. HART. Most of them not so long as these. We have people who will buy 5 subscriptions, 10 subscriptions, 25 subscriptions, and so forth.

Mr. LITTLE. At this point I want to introduce into evidence advertisements of the National Economic Council that appeared in newspapers and pamphlets.

Mr. O'HARA. Will you show them to the witness and see if they are advertisements?

Mr. LITTLE. I don't think there is any question about that.

Mr. BROWN. The witness has not been reluctant to admit anything. I hope it is included in the record with the understanding that the members of the committee do not have to read all of them.

Mr. HART. If you have to, Congressman, don't hold it against me.

Mr. LITTLE. Will you look at these and say whether they are the kind you use [handing document to Mr. Hart]?

Mr. HART. Yes; those seem to be that kind. There is an ad in the Wall Street Journal and an ad in the Chicago Tribune.

Mr. BROWN. I have some editorials from newspapers that I could put in the record, too, but I just don't do it. That is a matter which is up to our committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, while counsel is getting the next paper ready, do you have a list of those booklets going to universities and colleges in my native State of California?

Mr. BROWN. That is a fertile State.

Mr. DOYLE. The most fertile State in the Nation, in everything.

Mr. HART. I cannot say, Congressman, whether we have any going there or not. My impression is they do, because quite a number of these lists are scattered all over the country.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you recall what organization or individual is paying for those lists there?

Mr. HART. I do not, offhand.

Mr. DOYLE. I will accept the statement that California is the most fertile State in the Union.

Mr. HART. It is a great State. I always like to go there.

Mr. LITTLE. I would like to introduce as a part of this record Mr. Hart's confidential memo on the Government of Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. Confidential memo to whom?

Mr. LITTLE. Confidential memo to subscribers, and sent out to certain Congressmen, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this part of the service that goes to subscribers?

Mr. HART. No, sir; it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. It goes to a limited list?

Mr. HART. It goes to a limited list, and we have the name of everybody to whom a copy has gone.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all subscribers, but it is limited to the specific number of subscribers that you designate?

Mr. HART. Some of them may not even be subscribers. I have a number of friends who seem interested and I sent one in each of the last 3 years to them. I think I know some of them that are not subscribers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any objection to that going in?

Mr. HART. Which one is that?

Mr. LITTLE. You may look at it [handing document to Mr. Hart].

Mr. HART. No; I have no objection to that going in.

The CHAIRMAN. The full text will go into the record then.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. I will read it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary to read it. What is it a memo on?

Mr. LITTLE. It is a memo on Salazar, commenting on Mr. Salazar.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. LITTLE. What would you call him?

Mr. HART. He is the head of the Government of Portugal.

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal.

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. This, Mr. Chairman, is a memorandum of a visit I made 3 years ago last summer to Portugal, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Great Britain.

Mr. LITTLE. I would like to show this to Mr. Brown without making comment on it.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, those names on that list were not all subscribers, but you put them on that list and sent this confidential memo

to them to cultivate future gifts, isn't that right? Is not that what made you put them on there?

Mr. HARR. Well, it is partly to increase knowledge as to what is going on, and to stimulate thought in anybody who gets it. If he thinks any the better of our organization for having gotten it, that is all right with us, but I would not say it is the major objective at all.

Mr. LITTLE. I will introduce this memo in evidence with the abstract. Would the committee like to look at it?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart wants to make a plane or train to New York tonight. We have one large item here, an analysis which the staff has not completed yet on lobbying statements or reports, which would take quite a bit of time. I wonder if it would not be possible for you to return Friday morning?

Mr. HART. I greatly prefer not to, if it were possible to avoid it.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether we can get it ready at a later session I don't know.

(The memorandum referred to was filed with the committee.)

Mr. LITTLE. I would like to call the committee's attention to this memorandum from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart, dated January 30, 1950. It might be of interest to the committee. It states [reading]:

DEAR MR. HART: A friend of mine today saw a memorandum of the Buchanan lobby committee's report on an executive session it recently held, and, in substance, it contained the following:

You received that, did you not [handing document to Mr. Hart]?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that memorandum from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. January 30, 1950.

The CHAIRMAN. January 30, 1950. Yet we have had but one executive session, which was held on January 17, 1950, at which time a stenographic report or transcript was made. In the previous sessions we held there were no reports made.

Mr. HART. This, Mr. Chairman, is quite obviously merely an inter-office communication, that is sort of a gossipy comment on rumors.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered how one of your representatives, Mr. Barger, was able to secure from a friend a confidential report of this committee, in which your organization happened to be mentioned in that executive session.

Mr. HART. I am not able to say. I never asked him.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Barger in the room?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you step up and be sworn, Mr. Barger?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY S. BARGER

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barger, do you solemnly swear that the statements you make before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God, until the last great day?

Mr. BARGER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name and address?

Mr. BARGER. Harry S. Barger, 606 National Union Building.

The CHAIRMAN. I have in my hand a personal memorandum from you, Harry S. Barger, to Mr. Hart, dated January 30, 1950, in the

first paragraph of which it says—and we will include the whole memorandum in the record [reading]:

A friend of mine today saw a memorandum of the Buchanan Lobby Committee's report on an executive session it recently held, and, in substance, it contained the following:

That was referring to, of course, the executive session of January 17, 1950.

A finding that the National Economic Council, Inc., is not, itself, registered as a lobbyist, although it has had and received \$30,000 from the du Pont interests during the past few years, and that it seems to be out engaged in politics in an attempt to elect to Congress people suitable to it from about 150 congressional districts.

The information, also, is that the committee believes the council is somewhat subversive in character.

"The document, if correctly reported to me (and I have not the slightest doubt about the accuracy of the report) is strictly in line with (1) the material I sent you a few days ago from the UAW-CIO Ammunition publication for January 1950, and (2) the utterances of Winchell on the radio last evening, concerning which I reported to you in a separate communication.

"And it confirms my suggestion to you that the Buchanan Lobby Investigating Committee will be run, directed, and bossed by the CIO and commentators, and columnists of the stripe which the CIO approves.

"Undoubtedly, Winchell, Drew Pearson, Robert Allen (mentioned in the UAW-CIO publication) and other of their kidney have had, and will continue to get, advance information and data from the files of the Lobby Committee.

"I think, by all means, that set-up should be very carefully exposed if and when representatives of the council are called before the Buchanan committee; and the charge should be made that the CIO and kindred spirits are running the investigation.

"This for whatever it may be worth.

"Sincerely yours,

"HARRY S. BARGER."

Mr. BARGER. May I see that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes [handing document to Mr. Barger].

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, may I make an inquiry to refresh my memory? I just asked the gentleman from Minnesota. I was not here at the January meeting, but I don't think that matter was discussed in the report.

The CHAIRMAN. On January 17, in the executive session, Mr. Mattice, the counsel at that time for the committee, mentioned that information.

Mr. BROWN. Was that part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. That is part of the transcript of the executive session here of January 17, 1950.

Mr. BROWN. I do not recall it.

Mr. O'HARA. I do not recall it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I will show it to you. It is in the official transcript, which you keep in your possession, too. We do not call for those, of course. That was the first one we put on record.

Mr. BROWN. Those were the ones which were corrected and sent back.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Mr. Barger, you did write that letter?

Mr. BARGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To Mr. Hart?

Mr. BARGER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that your own personal belief?

Mr. BARGER. From what I had been told I was inclined to believe it; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, did you or did you not happen to see an actual transcript of our executive session?

Mr. BARGER. I did not, and the letter does not so state.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your friend just choose to relate that to you?

Mr. BARGER. He said he had seen the report, as I recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we issue no reports, of course, but we do have a transcript made, and that is in the possession of the members only. I am certain I never showed you a copy of it, or to any friend of yours.

Mr. BARGER. I did not see it; I do not claim to have seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you relate, of course, in that a good bit of information that may or may not have transpired in that executive session.

Mr. BARGER. That is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was this friend that told you that?

Mr. BARGER. It could be one of three or four people, and I could not actually tell you which one it was to save my neck.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, ask him the names of the three or four people.

Mr. BARGER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this is a confidential memorandum between me and Mr. Hart, and I do not think I should be called upon to name the source of my information, anymore than a newspaperman would be.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are not a newspaperman.

Mr. BARGER. No; and I do not profess to be.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or did this friend of yours get it from a member of the committee?

Mr. BARGER. He did not say whether he did or not.

The CHAIRMAN. In relating this information to you, evidently he stated that he had either seen a copy of the transcript of the hearing of January 17, 1950—

Mr. BARGER. It was not given to me as a transcript, it was a copy of a report, as I recall, stating in this letter, the "memorandum of committee."

The CHAIRMAN. It is your memorandum of January 30.

Mr. BARGER. My memorandum of January 30 starts out with this expression [reading]:

A friend of mine today saw a memorandum of the Buchanan Lobby Committee's report on an executive session it recently held.

That is what I was reporting on.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Barger, you are a registered lobbyist?

Mr. BARGER. I am registered as the representative of the National Economic Council.

Mr. DOYLE. You have a perfectly good memory, don't you, ordinarily?

Mr. BARGER. It fails me lots of times, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I am asking you to name the principal whom you referred to in the memorandum.

Mr. BARGER. I said it was one of two or three people.

Mr. DOYLE. A minute ago, you said three or four people.

Mr. BARGER. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. I am asking you to name the two or three people.

Mr. BARGER. I would ask the chairman whether I should be required to do it. It was given to me in confidence.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse now to furnish that name?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. On behalf of the witness, I want to object to that question.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you his attorney, too?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. He is a member of the National Economic Council, which I am representing.

Mr. DOYLE. May I lay the foundation then, Mr. Chairman?

May I have the letter, Mr. Counsel, please from Mr. Montgomery?

Mr. Barger, I am holding in my hand the memorandum dated January 30, 1950, 606 National Union Building, Washington, D. C., addressed to Mr. Hart. Now, the Mr. Hart referred to is the Mr. Hart who is the director of the National Economic Council; isn't that right?

Mr. BARGER. Surely.

Mr. DOYLE. He sits to your right?

Mr. BARGER. Beg pardon?

Mr. DOYLE. He sits to your right, right next to you?

Mr. BARGER. Surely.

Mr. DOYLE. In the first paragraph therein you say [reading]:

A friend of mine today saw a memorandum of the Buchanan lobby committee's report on an executive session it recently held, and, in substance, it contained the following:

Now, I am asking you to state who that friend was.

Mr. BARGER. I tell you that it might be one of three or four people, and that having written that memorandum to Mr. Hart as a confidential communication between him as my employer and myself, that I prefer not to disclose the names.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you refuse to?

Mr. BARGER. I am not refusing.

Mr. DOYLE. Then do it. Give us the names.

Mr. BARGER. I would like to know the ruling of the committee on it.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I, as a member of the committee, am asking you to give the name or names of the person or persons to whom you referred in this memorandum. You are a registered lobbyist and you are before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are on the payroll of the National Economic Council?

Mr. BARGER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were on January 30?

Mr. BARGER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you on any other payroll at that time?

Mr. BARGER. No, sir; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you receiving leave pay?

Mr. BARGER. No, sir; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. From the Government, or from any source whatsoever?

Mr. BARGER. If you are interested, I was receiving \$121 a month retirement pay from the Government.

Mr. LITTLE. They can't charge that against you.

Mr. BROWN. That is the reason why you are working.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to ask the witness this further question. In paragraph 4 of this communication you say this, to refresh your memory [reading]:

The document, if correctly reported to me (and I have not the slightest doubt about the accuracy of the report) is strictly in line.

Why did not you have any doubt as to the accuracy of the report?

Mr. BARGER. Because I am inclined to believe people when they come to me and tell me things in positive language, unless I know different.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you meet that person?

Mr. BARGER. Beg pardon?

Mr. DOYLE. Where did you meet that person that gave you this report?

Mr. BARGER. I could not tell you, sir, to save my life.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it in the Capitol Building?

Mr. BARGER. No, sir; I am sure it was not.

Mr. DOYLE. Where was it then?

Mr. BARGER. I have no idea. It might have been in my office.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it in your office?

Mr. BARGER. It could have been.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it in your office?

Mr. BARGER. I can't say, sir; I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. What time of day was it? Was it day or night?

Mr. BARGER. It was not night, I know that.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This is the same type of questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I am a lawyer too, Mr. Montgomery.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, may I say a word, with your permission?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. This is obviously a confidential document addressed by one of my staff to me. It was in connection with the council preparing itself to appear before this committee. I do not believe any group appearing before this committee, or appearing before any committee, is required to produce all of the confidential exchange of remarks between the members of the staff as they prepare themselves to come and make an appropriate statement, and I object, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been notified on January 30, 1950, that you were to appear before this committee?

Mr. HART. We knew we would be called.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know you would be called? The decision was not made, Mr. Hart, until very late in May.

Mr. HART. We had excellent reason to believe we would be called.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the excellent reason?

Mr. BROWN. Had the investigators been to your office?

Mr. HART. No, the investigators came to our office I would say early in May. Mr. Little, wasn't it early in May? Possibly late in April, I am not sure. But we had excellent reason to believe we would be called, because we had been extremely active in lobbying, and we were prepared to be called, or preparing ourselves to be called, and in order to prepare ourselves to make the most intelligent statement to the committee we exchanged conversations. I don't think we would be compelled to disclose to this committee the conversation I might have had with our counsel here, or among the officers of the organization. It would seem to me and I would submit, Mr. Chairman,

that this document should be taken as it is and given what credit the committee feels that it is entitled to.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Apparently in some manner some news reporters have gotten confidential information, and it seems to me if we are going into this problem at all we ought to investigate everyone on this.

Mr. BROWN. I think you are correct, but may I remark that there is no specific law which protects a newspaper reporter from divulging the source of his information. It is the custom, although the courts at times have said reporters had to answer or go to jail for contempt.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't think we ought to pursue this thing at this time, unless we go into all of the others.

Mr. BROWN. If you go into the others then you will run into a lot of trouble.

Mr. LANHAM. I think we ought to decide that in executive session. I don't believe we ought to insist that Mr. Barger disclose this information, unless we make everybody else do it, because there were several articles in the paper, several pieces of information that I did not even have. I don't know where they got it or whether some member of the staff is responsible for it or not.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation: I take this position, that any time any lobbyist sends through the mail a communication making charges that any committee of Congress is under the domination of anybody, or any group of people, that is not a confidential communication, and that is the charge in this communication.

Mr. BARGER. I think, sir, you are reading that into it. That may be your opinion, but I do not intend that as any charge.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me read this language and see what you think it is after I refresh your memory. You state [reading]:

I think, by all means, that set-up should be very carefully exposed if and when representatives of the council are called before the Buchanan committee; and the charge should be made that the CIO and kindred spirits are running the investigation.

If that is not a charge, what is it?

Mr. BARGER. All right, you call it a charge. Do you want my basis for it?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. BARGER. All right, sir. Note the CIO ammunition publication that is mentioned in there and you will find the basis of that statement which you choose to call a charge.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to say to you, as a member of the committee, I emphatically resent any American person saying this committee, of which I am a member, is under the control of anybody. I do not hesitate to blast this sort of an alleged confidential communication. As far as I am concerned, there is no communication that passes between any American citizens making charges against a Member of Congress, or a committee of Congress, that is confidential. That involves the whole American people.

Mr. BARGER. I can only repeat, sir, if you want the basis of the statement you read, if you note the United Automobile Workers, CIO

ammunition publication that is mentioned in there you will see the basis for my charge, and you will find in that, sir, a lot of the information that has since been furnished to your committee by Mr. Hart.

Mr. BROWN. Let us not go too far with this.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your opinion now that this committee is under the domination of the CIO and commentators and columnists of the stripe which the CIO approves?

Mr. BARGER. I haven't seen any evidence of it lately, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't seen any evidence of it?

Mr. BARGER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or at any time in the course of this hearing?

Mr. BARGER. Except what I have heard by hearsay.

Mr. BROWN. That is not admissible, Mr. Chairman, it is hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. We will resume with Mr. Hart.

Mr. DOYLE. I want the record to show as far as I am concerned, as a member of this committee, the witness has refused to answer my question, and I am not waiving my right to my demand to having him answer.

The CHAIRMAN. At some future meeting in executive committee we can take it up.

Mr. LANHAM. I resent, too, the charge, but what I was saying is if we investigate the source of his information then we ought to investigate the sources of the other apparent leaks.

The CHAIRMAN. Alleged leaks.

Mr. BROWN. I have sometimes written confidential information in a memorandum that I have not given publicly. On the other hand, I have read reports of what I was reputed to have said publicly so twisted that I wondered whether they were true or not.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the letters that were written during this same month?

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Doyle has them.

Mr. DOYLE. I think they are very pertinent. I would like to include them in the record.

Mr. O'HARA. Are they the interoffice communications?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. LITTLE. I think the committee should see them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right; let us see them.

Mr. LITTLE. We will just introduce them.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I would object to the introduction of that into evidence, as being an interoffice memorandum and confidential in its nature.

The CHAIRMAN. That is this memorandum that Mr. Barger testified to?

Mr. HART. Yes; the memorandum that Mr. Barger testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. Unfortunately, you haven't any right to object, Mr. Hart. That is a matter in the discretion of the committee to decide.

Mr. HART. I make the objection for what it is worth, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. O'HARA. Whether it comes within the realm of privileged communications, I think that is something for the committee to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. I think it is admissible. I do not think it is a confidential communication. The only thing I object to is trying to make Mr. Barger tell the source of the information.

(The memorandum referred to is found on p. 139.)

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence the National Economic Council semimonthly letters. You have no objection to that, have you, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. No, sir.

Mr. LITTLE. And your action report.

Mr. HART. No, sir; no objections.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask just one question. Being an exponent of economy and a member of the economy bloc, are we going to reprint in the final report or our own record all these letters?

Mr. LANHAM. They are just exhibits.

Mr. BROWN. If we fill the printed record with all of the material that Mr. Hart's organization has put out, we are going to have quite a printing bill.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as the advertising, and the ads that appear in the various papers, that is true. The only exhibits that go in the record are what you read individually, and the exhibits that are pertinent to the particular subject.

Mr. HART. The contents of the 40 council letters that were included in this period would in themselves run to about 140,000 words, and I doubt if the committee would want to clutter up its printed record with anything like that, good as they are, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BROWN. This reads something like the description in the book by the author who testified at the beginning of our hearings. Something like the same language which was written to one of our colleagues on the other side of the fence. It seems like you disagree with the philosophy that some espouse. This is typical of what we found both ways.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter written at 9 o'clock in the morning of January 20, 1949, being a letter from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart.

Mr. BROWN. What time in the morning?

The CHAIRMAN. 9 a. m. It says [reading]:

Exactly 3 hours from now, High Tax Harry will take an oath (on two Bibles) that he will uphold and support the Constitution and laws of the United States. What a travesty.

He's already listed and proposed 20 measures or programs of sociological, paternalistic slants which, in almost every instance, will do violence to everything we have understood the Constitution to mean.

(See Congressional Record, January 18, 1949, p. 460, sent today under separate cover.)

Truman gives every promise to relegate to the deep shadows everything Roosevelt did in the squandermania line; and it seems certain the galloping hounds of waste have a good chance, during the ensuing 4 years, to drive this Nation into complete bankruptcy, or worse.

Of course, the schemes of Truman for spending and an expanding bureaucracy are tentative; and be assured that others will be added as the fertile brains of the bureaucrats and the intellectuals can conjure them up.

Yea, verily, the oath to be taken today will be a hollow mockery, as it has been during the past 15 years.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

Mr. BROWN. Is that your letter or speech?

The CHAIRMAN. The President will be glad to get that letter. I think that ought to be a part of the record.

Mr. LITTLE. We offer for the record an attack on Truman.

Mr. BROWN. What has it to do with lobbying activities? I get letters written and addressed to me that read that bad about me once in a while.

The CHAIRMAN. One thing I will say about him, he also made a comment about Mr. Dewey. He said he was a despicable creature, did he not?

Mr. LITTLE. Words to that effect, anyway.

Mr. BROWN. I do not object to putting it in the record, providing we put in the whole story, so we may have both sides of it. I read something about my participation in a committee hearing some time ago from the left-wing publication, that I was everything from a Fascist to a Nazi, and I don't know what all. That is part of the price we pay for being in public service. Harry Truman would leap to that just the same as I did. I do not think we ought to clutter up the record with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything further? The Truman letter has been read in the record.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; I offer Mr. Barger's letter on genocide, and two other memoranda.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that to do with ideology?

Mr. LITTLE. No; the genocide letter is dated January 28, 1949, from Barger to Hart. (See p. 416.)

The CHAIRMAN. What has that got to do with lobbying activities?

Mr. LITTLE. That was one of the matters that the Congress was considering.

Mr. BROWN. On genocide? I hope not.

Mr. LITTLE. They were against international law.

Mr. BROWN. Against international law. We could not pass international law.

Mr. LITTLE. With reference to the United Nations and our participation in it. It is very important.

Mr. BROWN. What has it got to do with lobbying? I think we are getting pretty far afield. Put it all in, as far as I am concerned, but I think, Mr. Chairman, you better look at this first and decide. I think we better study this over first.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Brown, this refers to our participation in the United Nations.

Mr. BROWN. I made a speech on the floor about 15 minutes before I came over about things that went on in the United Nations, but what of it?

Mr. LITTLE. I have the evidence and it is for the committee to decide. I thought it was material inasmuch as it points to the lobby influence in regard to United Nations matters.

Mr. BROWN. I don't think we have had too much influence on what the United Nations has done. I wish we had more influence, but what has that to do with lobbying activities before the Congress? I do not object to putting any of this stuff in the record, but I think we are cluttering up the record with a lot of things that do not help us. That is not a lobbying technique. I thought we were studying the technique of lobbying activities.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Brown—

Mr. BROWN. I do not want to argue with counsel. It is up to the committee to decide. I just suggest the majority members of the committee look at it and decide what they want to do with it.

Mr. HART. Could I see those, Mr. Little?

Mr. LITTLE. Certainly [handing document to Mr. Hart].

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. LANHAM. I was impressed by a statement in one of the letters from Mr. Lamot du Pont that he thought sometimes you probably went off the dead end and alienated right-thinking people. These letters from Mr. Barger just seem to emphasize that sort of thing.

I wondered if he had considered this Charles E. Wilson statement, Mr. Wilson of General Motors, who recently said that you folks who get so far to the right are loading the guns for the Communists, the very people you are attempting to fight. I just want you to consider that as a suggestion. I know you are sincere and honest, but it just seems to me you are hurting the very cause that you seek to serve.

I know you agree with me that Mr. Charles E. Wilson is not a Communist or Socialist. I was just struck with that statement he made. I thought it was the most wholesome thing I have seen any big-business man say recently. He was commenting on the 5-year contract with the automobile workers, and saying he had been criticized by the left wing and those on the right who would think that William McKinley was a little far to the left of center, and both of you were really destroying free enterprise, or contributing to its destruction, when you are trying to preserve it. I wish you would consider things like these letters of Barger's. They show an attitude that seems to me is just about as bad as some of the left-wing attitude.

Mr. BROWN. I am not criticizing these gentlemen. They have a right to think what they please, but I want to say to the gentleman from Georgia that I agree with him fully on his position as to Charley Wilson, whom I happen to know, because I wrote an editorial in which I congratulated both the General Motors Corp. and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers for finally working out this arrangement, which I think means a new era in labor-management relationship.

Mr. LANHAM. I think so, too. I get tired of hearing charges that this committee is animated by the left wing. Personally I am not. I think we are getting brickbats from both sides of the street because we are trying to go in the middle. I am afraid organizations like this are doing free enterprise a disservice when you are so intemperate in your statement and in your stand. It is right, it is fine in America to be independent.

Mr. HART. Will you give me an instance of what you think is an intemperate statement?

Mr. LANHAM. I haven't got time to go through it. Many of them, it seems to me, are very intemperate, many of the statements of Mr. Barger to you.

Mr. HART. Those are not the statements of the council; those are confidential memoranda.

Mr. LANHAM. You have in your employ a man whom you know has those feelings.

The CHAIRMAN. What Mr. Lanham is referring to there is in reference to the letter from Mr. du Pont to you in answer to your solicitation for funds.

I want to close on this one final letter here and we will resume with Mr. Hart sometime again.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, have you decided what to do with the Barger letter?

The CHAIRMAN. The Barger memorandum goes into the record, likewise the letter that I read relative to the inauguration—

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We have not objected to any other letters.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). The comments on the Attorney General. Those three are part of the record.

Mr. LITTLE. The genocide letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The genocide letter and the inauguration letter.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We have objected to those letters. We do not think they serve any purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. We think the genocide letter is a matter influencing national policy, of course, in respect to our representatives on the United Nations.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, just for the purpose of the record, may I identify this letter?

Mr. DOYLE. Before the counsel does that and while Mr. Hart is on the stand, Mr. Hart, you have had that alleged confidential communication from your employee and fellow lobbyist now since January of this year. The last paragraph thereof, in fact the whole text of the letter, makes, to my mind, a very serious and very untrue and unfounded charge, in other words, that we are under the control of the CIO and kindred spirits. As far as I know, you have never made any statement in public, and you have had an opportunity here in the last 30 minutes to do so, and I would just suggest it, whether you believe that charge. If you do not, I will ask you to say so, and if you do, I will ask you to say so. It seems to me it is incumbent upon you, as the boss of Mr. Barger here in his lobbying activities, in view of the controversy that came up in the last 30 minutes on these letters, it seems to me it would be fair to the American people, fair to this committee and to you, to make a statement, whether or not you are relying on this as a statement of fact, or whether you disregard it?

Mr. HART. I am not relying on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Personally, the chairman does not feel that is an entirely proper question, but if Mr. Hart cares to comment on it we will be glad to have his comment.

Mr. HART. We are not relying on that statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me?

Mr. HART. We are not relying on that statement. That is the question that the Congressman asked.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can get these exhibits.

Mr. LITTLE. First the exhibit dated January 20, 1949, from Harry S. Barger to Mr. Hart, an attack on the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Not an attack on the President, but a statement. (The above letter will be found on p. 145.)

Mr. LITTLE. A comment on the President. A letter of January 22, 1949, from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart, with reference to the administration, and a memo of February 3, 1949, from Barger to Hart on the former Attorney General, now Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Clark, and a memo dated January 28, 1949, from Mr. Barger to Mr. Hart on the matter of genocide.

The CHAIRMAN. And likewise the memorandum of January 30, 1950. (See p. 139.) Did you return that?

Mr. DOYLE. I returned that.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Do I understand all of these five go in?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. Brown. I think at this point the record should be made clear that these are Barger's statements and in no way binding or reflecting on the so-called economic council, or the witness himself. I hope we have not yet reached the place in America where the recipients of communications are responsible for what is contained in them. (Two letters from Mr. Barger are as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: Herewith an inspired article describing Truman's "world plan," and how he's been studying it for months.

Woodrow Wilson (8 years in office) took us into World War I to make the world safe for democracy (some facetiously say "for the Democrats"); it took Roosevelt 16 years to take us into, and through, World War II, now clearly apparent, to make the world safe for the Communists, which he recognized in November 1934; and it looks like Truman will use the next 4 years (or more) in the equivalent of communizing the world.

In other words, it took six or more Democratic administrations to get this country to forsake the sound advice of Washington to remain free of entangling foreign alliances. Now, we're in 'em up to our eyebrows, and seemingly for all time.

The conclusion is inescapable that the aspirations and desires of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman have been the cause of these things—each wanted to be the very biggest man in, and the leader of, the entire world.

Such, too, was the ambition of Napoleon, Cromwell, and others, all of whom failed.

What's the harvest to be, now that political Zionism is so strongly in the picture? They say they're God's chosen; and some hint that He may have made a poor choice.

To recent times, Republicans have been free of these evils; but it looks like they're falling, too.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

MEMORANDA

FEBRUARY 3, 1940.

Tom C. (as in cat) Clark, shifty politico who presides over the Department of InJustice, has just rendered an administration-serving opinion of great expediency anent the pending proposal to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

The administration never thought it could resort to injunction under the Wagner Act in labor-management disputes; but it has repeatedly done so under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Tomas Cat now opines that the President, if the Wagner Act is revived, sans the injunctive provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act, the President yet can exercise the right to injunction notwithstanding.

He has thus assumed a position in opposition to that of Secretary of Labor Tobin, which makes for a healthy scrap.

Of course Clark will opine anything he's told to opine, be it right or wrong, just like his New Deal predecessors.

Politics makes not only strange bedfellows, but moral cowards or crooks of the best of men, it seems.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 28, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: The following enclosures will, I am sure, be of much interest to you:

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Text of document approved by Assembly in Paris.

The flowery, argumentative, and verbose language furnishes enough meaning to convince that United Nations plans to take over the sovereign rights of its member nations. The growing unpopularity of the UN deserves to be accelerated greatly, before it will be too late.

2. The Development of International Law.

This document certainly is a hot one—but our Senate is to be asked to ratify it in 1940.

First, it is closely related to the report of Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, in that it provides for, and, if ratified will require, intermarriage of races, etc. Second, it makes "genocide" a crime under international and United Nations law, although there is no such word, old or new, to be found in the dictionary.

The writer recently inquired of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, as to the meaning of the word "genocide," and the punk answering the question laughed and said: "It's an old word the use of which is being revived by current events." As I say, try to find it in the dictionary. The root-words used imply that it means, as Legislative Reference said, the extinction, or attempt at extinction, of an entire race of people, as Hitler tried to exterminate the Jews.

There is no doubt that this making of genocide a crime in international law and under United Nations, is like our war criminal trials, Jew-inspired from start to finish; and both of these innovations are more likely than not to rise to haunt us in the future.

In other words, thanks to establishment of the war criminal trials, at the instance alone of the Jews, we fight future wars at our peril—and we'd better win 'em, or the conquering enemy will, under new international law, take us all out and slaughter us.

And, after catering still further to the Jews, and bestowing upon them an absolute right to have a nationality, we'd better never attempt to put them in their place, here or elsewhere, or United Nations will slit our throats, etc., etc. Yea, verily, the rising tide of political Judaism, as From Smoke to Smother delineated it, is something startling.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

The CHAIRMAN. He is still in your employ now?

Mr. HART. Yes, he is.

The CHAIRMAN. They are opinions of his.

Mr. BROWN. I would just like to point out many of our employees write letters and express opinions as to what should or should not be done, even in connection with the company business, but we do not always accept or agree with. If I would accept and agree with everything written to me by persons who work for me I would have been bankrupt long ago, because usually when they write me a letter they want to spend some money—ours, of course.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. You can be sure these statements of Mr. Barger will become the official statements in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think the press reports news in that fashion.

Mr. BROWN. I can't see where it can be used by anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. The special note on these letters will be on the ones from the Washington lobby. They are not the views of Mr. Hart.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I think it is an extraordinary thing that the committee should take these letters, admittedly having nothing to do with their objectives and being potentially harmful. If the majority of the committee decides to do it, of course, there is nothing else to do.

Mr. O'HARA. For the record, I would like to say there has been a question in my mind as to the constitutional privileges of any witness who appears here with relationship to confidential matters and correspondence between himself and other members of his organization. Maybe it is not important. I realize we are not acting strictly under the rules of evidence of a court, but I think, as a matter of committee policy, we should sit down and consider the relevancy of communications of that nature, which have nothing to do with lobbying in the sense that they are lobbying or not lobbying, but are sometimes admissible for purposes other than what they are intended.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the personal views of lobbyists who do, directly or indirectly, influence legislation.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. Mr. Barger is the most excellent member of our staff and does very useful work. He is given at times to facetious expression, and I think he should feel safe in being able to write us facetious memoranda. We get his meaning, we get out of it what we think we want to use. It seems to me, because of the facetiousness of that, it ought not to be taken so seriously by this committee as to put it right straight in the record.

Might I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the putting of that in the record be deferred until perhaps an executive session of your committee, if I can be so bold as to suggest that, and see whether then you think it is best to put those letters and memoranda in, in the light of what we have said here today.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say it this way: They will be part of the official record of today, and we have a policy of this committee that at the time of the official publication of the hearings, if we care to strike out from the permanent record of the hearings what we have agreed upon, the galley proofs are pulled, and we sit down and O. K. it.

Mr. BROWN. It has been a long while since I practiced law, and longer since I went to law school. Judge Lanham is a good lawyer and his views as to whether or not this would be admissible have a lot of weight.

Mr. LANHAM. One of these letters is a direct attack on the integrity of the committee.

Mr. BROWN. I mean as evidence in connection with the position of the witness.

Mr. LANHAM. I don't think it is admitted for that purpose. You could not bind him, the only thing you could complain about is that he keeps a man of that type in his employ.

Mr. BROWN. That is not a crime.

Mr. HART. It is not as though Mr. Barger had uttered these things publicly. He did not. He simply said them in a confidential message or messages to us.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hart, when you made your statement a minute ago about these being facetious, you certainly do not term "facetious" this alleged confidential communication to you by Mr. Barger, in which he said this committee was under the control of the CIO, do you?

Mr. HART. I was speaking more particularly of these later communications.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you include or exclude that particular one as being facetious? I would like to know. To me there is nothing facetious about it, and there is nothing funny about it.

Mr. HART. That is already in the record, as I understand it. That is not in question.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you did not include that in your group that you figure facetious, did you?

Mr. HART. I would want to reserve decision on that.

Mr. LITTLE. Do we have in the record the du Pont letters?

The CHAIRMAN. They were all included this morning.

Mr. LITTLE. I wanted to make sure of that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a letter of November 25, 1940 (see p. 84), sent out over the signature evidently of Mr. Lamot du Pont: "Dear Fellow American." You have that, do you not? It is near the end of the pack. It is dated November 25, 1940. These, of course, Mr. Hart, are Mr. du Pont's words and not yours. I don't know whether you

helped draft it or not, or suggested it. What I want to know about this letter, without taking the time reading the letter in its entirety, is do you regard it as a solicitation for lobbying purposes as such. In other words, as the letter states, the dangers he speaks of and which he believes the National Economic Council can prevent, would have to be, in the final analysis, prevented by the Congress, would they not?

Mr. HART. You are not quoting from this, are you, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I am making an observation on the letter without reading any section of it in its entirety.

Mr. HART. The solicitation there was intended for the general purposes of the council.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, if these things were to be prevented they would have to be prevented by some act or law passed by the Congress of the United States?

Mr. HART. Precisely.

The CHAIRMAN. This speaks of the necessity for businessmen to support the National Economic Council. Do you, Mr. Hart—and I am asking your opinion now—do you believe that most, or even many American businessmen, particularly top business executives, share your views and the views of your organization?

Mr. HART. I would say so.

The CHAIRMAN. You would say so?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That they do?

Mr. HART. Yes; I would say so. I do not mean to say all my views, or our views, but generally our views. I don't think the people who contribute to us necessarily, by contributing endorse everything we do. They do endorse generally the stands we take.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I have, and until such time as next Wednesday, 10 a. m.

There will be no further hearings this week, and we will be in recess until Tuesday, 10 a. m., June 27.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 10 a. m., Tuesday, June 27, 1950.)

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1950

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 8 p. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Buchanan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Buchanan, Lanham, Albert, Doyle, and Brown.

Also present: Louis Little and Benedict F. FitzGerald, Jr., committee counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We resume this afternoon with hearings on the National Economic Council, and Mr. Merwin K. Hart and his counsel, Mr. Montgomery, may take their places.

The reporter will note that the following members of the committee are present: the chairman, Mr. Buchanan; Mr. Lanham; Mr. Doyle; Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I hope you noted this morning that I had to attend a meeting of the Rules Committee and could not be here.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. ALBERT. I wish you would note also that I had to attend a meeting of the Agriculture Committee this morning and could not be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Hart, I have placed in your hands and in counsel's hands a 10-page analysis which we have had prepared of the disclosures you have submitted to this committee under subpoena on June 6, of your receipts from large donors, as compared to the official reports you have filed with the Clerk of the House under the Federal regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946.

In an earlier hearing, on June 21, we placed in the record the summary by our research director of lobbying reports you have filed. That was a straight factual report on what you, yourself, had reported to the Clerk of the House.

(The document above referred to appears on p. 68.)

That showed that 40 corporations or business concerns, 24 individuals, a charities fund, and a cancer and blood research foundation were listed in your lobbying reports at one time or another as having made a total of 104 "contributions" of \$500 or more in different calendar quarters between August 1, 1946, and December 31, 1949, except

that your first report covered a period of 17 months and all contributions made by any one donor during that 17 months would be considered as only one contribution.

Then the supplement to that staff analysis, covering the first quarter of 1950, which was also put in the record on June 21, showed 13 additional "contributions" of \$500 or more, all but three of them, however, from persons of firms or groups which had previously been named in other lobbying reports. (See p. 70.)

That staff study and supplement, as I said, was based factually on your official lobby reports. It shows what you had reported to Congress under this act.

Now the analysis before you today, compares those disclosures with the subpoenaed material you gave us on June 6. What was done was to take all of these donations or contributions or payments you account for in that subpoenaed material and see whether each of those payments of \$500 or more in separate calendar quarters was accounted for on your lobbying reports.

And we find that 49 such payments of \$500 or more were not reported on your quarterly lobbying statements, that is, by name of donor.

For instance, there are 13 separate financial supporters of your council who have never been named in any of your lobbying reports as having given you \$500 or more in any calendar reporting period—H. B. Earhart, Eastman Kodak, Armstrong Cork, Joseph R. Grundy, yourself—a loan you made, the Indiana State Medical Society, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane, Standard Oil of Indiana, W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co., Ora A. Taylor, Edwin S. Webster, Jr., and the Wisconsin Manufacturing Co. These range from \$500 to \$3,000 each.

Furthermore, among contributors you have identified at one time or another in your lobbying reports, at least 17 made a total of 30 separate payments of \$500 or more in calendar reporting periods for which you did not include their names in your lobbying reports. These range from \$500 to \$5,000 each.

Again, the analysis shows that while you have divided your receipts into different types of categories—straight-out contributions, loans, purchases of subscriptions or material which you identify as "sales," contributions to the lecture fund, contributions to the radio fund, contributions to the International Trade Organization fund, lecture fees, and so on—that you have not followed a uniform policy in determining which receipts under those various categories are to be reported as "contributions" under the Lobbying Act and which are not.

And so we have here 49 different instances where it would appear your lobbying reports have not contained the names of all "persons" who in that reporting period had given you \$500 or more.

That's what we want to look into here today. We have called you back this afternoon to go into these seeming discrepancies and find out why you have not reported all of these receipts, by name of donor, to the Clerk of the House.

I imagine you will have an explanation for many of these, but we have no idea what that explanation would be, especially for some of them.

Now the lobbying statute, of course, requires that you report your receipts by totals, your expenditures by totals and also the name and

address of each recipient of \$10 or more and the purpose and amount of each such expenditure, and also—and this is where we find the discrepancies primarily—that you report the name and address of each “person” who makes a “contribution” of \$500 or more in any one calendar quarter.

The act itself defines “contribution” as a—

* * * gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value * * *

So, as I said, we have from your own records as submitted to us under subpoena, 49 instances where gifts, subscriptions, loans, advances, deposits of money, and so forth, were made to the National Economic Council of \$500 or more in separate calendar quarters or reporting periods, but their donors were not listed in the appropriate lobbying reports to the Congress.

I want to make it clear, Mr. Hart, that in going into this matter, we are not conducting a grand jury investigation of violations of the act. We are not prosecuting. When we say there were 49 seeming omissions in your reports, we are not necessarily charging 49 or any violations of the act.

We are only trying to get at the facts on the operation of this law and on the reporting thereunder. We are trying to find out whether it is adequate or needs change or improvement. We have done similar studies on other groups before us which filed under the Lobbying Act and we have pointed up omissions or discrepancies where we found them in their reports. And along that line, we have gone into this complete analysis of your reporting under the act, and our research director has spent many, many hours working over your lobbying reports and this subpoenaed material to prepare this factual analysis.

It can be very helpful to us if we can run down these items and see just what did happen and have you explain item by item, if you can, why you reported as “contributions” under the act certain types of payments to your organization, and why you failed to report other types. Also, and this particularly puzzled us, why you reported some of them in particular categories but did not report others in exactly the same categories.

Now we have already put into the record the factual summary of your lobbying reports. At this point in the record, we will insert the material you gave us on June 6. The analysis we have before us is a comparison of the June 6 material with your lobbying reports.

(The material referred to follows:)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
New York, N. Y., June 6, 1950.

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,

*Chairman, House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to your subpoena dated May 25, I hand you herewith 11 sheets which contain, I believe, all the data you requested.

I had asked you for an extension of time because of the pressure of many things, including preparation for our annual meeting, etc., etc., but the extension was denied.

These figures have been prepared by our treasurer, and he and I believe them to be correct.

You will notice that to get the complete figure on certain of these names, you will have to consult pages 10 and 11, where certain small purchases of printed matter, amounting in some cases to less than \$1 and which were first overlooked,

are included. These added to the totals given on the first 9 pages, and which totals are carried over in these few instances to pages 10 and 11, will show the correct totals for these 15 persons and corporations.

Trusting you will find this data in order,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

Data furnished as specified in subpoena of House Committee on Lobbying Activities of May 25, 1950

LEGEND

Key	Purpose
C	Contributions.
CTFO	Contributions to International Trade Organization fund.
CLF	Contributions to lecture fund.
CRF	Contributions to radio fund.
DT	Dinner ticket purchases.
L	Loans.
LF	Lecture fees.
SLS	Sale of literature and literature subscriptions.

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Anderson, G. S., 925 South Homan Ave., Chicago 24, Ill.	Apr. 25, 1949	\$1,000.00	C	
	Aug. 15, 1949	500.00	C	
Anderson, Ira L., 60 Beaver St., New York 4, N. Y. (American Provident Society).	July 29, 1947	1,000.00	C	\$1,500.00
	Oct. 6, 1947	1,000.00	C	
	Nov. 17, 1947	400.00	C	
	Oct. 19, 1949	10.00	DT	2,410.00
Armco, Charles R. Hook, Middletown, Ohio.....	July 14, 1947	100.00	C	
	Apr. 29, 1948	500.00	C	
	Mar. 7, 1949	500.00	C	
	June 27, 1949	38.43	SLS	
	Mar. 20, 1950	500.00	C	
	Feb. 17, 1950	500.00	CLF	2,138.43
Bailey, E. G., 85 Liberty St., New York 6, N. Y....	May 29, 1947	200.00	C	
	Sept. 22, 1948	7.00	SLS	
	Nov. 12, 1948	200.00	C	
	Dec. 10, 1948	12.00	SLS	
	Mar. 25, 1949	13.00	SLS	
	July 28, 1949	200.00	C	
	Oct. 19, 1949	50.00	DT	
	Nov. 14, 1949	6.30	SLS	
	Nov. 18, 1949	300.00	C	1,018.30
Beech Aircraft Corp., Wichita 1, Kans.....	Jan. 27, 1949	5,998.65	C	
	Feb. 2, 1950	1,000.00	C	6,998.65
Bethlehem Steel Corp., 25 Broadway, New York 4, N. Y.	Feb. 3, 1947	250.00	C	
	Jan. 16, 1949	250.00	C	
	Jan. 12, 1949	250.00	C	
	Jan. 20, 1950	250.00	C	1,000.00
Blodgett, John W., Jr., Public Service Bldg., Portland, Ore.	Jan. 13, 1947	2,000.00	CRF	
	July 7, 1947	200.00	SLS	
	Nov. 16, 1948	750.00	C	
	Aug. 2, 1948	200.00	SLS	
	Nov. 9, 1949	200.00	SLS	3,350.00
Cabot, Godfrey L., 77 Franklin St., Boston, Mass.	Mar. 28, 1949	1,000.00	C	1,000.00
Carter Carburetor Corp., St. Louis 7, Mo.....	Mar. 31, 1947	100.00	CRF	
	Mar. 29, 1948	1,000.00	SLS	
	Mar. 21, 1949	1,000.00	SLS	
	Nov. 11, 1949	2.50	SLS	
	Jan. 30, 1950	500.00	SLS	
	May 10, 1950	500.00	SLS	3,102.50
Chapel Hill Gas System, Mercantile Bank Bldg., Dallas 1, Tex.	Dec. 29, 1948	500.00	C	
	Dec. 2, 1949	500.00	C	1,000.00
Clark, Ella Mabel, 831 Madison Ave., New York 21, N. Y.	May 29, 1947	550.00	SLS	
	July 29, 1947	40.00	C	
	Sept. 18, 1947	200.00	C	
	Nov. 28, 1947	200.00	C	
	Jan. 2, 1948	200.00	C	
	Feb. 20, 1948	225.00	C	
	Oct. 1, 1948	100.00	C	
	May 19, 1948	300.00	C	
	Oct. 25, 1948	30.00	C	
	Feb. 14, 1949	300.00	LF	
	July 22, 1949	250.00	C	
	Aug. 2, 1949	30.00	C	
	Nov. 25, 1949	150.00	CLF	
	Oct. 16, 1949	50.00	DT	
	Nov. 25, 1949	150.00	C	
	do	150.00	CLF	
	Mar. 31, 1950	600.00	C	2,140.00

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Clausen, L. R., Racine, Wis. (J. I. Case Co.)...	Feb. 4, 1947	\$100.00	GRF	
	Feb. 13, 1947	10.00	C	
	Mar. 4, 1948	10.00	C	
	Nov. 9, 1948	12.00	SLB	
	Dec. 16, 1948	30.00	C	
	Apr. 29, 1949	1,000.00	C	
	Dec. 9, 1949	2.80	SLB	
	Feb. 14, 1949	25.00	C	
	Feb. 10, 1950	1,500.00	C	
	Apr. 28, 1950	30.00	C	
	July 19, 1948	200.00	C	\$2,710.80
	Feb. 10, 1949	1.75	SLB	
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, Worcester 1, Mass.	Apr. 19, 1949	400.00	C	
	Dec. 22, 1949	500.00	C	
	Apr. 29, 1947	200.00	C	1,101.75
Davis, W. Tip, Box 2495, Honolulu, Hawaii.....	Nov. 24, 1947	250.00	C	
	June 9, 1948	200.00	C	
	July 26, 1948	100.00	C	
Du Pont, Irénée, Wilmington, Del	Dec. 20, 1948	200.00	C	
	July 22, 1949	250.00	C	
	Nov. 14, 1949	400.00	C	1,000.00
	Jan. 7, 1947	3,000.00	C	
	July 17, 1947	12.00	SLB	
	Jan. 8, 1948	2,000.00	SLB	
	Jan. 21, 1948	2,012.04	SLB	
	July 20, 1948	3,000.00	SLB	
	Nov. 30, 1948	3,000.00	SLB	
	May 27, 1949	5,000.00	SLB	
Cullinan, Craig F., Petroleum Bldg., Houston 2, Tex.	Sept. 28, 1949	5,000.00	SLB	
	Jan. 23, 1950	5,000.00	SLB	23,925.84
	Dec. 20, 1947	100.00	C	
Du Pont, Lanmot, Du Pont Bldg., Wilmington, Del.	May 21, 1948	100.00	C	
	July 21, 1948	200.00	C	
	Nov. 26, 1948	30.00	C	
	Jan. 8, 1949	200.00	C	
	July 25, 1949	100.00	C	
	Sept. 26, 1949	100.00	C	
	Dec. 9, 1949	30.00	C	
	Jan. 6, 1950	300.00	C	1,100.00
	Jan. 21, 1947	3,000.00	C	
	Mar. 31, 1947	5,000.00	SLB	
Earhart, H. B., 902 First National Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich.	Oct. 31, 1947	2,000.00	SLB	
	Jan. 6, 1949	5,000.00	C	
	do	2,000.00	SLB	
	Sept. 17, 1948	3.50	SLB	
	Oct. 22, 1948	1,500.00	L	
	Jan. 7, 1949	5,000.00	SLB	
	Oct. 19, 1949	10.00	DT	
	Sept. 14, 1949	3,000.00	L	
	Oct. 31, 1949	5,000.00	SLB	
	Jan. 30, 1950	5,000.00	SLB	34,513.50
Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N. Y.....	Jan. 27, 1947	3,000.00	SLB	
	Mar. 4, 1948	1,500.00	SLB	
	Feb. 21, 1947	350.00	C	4,500.00
Empire State, Inc., 350 5th Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.	Feb. 27, 1948	250.00	C	
	Feb. 10, 1949	250.00	C	
	Mar. 1, 1950	250.00	C	
	Jan. 30, 1950	300.00	C	1,400.00
	Jan. 27, 1947	666.68	C	
	May 6, 1947	666.68	C	
	Oct. 7, 1947	666.68	C	
	Nov. 5, 1947	166.67	C	
	Dec. 22, 1947	333.34	C	
	Mar. 16, 1948	500.01	C	
Funk, C. M., 114 5th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.....	May 3, 1948	166.67	C	
	July 15, 1948	500.01	C	
	Dec. 3, 1948	500.01	C	
	Feb. 14, 1949	500.01	C	
	May 20, 1949	500.01	C	
	Aug. 16, 1949	666.68	C	
	Nov. 30, 1949	500.01	C	
	Mar. 2, 1950	500.01	C	
	May 2, 1950	333.34	C	7,166.81
	Mar. 8, 1948	500.00	C	
	July 10, 1948	500.00	C	
	Mar. 23, 1949	500.00	C	
	July 14, 1949	500.00	C	
	Oct. 19, 1949	80.00	DT	
	Feb. 7, 1950	100.00	CLF	2,180.00

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Armstrong Cork Co., Lancaster, Pa.....	Feb. 7, 1947	\$250.00	C.....	
	Feb. 24, 1948	250.00	C.....	
	Aug. 11, 1948	250.00	C.....	
	Feb. 4, 1949	250.00	C.....	
	Dec. 6, 1949	250.00	C.....	
	Jan. 30, 1950	250.00	CIF.....	
	Jan. 24, 1950	250.00	C.....	
Grundy, Joseph R., Bristol, Pa.....	Nov. 24, 1947	80.00	C.....	\$1,750.00
	Dec. 3, 1948	100.00	C.....	
	Dec. 6, 1948	6.00	SLR.....	
	Jan. 20, 1949	400.00	C.....	
	Oct. 19, 1949	100.00	DT.....	
	Nov. 8, 1949	2.50	SLR.....	
	Nov. 23, 1949	10.00	SLR.....	
	Dec. 22, 1949	25.00	SLR.....	
	Jan. 10, 1950	340.00	C.....	
Gulf Oil Corp., Gulf Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.....	Feb. 1, 1950	250.00	CIF.....	1,243.50
	May 1, 1947	1,000.00	C.....	
	Jan. 7, 1948	1,000.00	C.....	
	Aug. 3, 1948	1,000.00	C.....	
	Jan. 3, 1949	1,000.00	CIF.....	
	Feb. 2, 1949	1,000.00	C.....	
	July 8, 1949	2,000.00	C.....	
	June 2, 1947	1,000.00	CITO.....	7,000.00
				1,000.00
Gurley, Fred G., president Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Ry., 80 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.	Dec. 6, 1947	400.00	L.....	
	Feb. 27, 1948	450.00	L.....	
	Nov. 7, 1948	180.00	L.....	
	Nov. 7, 1949	500.00	L.....	
	Nov. 15, 1949	500.00	L.....	
Hart, Mrs. Merwin K., Winship Road, New Hartford, N. Y.	May 14, 1948	300.00	L.....	2,000.00
	Dec. 17, 1948	140.00	L.....	
	June 2, 1949	2,000.00	C.....	
	do	1,000.00	SLR.....	
Hawkes, Hon. Albert W., 195 Belgrove Dr., Kearny, N. J.	Feb. 1, 1949	1,000.00	C.....	3,440.00
	June 24, 1949	142.55	SLR.....	
	Oct. 10, 1949	80.00	DT.....	
	Feb. 1, 1950	1,000.00	CIF.....	
Howes, E. G., 321 Summer St., Boston, Mass.....	Jan. 9, 1947	100.00	CIF.....	2,222.55
	Aug. 12, 1947	100.00	C.....	
	Dec. 27, 1949	1,000.00	C.....	
	Feb. 7, 1950	1,000.00	LF.....	
Indiana State Medical Society, 1021 Hume Mansur Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.	May 24, 1949	2,500.00	C.....	1,200.00
Johnson & Son, Inc., S. O., Racine, Wis.....	June 9, 1949	15.00	SLR.....	1,000.00
King Manufacturing Co., John P., P. O. Box 908, Augusta, Ga.	Jan. 8, 1947	100.00	CIF.....	2,515.00
	May 27, 1947	10.00	C.....	
	May 8, 1947	100.00	CITO.....	
	Aug. 22, 1947	25.00	C.....	
	May 8, 1948	100.00	CITO.....	
	July 21, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Oct. 8, 1948	50.00	C.....	
	Dec. 10, 1948	250.00	C.....	
	Mar. 28, 1949	50.00	C.....	
	Apr. 27, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	July 27, 1949	50.00	C.....	
	Sept. 19, 1949	50.00	C.....	
	do	50.00	C.....	
	Jan. 13, 1950	250.00	C.....	
Kross & Co., S. H., 114 5th Ave., New York 10, N. Y.	Jan. 30, 1950	100.00	CIF.....	1,485.00
	Feb. 25, 1947	500.00	C.....	
	Aug. 22, 1947	500.00	C.....	
	Mar. 8, 1948	500.00	C.....	
Leatherbee, Mrs. Albert T., 42 Rockview St., Jamaica Plain 30, Mass.	Feb. 10, 1948	200.00	C.....	1,500.00
	Mar. 15, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Apr. 8, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	May 17, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	June 9, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	July 6, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Aug. 6, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Sept. 10, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Oct. 8, 1948	100.00	C.....	
	Nov. 15, 1948	100.00	C.....	
	Dec. 13, 1948	200.00	C.....	
	Jan. 17, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	Feb. 18, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	Mar. 11, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	Apr. 8, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	May 12, 1949	100.00	C.....	
	July 13, 1949	100.00	C.....	2,000.00

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Lone Star Cement Corp., 100 Park Ave., New York 17, N. Y.	May 6, 1947	\$250.00	C	
	Jan. 9, 1947	500.00	CRF	
	Sept. 16, 1947	1,000.00	C	
	Jan. 30, 1948	2,500.00	C	
	July 19, 1948	1,500.00	C	
	Jan. 31, 1949	2,500.00	C	
	July 21, 1949	1,500.00	C	
	Oct. 31, 1949	100.00	DT	
	Nov. 10, 1949	500.00	LF	
	Jan. 30, 1950	500.00	CLF	
	Feb. 28, 1950	1,500.00	C	
	Apr. 26, 1950	1,000.00	C	
	May 3, 1949	500.00	LF	\$13,350.00
	April 3, 1950	500.00	LF	
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles, Calif. Lane, Mrs. Rose Wilder, Rt. No. 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.	June 23, 1947	29.00	SLB	1,000.00
	Sept. 3, 1947	55.00	SLB	
	Oct. 19, 1949	30.00	DT	
	Jan. 12, 1949	1,500.00	CLF	1,614.00
McCrory Stores Corp., 1107 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.	May 15, 1947	300.00	C	
	Dec. 10, 1947	200.00	C	
	Apr. 22, 1948	300.00	C	
	July 14, 1948	200.00	C	
	May 9, 1949	300.00	C	
	July 21, 1949	200.00	C	
	Apr. 17, 1950	300.00	C	1,800.00
	Sept. 18, 1947	12.00	SLB	
	Apr. 29, 1947	200.00	CITO	
	Dec. 1, 1947	10.00	C	
Macaulay, Charles A., P. O. Box 603, Detroit 32 Mich.	Jan. 2, 1948	220.00	C	
	July 22, 1948	300.00	C	
	Aug. 2, 1948	1.00	SLB	
	Sept. 20, 1948	7.00	SLB	
	Nov. 15, 1948	44.00	SLB	
	Nov. 29, 1948	10.00	C	
	Apr. 25, 1949	250.00	LF	
	May 18, 1949	150.00	LF	
	July 7, 1949	100.00	LF	
	July 14, 1949	100.00	LF	
	do.	35.93	SLB	
	Nov. 11, 1949	2.50	SLB	
	Nov. 23, 1949	10.00	C	
	Jan. 4, 1950	10.00	C	1,292.43
Merahon, Ralph P., 2000 Tiger Tail Ave., Miami, Fla. Mohawk Carpet Mills, Amsterdam, N. Y.	Apr. 11, 1949	150.00	C	1,150.00
	Nov. 23, 1949	1,000.00	C	
	Feb. 20, 1947	500.00	C	
	Feb. 20, 1948	500.00	C	1,500.00
Nelson, Norman E., Chicago, Ill.	Feb. 15, 1949	500.00	C	
	Apr. 25, 1949	1,000.00	C	
	Mar. 27, 1950	3,000.00	C	2,000.00
	Apr. 19, 1948	2,500.00	C	
Payson, Charles S., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.	Jan. 3, 1949	250.00	C	
	May 4, 1949	500.00	C	
	July 6, 1949	1,000.00	C	
	Sept. 16, 1949	500.00	C	
	Oct. 19, 1949	40.00	DT	
	Nov. 18, 1949	500.00	C	
	Feb. 6, 1950	10.00	C	5,300.00
	Jan. 22, 1947	500.00	C	
	June 25, 1947	500.00	C	
	Jan. 30, 1948	500.00	C	
Pure Oil Co., 35 East Wacker Dr., Chicago 1, Ill.	July 9, 1948	500.00	C	2,500.00
	Jan. 20, 1950	500.00	C	
	Dec. 22, 1947	1,000.00	L	
	May 5, 1947	1,000.00	C	
	Mar. 24, 1948	1,000.00	C	
	Apr. 16, 1948	1,000.00	L	
	May 28, 1948	1,000.00	L	
	Apr. 8, 1949	1,000.00	C	
	Oct. 19, 1949	80.00	DT	
	Mar. 1, 1950	1,000.00	C	7,080.00
Raskob, John J., 350 6th Avenue	June 1, 1948	2,000.00	SLB	
	June 14, 1948	75.00	SLB	
	Nov. 3, 1948	10.00	C	
	Aug. 4, 1949	2,000.00	SLB	
Regnery, W. H., 22d and Jefferson Sts., Chicago 16, Ill.	Nov. 15, 1949	6,000.00	C	9,585.00
	Dec. 19, 1949	500.00	C	
	Jan. 27, 1950	1,000.00	LF	1,000.00
	Feb. 24, 1947	1,000.00	C	
Standard Oil of Indiana, 910 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.	July 28, 1947	250.00	C	
	July 29, 1947	500.00	C	1,750.00
	Apr. 29, 1947	200.00	CITO	
	Apr. 26, 1948	200.00	CITO	
Sheaffer Pen Co., W. A., Fort Madison, Iowa	Apr. 29, 1949	200.00	C	
	Jan. 3, 1949	500.00	CLF	
	Apr. 28, 1950	200.00	C	1,300.00
	Apr. 28, 1950	200.00	C	

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Swenson, S. M., 52 Wall Street, New York 5, N. Y..	Jan. 29, 1948	\$500.00	SLS.....	
	Feb. 10, 1948	500.00	SLS.....	
	Apr. 19, 1950	500.00	SLS.....	\$1,500.00
	Mar. 24, 1947	1,500.00	C.....	
The Texas Co., 135 East 42d St., New York 17, N. Y.	Feb. 27, 1948	2,500.00	C.....	
	Mar. 29, 1948	214.20	SLS.....	
	Apr. 30, 1948	8.67	SLS.....	
	Feb. 25, 1949	2,500.00	C.....	
	Mar. 11, 1949	200.00	C.....	
	Apr. 14, 1949	10.00	C.....	
	Oct. 19, 1949	100.00	DT.....	
	Feb. 1, 1950	2,500.00	C.....	
	Dec. 22, 1947	500.00	L.....	9,532.87
	Mar. 15, 1948	100.00	SLS.....	
Taylor, Ora A., 350 5th Ave., New York 1, N. Y....	Aug. 1, 1949	80.00	C.....	
	Oct. 29, 1948	250.00	L.....	
	Nov. 10, 1919	15.00	SLS.....	
	Dec. 14, 1949	15.00	SLS.....	
	Apr. 10, 1950	100.00	SLS.....	1,030.00
	Sept. 18, 1947	500.00	C.....	
	Sept. 29, 1947	13.25	SLS.....	
	Aug. 4, 1948	500.00	C.....	
	Sept. 30, 1949	500.00	C.....	1,513.25
	Julie 6, 1947	1,000.00	
Union Carbide & Carbon Corp., 30 East 42d St., New York 17, N. Y.	Nov. 24, 1948	500.00	1,500.00
	Apr. 13, 1947	300.00	SLS.....	
	Nov. 28, 1947	150.00	SLS.....	
	Apr. 21, 1948	300.00	SLS.....	
	Nov. 22, 1948	150.00	SLS.....	
	June 13, 1949	300.00	SLS.....	
	Oct. 19, 1949	80.00	DT.....	
	Oct. 20, 1949	150.00	SLS.....	
	May 2, 1950	300.00	SLS.....	1,730.00
	July 11, 1947	5,000.00	C.....	
Volker, Wm. & Co., P. O. Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.	Mar. 31, 1947	408.69	SLS.....	
	Aug. 22, 1947	392.54	SLS.....	
	Jan. 29, 1947	250.00	ORF.....	
	Jan. 19, 1948	289.19	SLS.....	
	June 4, 1948	5,000.00	C.....	
	June 21, 1948	291.10	SLS.....	
	July 19, 1948	755.31	SLS.....	
	Dec. 29, 1948	301.00	SLS.....	
	Jan. 17, 1949	328.54	SLS.....	
	Jan. 5, 1949	1,000.00	CLF.....	
Webster, Edwin S., Jr., 17 Wall St., New York 5, N. Y.	Feb. 7, 1949	300.00	SLS.....	
	Feb. 18, 1949	572.00	SLS.....	
	Mar. 10, 1949	5,000.00	C.....	
	Apr. 14, 1949	1,521.39	SLS.....	
	May 31, 1949	1,800.00	SLS.....	
	June 27, 1949	637.68	SLS.....	
	July 14, 1949	312.00	SLS.....	
	July 21, 1949	2,500.00	C.....	
	Jan. 30, 1950	500.00	CLF.....	
	Apr. 19, 1950	5,000.00	C.....	32,169.74
Whitney, Mrs. Geoffrey, G., 75 Highland St., Milton 86, Mass.	July 7, 1947	500.00	SLS.....	
	July 6, 1948	500.00	SLS.....	
	Jan. 3, 1949	500.00	CLF.....	
	Oct. 20, 1949	500.00	SLS.....	2,000.00
	Feb. 3, 1947	500.00	C.....	
	May 5, 1947	120.00	SLS.....	
	May 1, 1947	400.00	C.....	
	July 1, 1947	400.00	C.....	
	Sept. 18, 1947	400.00	C.....	
	Nov. 28, 1947	300.00	C.....	
do.	do.	9.00	SLS.....	
	Dec. 10, 1947	10.00	C.....	
	Dec. 17, 1947	100.00	C.....	
	Apr. 12, 1948	100.00	C.....	
	July 26, 1948	225.00	C.....	
	Sept. 7, 1948	203.00	SLS.....	
	Mar. 4, 1949	14.00	SLS.....	
	May 6, 1949	144.00	SLS.....	
	July 29, 1949	250.00	C.....	
	Oct. 19, 1949	160.00	DT.....	
do.	Nov. 2, 1949	170.00	C.....	
	Dec. 9, 1949	240.00	C.....	
	Jan. 5, 1950	150.00	C.....	
	Feb. 7, 1950	250.00	C.....	
	Feb. 27, 1950	10.00	C.....	
	Mar. 6, 1950	100.00	C.....	
	Apr. 18, 1950	100.00	C.....	
	May 16, 1950	144.00	SLS.....	
	do.	100.00	C.....	4,529.00

	Date	Amount	Key	Total
Wisconsin Manufacturing Association, 633 North Water St., Milwaukee 2, Wis.	May 19, 1949	\$500.00	O.....	
Wood, Robert E., 925 South Homan Ave., Chicago 7, Ill.	Mar. 8, 1950	1,250.00	O.....	\$1,750.00
Wright W. Howard, Schenectady, N. Y.	Sept. 17, 1948	1,000.00	O.....	1,000.00
	Aug. 17, 1947	500.00	SLS.....	
	July 2, 1948	500.00	SLS.....	
	July 18, 1949	500.00	SLS.....	
	Jan. 20, 1950	500.00	O.....	2,000.00

SUPPLEMENTAL DATA

[NOTE.--All the following listings SLS, except as indicated]

Name	Date	Amount	Total
Armeo.....	Balance forward.....	\$2,138.43	
	July 8, 1949.....	4.19	
			\$1,142.62
Bailey, E. G.....	Balance forward.....	1,018.30	
	Dec. 10, 1948.....	12.00	
	Apr. 11, 1949.....	3.00	
	June 24, 1949.....	3.50	
	Dec. 27, 1949.....	1.00	
			1,037.80
Blodgett, John W., Jr.....	Balance forward.....	3,350.00	
	Sept. 4, 1947.....	1.20	
	Oct. 1, 1947.....	1.00	
			3,352.20
Clauren, Leon R.....	Balance forward.....	2,719.80	
	Apr. 16, 1947.....	.50	
	Oct. 3, 1947.....	2.25	
	June 25, 1948.....	.30	
	Nov. 9, 1948.....	12.00	
	Dec. 27, 1948.....	12.00	
	Mar. 27, 1950.....	7.50	
	Apr. 7, 1950.....	6.00	
			2,760.35
Davis, W. Tip.....	Balance forward.....	1,600.00	
	Apr. 4, 1947.....	30.00	
	Feb. 6, 1950.....	5.00	
			1,635.00
Du Pont, I.....	Balance forward.....	28,925.84	
	June 9, 1947.....	1.00	
	June 17, 1947.....	2.90	
	Jan. 20, 1950.....	1.00	
			28,930.74
Cullinan, Craig.....	Balance forward.....	1,160.00	
	Mar. 4, 1949.....	1.75	
			1,161.75
Howes, E. G.....	Balance forward.....	1,200.00	
	Sept. 11, 1947.....	1.00	
			1,201.00
King Manufacturing Co., J. P.....	Balance forward.....	1,485.00	
	Mar. 13, 1950.....	.72	
			1,485.72
Leathorbee, Mrs. A. T.....	Balance forward.....	2,600.00	
	Mar. 22, 1950.....	4.00	
			2,604.00
Lane, Mrs. R. W.....	Balance forward.....	1,614.00	
	Aug. 25, 1947.....	29.00	
	Mar. 13, 1950.....	2.75	
	May 16, 1947.....	53.99	
			1,699.74
Regnery, W. H.....	Balance forward.....	9,585.00	
	Feb. 15, 1950.....	10.00	
			9,595.00
Taylor, Ora A.....	Balance forward.....	1,030.00	
	Dec. 9, 1949.....	2.21	
	Aug. 1, 1949.....	10.00	
			1,042.21
Volker, Wm. & Co. (H. W. Luhnow)...	Balance forward.....	32,193.74	
	Sept. 9, 1949.....	285.00	
	Jan. 10, 1950.....	4.00	
			32,482.74
Whitney, Mrs. G. G.....	Balance forward.....	4,529.00	
	Jan. 10, 1950.....	3.00	
			4,532.00

The CHAIRMAN. I think if we can confine ourselves generally to this analysis, we can clear up a number of points here and perhaps get at the bottom of some of the difficulties which may exist in filing proper or meaningful reports under this act.

First, I want to call your attention to this category in your June 6 statement of "contributions." You differentiate those from other payments. According to our analysis, however, eight such payments of \$500 or more were never included by name of donor in your appropriate lobbying report.

As I said, you tell us in your June 6 list that these are straight-out contributions—not "sales," not loans, not contributions to the lecture fund or radio fund or the ITO fund, or lecture fees, but straight-out contributions, and they were not reported to the Clerk.

They include two contributions of \$500 and \$1,250, respectively, from the Wisconsin Manufacturing Association, Milwaukee, and one each from John W. Blodgett, Jr., \$750; S. H. Kress & Co., \$500; Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee, \$600; Tobin Packing Co., \$500; Mrs. G. G. Whitney, \$740; and Chapel Hill Gas System, \$500.

Then there are these receipts from sales of literature or subscriptions. A major portion of the analysis is devoted to that, since many of the 49 unreported payments come under this category. Yet other "sales" receipts, we find, were reported by you as "contributions" in your lobbying reports.

Do you care to comment on that first part, Mr. Hart?

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.—Resumed

Mr. HART. We were told by our counsel that where a person bought for \$10 or \$50 or five hundred or five thousands dollars of subscriptions to publications that it was not a contribution to us but it was a contribution to the beneficiaries. We in each case—as you will see from our reports—I have the copies of our quarterly reports here—we in each case reported not only those that we deemed to be contributions but among other things we reported all other receipts of the National Economic Council, so the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate knew at all times what our total income was. We were being advised, as I say, by our counsel, and we followed his advice with regard to how to assort them in making out the reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning when?

Mr. HART. From the start, from the time we made our first report, which was on January 20, 1948, for the period August 1, 1946, to December 31, 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the January 1948 report covered approximately an 18-month period?

Mr. HART. Well, 16 months, to be exact.

The CHAIRMAN. August through December?

Mr. HART. Through December.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be 17 months, of course?

Mr. HART. Seventeen months.

The CHAIRMAN. Five months in 1946 and 12 months in 1947.

Mr. HART. You are right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, under what reasoning would sales of literature or subscription be exempt from reporting under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. HART. Well, that was the advice we had, Mr. Chairman. They were not contributions to our work; they were purchases of subscriptions to our publications. That is the theory.

The CHAIRMAN. They are receipts, of course, into your general fund, and intended to help further the work of your committee or council in influencing national policy, were they not?

Mr. HART. Well, they were for the purpose of—practically all our work goes into the bringing out of our publications. And consequently they are deemed to be of value. Quite a number of libraries and some other institutions purchase them anyway. But it was believed by our counsel that where someone purchased a subscription to one of our publications and gave it to, say, a public library, that the gift was not to us but was to the library. That is the whole theory of it.

Now, as you will see—and I repeat—on every report we made we reported, after reporting receipts of \$500 and over, other contributions, subscriptions and receipts. They were included in that.

Now, let me call attention, if I may, to our report for the first quarter of the year 1948. We mentioned the names and addresses of those who have made a contribution of \$500 or more during the calendar quarter, January 1, 1948, to March 31, 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. That totaled \$64,510.06; is that not a fact, the January 1948 report, and so on?

Mr. HART. No. This is the first quarter of 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I had the report for the 17-month period before me.

Mr. HART. Well, I am taking the first one in 1948, because from then on we followed this uniform method.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. The first quarter report for 1948?

Mr. HART. The first quarter. And we list these items, the names and addresses of those who have made a contribution of \$500 or more during the calendar quarter, January 1, 1948, to March 1, 1948. There were 11 of them. And those, I think you find, are reported correctly. Then we say the total from all contributions made to the National Economic Council during this calendar quarter and not shown under paragraph 1 is eighteen-thousand-and-some-odd dollars. Then we say the total from all of the contributions made to the National Economic Council during this calendar quarter is \$34,083.04. So the two Houses, or their appropriate officials, know the total amount of money we received for all purposes.

Mr. Chairman, if someone—as has frequently happened—buys many thousand copies of a certain publication to be sent to him to be distributed by him, we did not deem that as something that had to be reported under “contributions.” It was not a contribution. He was buying those by himself.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get back to the question I had asked, and that is the receipts which were intended as payments to your council to cover the work of the council relative to legislative activities dealing with national policy. Now, in the operation of a business a certain amount of money, of course, is never sufficient until it reaches a certain volume of contributions or receipts or sales or whatever we have in

the nature of that business. And it all goes into a commingling of funds to be used by the business or that organization—in this particular case, a Council registered as a lobbying organization to further legislative activities toward influencing national policy. Now, where the funds come is not the concern right at this moment. It goes into a common pool, and it is through the growth and swelling of that common pool of funds that the work of your council is carried out. And that is the point I had in asking you that question. And of course I would again like to ask it in a direct sense as to the line of reasoning in which the sales of literature and subscriptions—which obviously you turned out to whomever these contributors saw fit to designate—why you would be exempt from reporting those under the Lobbying Act.

Mr. HART. Well, Mr. Chairman, I can only repeat that we consulted our counsel—our legal counsel, who in that matter was not my present counsel here today—and he was of the opinion that those need not be reported. We believed we were giving the Congress all the facts when we gave them the names of those making contributions which had no strings to them of \$500 or more each—and that we have always done—when we listed the receipts from other sources, stating frankly that that, as we have here, were from all of the sources—in other words, the total from all contributions—and by that we mean the total receipts. We used the word “contributions” there I think in a loose sense. That should be “receipts.” In other words, both Houses of Congress and the appropriate officials had the full information as to our income, as to how we might decide what the various parts of the income were. We had no other recourse than to consult our counsel and follow his advice.

Mr. LANHAM. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Hart, how, for instance, did you handle that one donation of \$5,000? I notice there is one listed at \$5,000 in the summary here. Did you furnish the names of the recipients of the literature, or did the donor do that?

Mr. HART. We, in practically all cases, furnished the names at the request of the donor. Those names were carefully selected; following any general instructions, geographically or otherwise, that the donor gave, we furnished him with a list in duplicate of those names and addresses. Now, we wrote to each of the donees and told them that this subscription had been made in his name by an undisclosed donor. And we have full records on that. I think your staff selected quite a number of these receipts that we have in our files.

Mr. LANHAM. Now, was there any profit made by the council on these publications?

Mr. HART. Congressman, there was a profit over and above the shop cost of production of this material. But over and above the editorial cost and the overhead and everything of that kind, I would say there was no profit.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified previously, Mr. Hart, that of the \$10 service charge on the National Economic Council letter, that the actual physical costs of turning out the letter was about \$4, while I believe \$6 was for overhead and for other purposes, which would mean to me carrying out the legislative activities of the council in any field that they saw fit to engage in.

Mr. HART. Well, a good many of the letters, of course—in fact, as many as 12 in some quarters—have dealt with measures which have made them lobbying letters. Consequently, the whole thing really revolved around these publications of ours.

Mr. BROWN. Did you report the letters and expenses of the letters as a lobbying activity?

Mr. HART. We did.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask this question, Mr. Chairman: I would like to reverse the recent question, if I can—I don't remember the exact question of the chairman. But the chairman said, as I remember—he inquired: "Why did you not report receipts from sales as a lobbying activity?"

I would like to ask a question: Why should the sale of literature be reported as a lobbying contribution or lobbying expense?

Mr. HART. Well, because, as I say, Congressman—

Mr. BROWN. Now, if it is something which deals direct, like your letter, with a legislative matter, that is one thing. But what is the difference between selling a booklet and claiming the receipts from the sale of it should be reported as a lobbying activity, under the lobby law, and selling palm leaf fans for advertising and reporting the income? What makes the difference?

Mr. HART. We didn't think that that is—

Mr. BROWN. Or selling socks or shirts or anything else. Now, if the profit derived from the sale of commodities or goods, the net profit above the cost of preparing and distributing and all this and that, should be in turn used to influence legislation, then that expenditure would have to be reported. But, as I understand it, you made a full revelation of all of your receipts and expenditures—

Mr. HART. Total receipts.

Mr. BROWN. And tried to designate what amounts had been actually used for lobbying activities and what you considered had not been used for lobbying activities; is that correct?

Mr. HART. We revealed our total receipts and expenditures—

Mr. BROWN. You covered everything?

Mr. HART. We covered everything.

Mr. BROWN. You designated those portions you thought were devoted to lobbying activities?

Mr. HART. That's right.

Mr. BROWN. Now, I have one other question, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. In the first place, I am not sure that I know what a lobbying activity is. Let me digress to say. I haven't heard it defined by anyone yet. But if I could define it, I would certainly say a lobbying activity is an activity devoted to influencing legislative action on some particular legislative measure. Lobbying has to be pinned down to something like that. Do you consider the broad general field of national policy legislative? Do you consider an interest in the broad general policies of government is a legislative activity upon which you have to report under the lobby law? In other words, I am terribly concerned just now, as are the newspapers and all of my friends with whom I talked in Ohio and the Midwest while I was away over the week end, over the situation in the Far East, over Korea and what may develop there. What we do there is

undoubtedly a question of national policy. But if we favor holding the line in Formosa or some place else, is that a lobbying activity because someone expresses his views on it either in writing or by word of mouth? Now, such expression may have some connection with legislative activity or some special bill that may come before us sooner or later. But where can we cut this line, Mr. Chairman, as to what is lobbying and what isn't? I don't think we can make lobbying activities cover the entire field of national policy. I think we have to pin down on some particular legislative proposal that is before the Congress, and not before every American citizen interested in national policies.

I see Mr. Goodman here. The question of labor relations, the railroad strike which is threatened—that is also a national policy, but we don't have any legislative measures before us on the matter. We are interested in it as a matter of national policy. We don't want work stoppages if we can help them. We want proper labor management relations. But there is no legislation before us on that particular subject. Now, if a person expresses himself, or an organization expresses itself as an organization, on the matter of this railroad strike or threatened strike, to say, "We think the national policy on it should be thus and thus," is that a lobbying activity which has to be reported under the law? I don't know, Mr. Chairman, but I don't believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the only point I am interested in making—and I repeat, I am not charging any violation or even a technical violation—the point is that the act we now have is susceptible to mistake. There is no question about it.

Mr. BROWN. That is right. We must improve it if we are going to make it work.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the experience here in your reporting, Mr. Hart, a good illustration as to the indefiniteness of this act?

Mr. HART. I would say it is to a considerable extent, Mr. Chairman. I have been at a loss to know what the act did mean. We are perfectly willing to conform to the clear meaning of the law. Our counsel, as I told you, first advised us that we did not come under it, and then changed his mind and thought that I had better register, which I did. But even then he was not very clear as to what the act meant. Now, only a part of our activities are lobbying. We do a good deal of research and we do a good deal of writing and publishing that has no reference to any specific legislative proposal. It touches, as Mr. Brown has said, large areas of policy. We have dealt with measures affecting foreign policy, which were areas relating to no particular piece of legislation. Therefore, if we err—even if we erred in not reporting, and I don't agree we did—in not reporting the purchases of material, why as it is, it seemed to us that just one part of our job was lobbying, and a relatively small part at that, that did not require us to report all of our receipts. And yet we did. We tried, within the meaning of the act as I understand it, to lay the whole picture before the two Houses of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization is one that has reported under the act. Now, the act of course sets out certain requirements as to reporting. For example, the act defines a "contribution" as "a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value." What we have to determine here is why these 49 large contributions

were left out of your particular reporting statements; that is, the names of the donors.

Mr. HART. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, as to that, I have never seen this analysis until a few minutes ago. I would have to turn this over to our treasurer and have him compare it with what is on our records. I see some statements in here—

The CHAIRMAN. These were taken right from your own records, as reported here. And while we are not prospecting into even technical violations, as such, nevertheless I think that your answers here to our questions will be very helpful to us insofar as reporting forms are concerned, and the difficulty which you have had in making these reports. We want to make the reporting uniform and meaningful and accurate.

For instance, I notice under item 4 on page 9:

Eighteen other donors named as large contributors in NEC's first lobbying report—

so they were reported there—

covering the period from August 1, 1946, to December 31, 1947, have never appeared on any since then.

Mr. HART. Well, the reason probably was that they never have subscribed since. We have people who come in and presently go out. There is quite a turn-over.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not a charge in this statement here; it is just a factual sheet for the benefit of the committee itself.

Mr. HART. It is an interesting document.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HART. But I don't recall that any of those have subsequently subscribed. That would be my interpretation of it. But what I would like to do with it—

Mr. BROWN. Your interpretation and the interpretation of the staff might be different, and until we hear both interpretations and compare them I am not sure whether we could change it.

Mr. LANHAM. Could I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Hart, what publications do you distribute other than the organ of your council, monthly or weekly?

Mr. HART. In addition to our semimonthly council letter we have a monthly review of books. We have an occasional council paper, as we call it, which is usually something written by somebody outside—invariably it is—and we have had down to about 10 months ago what we call an action report. We have published some other things besides.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you publish any booklets or pamphlets?

Mr. HART. Yes; we publish a great many pamphlets.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you sell them outright, or how do you dispose of the pamphlets and booklets you publish?

Mr. HART. We send copies of them to all of our members and supporters. I had one here—we published a pamphlet, for instance, by Prof. Edwin Borchard, of Yale. We are getting ready to distribute another at the present time.

Mr. LANHAM. Now, how do you distribute those?

Mr. HART. Those are mailed free to our supporters, a price is put on them—a small price for subscribers, and then in a descending scale for quantity. And they are available to the public.

Mr. LANHAM. Do you actually sell those to people who are not ordinarily your supporters?

Mr. HART. Oh, yes.

Mr. LANHAM. Incidentally, it makes quite a bit of difference whether or not you fill an order or a book that you publish or whether you simply mail out to somebody an organ that you publish every week or every 2 weeks. That is really a part of your lobbying activity. I can understand that the sale of a book might not be in any sense lobbying. But it seems to me you are right on the border line where you select the recipient of a magazine you publish and on which you make a profit. I am just exploring the question raised by Mr. Brown, and I think it is a question we have to decide, and I am just trying to think out loud on the problem.

Mr. HART. Take this Borchard pamphlet. That was a reprint of an address that he made before the New York Bar Association.

Mr. BROWN. What was that?

Mr. HART. Edwin Borchard. He is a professor of international law at Yale. Now, that in a way might be considered to be lobbying, because there was a measure before the Congress at that time—this was 3 or 4 years ago, I think—to change the method of ratifying treaties from a two-thirds vote by the Senate to a majority vote by both Houses. You will recall it, all you gentlemen, I am sure. And several representatives from the Attorney General's office came up and appeared before the State bar meeting, which I happened to attend as a member, and spoke very strongly in favor of the change. A committee of the State bar association had recommended it by a vote of 11 to 2, and Dr. Borchard, in a remarkable 20-minute address, completely changed their minds, and the bar meeting voted against it by 2 to 1—

Mr. BROWN. Wait a minute. Do you mean to say that after a talk by someone these lawyers changed their minds?

Mr. HART. These were New York lawyers, Mr. Brown.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They are more flexible.

Mr. BROWN. That is an unusual accomplishment, to get a whole group of lawyers to change their mind. I might add that I am a lawyer myself, but I don't practice it, having reached the age of judgment.

Mr. LANHAM. You wouldn't get any Philadelphia lawyers to change their minds.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, as soon as you get through I have some very important questions I would like to ask Mr. Hart.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

To pursue this line of thought, I believe Mr. Earhart had suggested a plan—and I believe that that letter was incorporated into the record on last Tuesday or Wednesday—as to whether or not these contributions in the form of gift subscriptions should be reported as contributions or in any other form under the Lobbying Act.

Now, what if anything would the fact that some of these may be sales—it might be under the plan that Mr. Earhart suggested to you—have to do with whether these should be reported as contributions under the Lobbying Act?

Mr. HART. Well, I don't know that it would necessarily follow. I think they are facts that exist side by side.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there were 22 such sales that were not reported as contributions by the name of the contributors in your lobby re-

ports. Were all of these a part of this method as suggested by Mr. Earhart?

Mr. HART. I assume they were, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. There were two such payments by a Mr. W. Howard Wright, of Schenectady, one in 1947 and one in July 1948—that is before you began separating these out of your reports—and one in 1949. They were never reported, of course, and Mr. Wright's name did not appear on the reports until this year. How did that come about? Why wasn't his name revealed in previous reports, when you were following a policy of reporting "sales" as "contributions"?

Mr. HART. I can't answer that question without having the records before me and without studying them and trying to reach a conclusion. Now, I believe the points that are brought up here can be satisfactorily answered. And my thought is that I will turn this over to our financial people with the copy of the testimony of today so that they can see the questions raised—

The CHAIRMAN. I think that for the purpose of the record we ought to put this entire 10-page document into the record.

Mr. BROWN. And permit that to qualify his explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. And that would include everything that has gone before.

Mr. BROWN. I say, I would show that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. And it would supplement his own statement to that effect.

We would be glad to have that when you have more time to comment on it.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, if there are any names that should have been reported and weren't, it was an oversight—it was an oversight I don't understand, but we would have no reason for not printing the names, because we are very proud of the list of men we have got—and corporations.

(The staff document referred to above is as follows:)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL—AN ANALYSIS OF ITS DISCLOSURES OF LARGE CONTRIBUTORS UNDER THE FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

Information supplied under subpoena to this committee by the National Economic Council, Inc., when compared to reports filed by NEC under the Lobbying Act, shows that 40 payments of \$500 or more, including some as high as \$5,000, were not accounted for by name of donor in NEC's official lobbying reports to Congress.

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 requires that organizations filing under it must disclose the name and address of any person, firm, group, etc., making a contribution of \$500 or more in *any one calendar quarter* (or in the case of an initial report, during the period from the effective date of the act to the date of the first filing). The act defines a "contribution" as "*a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value.*" * * *

In compliance with the statute, the NEC, since January 1948, has filed regular quarterly financial statements which cover the *entire effective period* of this act, from August 1, 1946, to March 31, 1950. These have disclosed a total of 69 persons who have made one or more (in the case of Empire State, Inc., nine) separate contributions of \$500 or more—or a total of 118 such—in *different calendar quarters or reporting periods*. (For the purposes of this section, NEC's first report covering 17 months constituted a quarter; therefore, donors, no matter how often they contributed or how much in that period, would be named only once.)

This list of 118 separate contributions by 69 different persons is a matter of *public record*. In this analysis it is compared with a list submitted to the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities on June 6, 1950, by Merwin K.

Hart, NEC president, in answer to a subpoena asking for the names of all persons who have paid NEC as much as \$1,000 for any purpose between January 1, 1947, and May 1950. It contained 61 names. Hart said it included the dates and amounts of all payments made by these "persons" in the specified period.

Since the two lists cover slightly different periods of time, this analysis concerns only that portion of time which is concurrent, from January 1, 1947, to March 31, 1950.

The subpoenaed material divides these payments into various categories: Contributors, contributions to international trade organization funds, contributions to lecture fund, contributions to radio fund, dinner-ticket purchases, loans, lecture fees, sales of literature and literature subscriptions.

It should be noted here that Hart, in testifying before this committee on June 21, acknowledged that there had been *no differentiation* in NEC's lobbying reports between various types of receipts until the report filed in early 1949 for the fourth quarter of 1948, when sales of literature were designated separately from contributions.

At that hearing, also, he revealed that Mr. H. B. Earhart of Ann Arbor, Mich., had outlined to NEC a method under which large contributions, designated by the donor for the purpose of purchasing gift subscriptions at \$10 each to NEC publications for colleges, churches, and libraries, could be claimed as charitable contributions by donors on their income tax, even though contributions to NEC itself are not deductible. Correspondence introduced at the hearing, between NEC and others, notably Mr. Tréneer and Mr. Lamont du Pont, stressed this consideration in appeals for funds.

Mr. Hart told this committee (p. 159) that Mr. Earhart's name had been left out of NEC's lobbying reports despite one payment of \$3,000 in 1947 and one of \$1,500 in 1948 because " * * * did not regard him as a contributor—he was a purchaser of subscriptions." This money, he said, "fell into a different category."

One would therefore be led to expect that, following the Earhart precedent, sales—money paid for the purchase of literature or of subscriptions—would not be reported by NEC as "contributions" under the Lobbying Act, and that only payment specifically labeled "Contributions" (and thus not tax deductible) would be accounted for by name in reports to the Clerk of the House. (Hart in fact cited the tax angle as a possible factor in not reporting certain du Pont payments on NEC lobbying reports on page 155 of the transcript.)

A study of the subpoenaed records labelling the various payments to NEC by different classifications shows, however, insofar as these "sales" items are concerned that:

1. Before and after the Earhart contributions, other "sales" were still being reported by name of donor under the Lobbying Act as "contributions."

2. Even after NEC, in the report for the fourth quarter of 1948, and in subsequent reports, was designating "sales" receipts separately from "contributions" under the act, certain "sales" proceeds were still reported by name as "contributions"; others were not listed.

3. On the other hand, eight payments to NEC, identified in NEC's subpoenaed records as straight-out "contributions" all of them of \$500 or more, were never listed by name of donor in NEC lobbying reports.

4. Loans—a total of five of \$500 or more identified in the subpoenaed records as having been made in various calendar quarters—were never reported on lobbying statements by name of donor, or lender.

5. Lecture fees of \$500 or more—totaling four in the subpoenaed records—were not listed in the lobbying statements by name of donor.

6. A "contribution to the radio fund" of \$2,000 in 1947 (by John W. Bledgett, Jr.) was reported as a "contribution" under the Lobbying Act in Bledgett's name (the amount was not given), but a straight-out "contribution" by the same man, in the fourth quarter of 1948 according to the subpoenaed records, was not reported under the act.

7. A "contribution to the International Trade Organization fund" by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway in 1947 (of \$1,000) was listed by name in the lobbying statement for that period.

8. Six "contributions to the lecture fund" on the other hand, all of \$500 or more, and made in calendar quarters when their donors had not also made straight-out "contributions" of \$500 or more, were not reported under the act.

9. Four "contributions to the lecture fund" which, when added to "contributions" or other payments made by their donors in the particular cal-

endar quarters would add up to \$500 or more, were not reported by name of donor under the act.

10. Altogether, 22 "sales" of the type referred to in (1) and (2) above were not reported by name of donor or purchaser to the Clerk of the House.

The breakdown

Large contributors never identified by name in NEO lobbying report.—The following 13 persons, firms, or groups made altogether 18 separate payments to the NEO ranging from \$500 to \$3,000 in different calendar quarters or reporting periods between January 1, 1947, and March 31, 1950, but were not named in any NEO reports to Congress (amounts and classifications of these payments follow in each case): H. B. Earhart, Ann Arbor, Mich., \$3,000 and \$1,500 (both "sales"); Eastman Kodak Co., \$550 (combination of "sale" and "contribution to lecture fund"); Armstrong Cork Co., \$500 (same as Eastman Kodak); Joseph R. Grundy, Bristol, Pa., \$550 (same); Merwin K. Hart, \$1,000 (loan); Indiana State Medical Society, \$1,000 (lecture fee); Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, \$500 (lecture fee); Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane, Danbury, Conn., \$1,500 (contribution to lecture fund); Standard Oil of Indiana, \$1,000 (lecture fee); W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co., \$500 (contribution to lecture fund); Ora A. Taylor, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, \$500 (loan); Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 17 Wall Street, New York, three payments of \$500 each for "sales" and one of \$500 for "contribution to lecture fund," all in separate quarters; Wisconsin Manufacturing Association, Milwaukee, \$500 and \$1,250 (both "contributions").

Large contributors identified one or more times on lobbying reports but not named as often as the subpoenaed records show they made large payments.—Of the 60 "persons" named one or more times in NEO lobbying reports as large donors, the following 17 are shown in the subpoenaed material to have made a total of 30 unreported additional payments ranging from \$500 to \$5,000 in separate calendar quarters when their names do not appear in the NEO statement. They are shown here in descending order in terms of the frequency of their unreported payments:

Lamott du Pont, named in two NEO reports, *left out of five* (for the calendar quarters listed): fourth of 1948, \$1,500 (loan); first of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); third of 1949, \$5,000 (loan); fourth of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); first of 1950, \$5,000 ("sales"); Irénée du Pont, named in three NEO quarterly reports, but *left out of the following four*: fourth of 1948, \$3,000 ("sales"); second of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); third of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); first of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); W. Howard Wright, Schenectady, N. Y., named in one NEO quarterly financial report under the act and *left out of three* as follows: 1949-47 period, \$500 ("sales"); third of 1948, \$500 and third of 1949, \$500 (also "sales"); Wm. Volker & Co., Kansas City, Mo., named by NEO in four lobbying reports as a large contributor (two of them in the name of the Wm. Volker Charities Fund, of Kansas City, Kans.) but *left out of three* as follows: third of 1948, \$758.31, and second of 1949, approximately \$4,000 (both "sales"), and first of 1950, \$500 (contribution to lecture fund).

Carter Carburetor Corp., St. Louis, Mo., named in two (both of which are listed in the subpoenaed records as "sales") and *left out of two*: the first of 1948, \$1,000, and the first of 1949, \$1,000 (both "sales").

W. H. Regnery, Joanna Western Mills Co., Chicago, named twice in NEO lobbying statement (listed as Walter Regnery, of Western Shade Co., Chicago, in one of those), and *left out of two*: the second of 1948, \$2,075, and third of 1949, \$2,000 (both "sales").

The following additional names in this category were shown in the subpoenaed NEO records to have made one payment of \$500 or more in a particular calendar quarter *which was not reported*; each was, however, listed in the designated other NEO quarterly statements shown in parentheses:

John W. Blodgett, Jr., Public Service Building, Portland, Oreg. (1), fourth of 1948, \$750 ("contribution").

Chapel Hill gas system, Dallas, Tex. (1), fourth of 1949, \$500 ("contribution").

Mrs. Ella Mabel Clark, 831 Madison Avenue, New York (1), fourth of 1949, \$500 (combination of "contribution," "contribution to lecture fund," "dinner tickets").

Albert W. Hawkes, 105 Belgrove Drive, Kearny, N. J. (1), first of 1950 (contribution to lecture fund).

S. H. Kress & Co. (1), first of 1948, \$500 ("contribution").

Mrs. Albert T. Lenthewee, 42 Rockview Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass. (1), third of 1948, \$600 (three "contributions" of \$200 each).

Lone Star Cement Corp. (6), omitted from the fourth of 1949, \$600 (\$500 contribution to lecture fund, \$100 for dinner tickets).

John J. Raskob, 850 Fifth Avenue, New York (4), omitted from second of 1948 (\$2,000—loan).

S. M. Swenson & Sons, 52 Wall Street, New York (1), first of 1948, \$500 ("sales").

Tobin Packing Co., Rochester, N. Y. (2), third of 1949, \$500 ("contribution").

Mrs. G. G. Whitney, 75 Highland Street, Milton, Mass. (2), omitted from fourth of 1949, \$900 ("contributions" of \$740; dinner tickets, \$160).

(Mrs. Whitney, on the other hand, was listed in the NEC lobby statement for the second quarter of 1948 although the subpoenaed records reflect payments by her in that quarter of only \$428; the many contributions she made in 1947 would account for her other listing.)

In contrast to the discrepancies in NEC's lobbying reports indicated above, the following 22 individuals and firms were reported as "contributors" under the act for every calendar quarter or reporting period (40-47) in which, according to NEC's subpoenaed records, they actually did make payments to NEC of \$500 or more:

Ira L. Anderson, American Provident Society, New York, one "contribution," \$2,400.

G. S. Anderson, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, two "contributions," \$1,000 and \$500.

Armed Steel Co., Middletown, Ohio, three "contributions," \$300, \$500, \$500 (plus a contribution to the lecture fund of \$500 in one of the same calendar quarters).

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, Topeka, Kans., one contribution to international trade organization fund, \$1,000.

Beech Aircraft Co., Wichita, Kans., two "contributions," \$5,098.65 and \$1,000.

J. I. Case Co., Racine, Wis., two "contributions," \$1,000 and \$1,500.

Godfrey L. Cabot, 77 Franklin Street, Boston, one "contribution," \$1,000.

Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, Worcester, Mass., one "contribution," \$500.

Empire State, Inc., New York, nine "contributions," averaging \$500 each.

G. M. Funk, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, four "contributions" of \$500 each.

Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, five "contributions," four of \$1,000 each, one of \$2,000 (plus an additional \$1,000 in one of the same quarters as a contribution to the lecture fund).

Mrs. M. K. Hart, New Hartford, N. Y., one "contribution," \$2,000 (plus another \$1,000 in the same calendar quarter for "sales").

E. H. Howes, 321 Summer Street, Boston, one "contribution," \$1,000.

S. C. Johnson & Son, Racine, Wis., one "contribution," \$2,500.

McCrory Stores, New York, one "contribution," \$500.

Ralph E. Mershon, 2000 Tiger Trail Avenue, Miami, Fla., one "contribution," \$1,000.

Mohawk Carpet Mills, Amsterdam, N. Y., three "contributions," \$500 each.

N. E. Nelson, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, two "contributions," \$1,000 each.

C. S. Payson, 80 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y., four "contributions," \$2,500, \$1,000, and two of \$500 each.

Pure Oil Co., Chicago, four "contributions," \$1,000 and three of \$500 each.

Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, one "contribution," \$1,750.

Texas Co., New York, four "contributions," three of \$2,500 each, one of \$1,500.

Union Carbide & Carbon Co., New York, two "contributions," \$1,000 and \$500.

E. E. Wood, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, one "contribution," \$1,000.

Additional facts shown in analysis of two lists

1. Six names included in the subpoenaed records as having paid as much as \$1,000 to NEC between January 1, 1947 and May 1950, have not in any single calendar quarter in that period paid as much as \$500. They are:

E. G. Bailey, 85 Liberty Street, New York.

Bethlehem Steel Corp.

Craig F. Cullinan, Petroleum Building, Houston, Tex.

Jno. F. King Mfg. Co., Augusta, Ga.

Charles A. Macauley, Detroit.

Utica Mutual Ins. Co., Utica, N. Y.

2. *Four firms* have already made payments of \$500 or more during the calendar quarter of 1950. They are:

Lane Star Cement Corp., \$1,000, "contributions,"
 Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, \$500, lecture fee,
 S. M. Svenson, 52 Wall Street, New York, \$500, "sales,"
 Wm. Volker & Co., Kansas City, Mo., \$5,000, "contribution."

3. *One donor* of frequent contributions to NEC, adding up to more than \$1,000 in the period January 1, 1947 to May 1950, W. Tip Davis of Honolulu, Hawaii, is not shown to have given as much as \$500 in any calendar quarter in that period, yet was included in NEC's first report (for 1946-47) under the Lobbying Act. His contributions in 1947 totaled \$480. If he gave \$20 or more in the last 4 months of 1946 it would account for his presence on the list.

4. *Eighteen other donors* named as large contributors in NEC's first lobbying report, covering the period from August 1, 1946 to December 31, 1947, have never appeared on any since then and do not appear in the subpoenaed records as contributors of as much as \$1,000 since January 1, 1947. They are:

Acme Steel Co., Chicago.
 Air Maza Co., Cleveland.
 Alabama Mills, Birmingham.
 Brewing Corp. of America, Cleveland.
 Dr. S. A. Brown 75 East Fifth-Stth Street New York.
 Eddy Paper Co., Chicago.
 Harnischfeger Corp., Milwaukee.
 John S. Kemper Co., Chicago.
 Monsanto Chemical Co., St. Louis.
 Perfection Stove Co., Cleveland.
 Pittston Co., Hoboken, N. J.
 Pressed Steel Tank Co., Milwaukee.
 Public Health Foundation for Cancer and Blood Research, Stamford, Conn.
 Sharon Steel Corp., Sharon, Pa.
 Standard Railway Equipment Manufacturing Co., Chicago.
 Stockham Pipe Fittings, Birmingham.
 Vick Chemical Co., New York.
 George B. Warren, 120 Broadway, New York.

5. The following *seven names* listed as large donors in NEC Lobbying reports do not appear in the subpoenaed records as having contributed as much as \$1,000 in the specified period, although their payments of \$500 or more were made entirely within the period covered by the subpoena. They include (with the calendar quarters in which they made their payments of \$500 or more shown in parenthesis):

American Cyanamid Co., New York (first of 1949).
 Judge Armstrong Foundation, Fort Worth, Tex. (first of 1950).
 Bucyrus Erie Co., South Milwaukee, Wis. (first of 1949).
 Industrial Rayon Corp., Haydon B. Kline, president, Cleveland (first of 1950).
 Rock Ledge Institute, South Norwalk, Conn. (first of 1949).
 Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co., Milwaukee (third of 1949).
 George Vidal, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago (first of 1948).

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on page 3, under 4:

Loans—a total of five of \$500 or more identified in the subpoenaed records as having been made in various calendar quarters—were never reported on lobbying statements by name of donor, or lender.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, loans come within this law?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as I read here from the act, the act defines a "contribution" as "a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value." So a loan, then, is regarded as a contribution, under the terms of the act.

Mr. HART. These loans might have been repaid very shortly after they were made, Mr. Chairman. Under those circumstances, would they have to be reported?

The CHAIRMAN. They are usually, yes.

Mr. HART. That is, if money were loaned one day and repaid the next day or the following week and the whole thing had taken place in a quarter?

The CHAIRMAN. Or any subsequent quarter. The fact of the making of the loan is the important element.

Mr. BROWN. In that case I don't think a jury would convict anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps not. But that is what the law states.

Now, to get back to Mr. Wright, one of his checks for the purchases of subscriptions of literature was in July of 1948—we used July 1949. That was after you began regarding these as not being contributions under the act; is that right?

Mr. HART. Well, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you broke off from your previous form of reporting and then started to list these contributions in a different manner. And you listed them in total as sales of literature or subscriptions without identifying the donors in your lobbying report.

Mr. HART. Well, I can't say, with reference to that particular one, or with any other of these, Mr. Chairman, without consulting our own records and seeing what the explanation is. But I will prepare and send you as quickly as possible a comment on this that will be our answer to this. And I would like that to be inserted in the record. (See p. 196.)

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Now, I would like to have you pay special attention likewise to the order from W. H. Regnery in that same period, in June of 1948.

Mr. HART. Well, that is mentioned in this document here, I take it.

Mr. BROWN. I think you ought to explain all those.

The CHAIRMAN. Likewise in the case of Mr. Irénée du Pont, January 1948, and again in July 1948, the same month as the second order from Mr. Howard Wright was received, he was listed in your lobbying report as having made a contribution of \$500 or more, but according to your subpoenaed records it was actually for purchases of this description.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, in that connection, if I am correct—

The CHAIRMAN. I remember some correspondence which was made part of the record in that regard in which that matter was referred to. And I think we commented on that particular letter from Mr. du Pont and put it into the record in full. And it was in the packet. You will recall how that matter was apparently straightened out.

Mr. HART. Yes. I think it was stated that two subscriptions he had given did not appear in our reports at all, and I later found that they were there in our copy. So I think that was an error at this end, at your end.

The CHAIRMAN. You retroactively made those "sales" instead of contributions. On page 4 of the prepared analysis here under "Break-down"—you have it before you?

Mr. HART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read.

Large contributors never identified by name in NEC lobbying reports:

"The following 13 persons, firms, or groups made altogether 18 separate payments to the NEC ranging from \$500 to \$3,000 in different calendar quarters or reporting periods between January 1, 1947, and March 31, 1950, but were not named in any NEC reports to Congress (amounts and classifications of these payments follow in each case).

Then we have a list of 13 persons and the separate payments. I would like to have you pay particular attention to that. Then it says:

Large contributors identified one or more times on lobbying reports but not named as often as the subpoenaed records show they made large payments:

Of the 69 persons named one or more times in the NEC lobbying reports as large donors, the following 17 are shown in the subpoenaed material to have made a total of 30 unreported additional payments ranging from \$500 to \$5,000 in separate calendar quarters when their names do not appear in the NEC statement. They are shown here in descending order in terms of the frequency of their unreported payments.

And listing them:

Lamont du Pont, named in two NEC reports, left out of five (for the calendar quarters listed); fourth of 1948, \$1,500 (loan); first of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); third of 1949, \$3,000 (loan); fourth of 1949, \$5,000 ("sales"); W. Howard Wright, Schenectady, N. Y., named in one NEC quarterly financial report under the act and left out of three as follows: 1946-47 period, \$500 ("sales"); third of 1948, \$500; and third of 1949, \$500 (also "sales"); William Volker & Co., Kansas City, Mo., named by NEC in four lobbying reports as a large contributor (two of them in the name of the William Volker charities fund of Kansas City, Kans.) but left out of three as follows: Third of 1948, \$758.31; and second of 1949, approximately \$4,000 (both "sales"), and first of 1950, \$500 (contribution to lecture fund).

Mr. HART. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, we didn't regard the lecture fund as any part of the lobbying program. It had nothing to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you stated that.

Mr. HART. Yes. It was solely for the backing up or payments for lectures by an Englishman, Mr. Palmer. And he never once has even mentioned the measure in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You did mention that on page 184 of the transcript of last Wednesday, the chairman's statement: "And you itemized these funds of course in your lobbying report to the Congress?" Mr. Hart: "I know they are all included in a report which you have."

Mr. HART. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you refer to the lobbying reports, or the material which you provided on June 6?

Mr. HART. When did I say that? On the stand?

The CHAIRMAN. It was in connection with the discussion, and it appears in the Wednesday, June 21 hearings, on page 184 of the transcript. We were discussing these other funds, the radio fund, the ITO fund, lecture fund, and so on, and I asked the question, "The Chairman"—at the top of page 184—"And you itemized these funds of course in your lobbying report to the Congress?" Your answer was: "They are all included in the report which you have."

Mr. HART. They are included in the report which we filed June 6.

The CHAIRMAN. June 6.

Mr. HART. But we hadn't reported them in the quarterly reports before.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them are, but some are not. And, of course, that is what led us to make this analysis. Your ITO fund receipts, I believe, have always been reported.

Mr. HART. That has always been reported.

The CHAIRMAN. But not the other funds.

Mr. HART. The only fund not reported was the lecture fund.

The CHAIRMAN. The lecture fund?

Mr. HART. Which was the Palmer lecture fund.

The CHAIRMAN. The radio fund is complete?

Mr. HART. That is complete, yes. We have had no receipt for that, as I recall it, since the period in question.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one, and from Mr. Blodgett; I believe?

Mr. HART. Yes. There might have been two or three the early part of 1947, but the thing was practically wound up by that time.

Mr. LITTLE. I would like to ask some questions.

Mr. BROWN. Are you going on to something else?

Mr. LITTLE. It is with reference to some of these contributions.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask just one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

Mr. BROWN. You mentioned a moment ago—I am just trying to clarify it in my mind—something about a man named Borchard, professor of international law, making a speech before the New York Bar Association and changing the attitude and position of the New York Bar Association as to the way treaties should be handled under our Constitution or under our laws. You said you sent out copies of that speech and that you didn't know, you weren't sure whether Mr. Borchard's speech—or your dissemination of his speech—was a lobbying activity. Is that correct?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Did you report it as a lobbying activity?

Mr. HART. Well, that was made in 1946, that speech.

Mr. BROWN. Well, would you under present circumstances consider it as a lobbying activity and report it as such?

Mr. HART. I am not sure I would. It would depend upon whether it referred to a measure which was actively being considered and on which we were taking a position.

Mr. BROWN. Let me go a little further with that and develop it for a minute or two, Mr. Chairman.

You also mentioned, in connection with the Borchard address, that two representatives of the Department of Justice appeared before the bar association meeting in favor of that change in the way they handle the treaties. Would you consider their efforts as lobbying activities in violation of the criminal statutes that prohibit Government agencies or Government officials from attempting to influence legislative activity?

Mr. HART. I certainly think it was.

Mr. BROWN. And if one would be wrong, then the other would be wrong; is that correct?

Mr. HART. I would think so.

Mr. BROWN. Let us follow just a little further, because I am no longer practicing law, so I can get after your lawyers. What about the New York Bar Association, which had taken a very definite position one way as being in favor of this change, and then—and of course that was a question of national policy and also a question of legislative action, was it not? Was the New York Bar Association engaged in lobbying activities at the time it took a position in favor of that legislation, and then was it again engaging in lobbying activities when it took a position against the legislation after it had heard Mr. Borchard speak?

Mr. HART. I think it certainly could be considered as lobbying.

Mr. BROWN. Would they have been required—that is, the New York Bar Association—to file under this act? I am asking these questions to

try to fix in my own mind, and perhaps in the minds of the committee: Where does lobbying activity start and where does it end? Who has to make these filings of these revelations and these statements? If you have to make it because you disseminate something that is said before the New York Bar Association, then why wouldn't the New York Bar Association have to make a filing? Why wouldn't the people who opposed the action of the Bar Association and spoke the other way have to make one? That is what I am driving at.

Mr. HART. I agree with you, Mr. Brown—

Mr. BROWN. Where can we stop? What about the professor? Was he influencing national policy or legislative action when he convinced the bar association it was wrong in favoring the new method of making treaties? I think Members of Congress, and certainly Members of Congress from New York, would be impressed by the views taken by the New York Bar Association. I hear these lawyers on our committee repeatedly talk about what the American Bar Association, or this bar association or that one, thinks about this and that, and I understand we are going to call the American Bar Association before us for their legal advice.

Is that right, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to find something we can get our hands on. I think this committee has been assigned one of the most difficult tasks I have ever known a legislative committee to confront in all my years of legislative experience.

Mr. HART. It is going to be very hard to limit it.

Mr. BROWN. It is going to be very hard to confine it so all of us know what we can do and what we can't do.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say this: That is the very controversial heart of this whole series of hearings on the indirect level, where public opinion ends and lobbying activities begin. Of course, we have tried to steer a course of confining ourselves to the influencing of legislation either directly or indirectly by organizations soliciting money for that purpose, and not trying to interfere with one's prerogative or right of petition. And that has been rather difficult to put over. There may have been some things that we have done or said that have been picked up by the press of the Nation and written up in editorials, implying or charging that we were trying to interfere with the right of petition as protected by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment very briefly on something suggested by what Mr. Brown has said—namely, the lobbying activities of employees of the administration. I recall very distinctly that meeting of the bar association that day, because I was very much opposed to this measure myself. Not only did two representatives of the Department of Justice speak—and there perhaps were three—but they monopolized the time of the committee of the association. And if one or more of us had not called the attention of the chair to the fact that time was running out and that Mr. Borchard, who was the sole speaker on the other side, would have no opportunity to speak, he would have been completely shut out. And he is not the type of man to intervene himself and exert his rights. But the Chairman—whoever was presiding, and I have forgotten who it was—finally silenced the speaker and said the other side was to be heard.

Mr. BROWN. If the administration had been objecting to this proposal, do you think these representatives from the Department of Justice would have been there arguing for it?

Mr. HART. I have a feeling they would not, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. BROWN. So do I.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, getting back to page 6 of the summary, and after all, here, we are trying to unravel reporting procedures used by your organization:

Carter Carburetor Corp., St. Louis, Mo., named in two—that is, two lobbying reports—

(both of which are listed in the subpoenaed records as "sales") and left out of two: the first of 1948, \$1,000, and the first of 1949, \$1,000 (both "sales").)

In other words, you have reported some of these sales as contributions, including the most recent one, but you have neglected, of course, to report the two others which are of identical nature, that is, "Sales." I would like to ask you to pay particular attention to that phase of it, and if you want to comment on that now, let us hear it.

Mr. HART. Well, in our report to the committee, Mr. Chairman, we will pay attention to every statement made in this summary and we will see what we have to say on the subject.

(A subsequent communication from Mr. Hart commenting on the analysis appears on p. 196.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now Mr. Little has something.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Hart, I want to call your attention to a suit filed in the District Court of the United States for the District of Delaware, Civil Action No. 1270, in which Lamont du Pont was plaintiff versus the United States of America, defendant.

Complaint:

Plaintiff, by Richards, Layton and Finger, his attorneys, respectfully shows to the court and alleges as follows—

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, there have been so many irrelevant things introduced at these hearings that I would like to have him establish the basis for this particular piece of litigation.

Mr. LITTLE. The basis for this piece of litigation—this is a suit by Mr. du Pont against the United States in which he says that the money that he paid to the National Economic Council was in his interests personally, and that payments were made in the belief and understanding that they would be used by such organization for services, the performance of which was desired by the plaintiff. And this was not—

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Isn't this an argument with the Revenue Department?

Mr. LITTLE. This is Mr. du Pont's—

Mr. BROWN. Is it in connection with a revenue matter?

Mr. LITTLE. It is in connection with money paid to the National Economic Council.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very pertinent here, and I think you want to get it before you—not that we can offer any final—

Mr. BROWN. What could he answer about whether it is taxable or not taxable?

How can he speak for du Pont?

Mr. LITTLE. I am not speaking for du Pont.

Mr. BROWN. I mean Mr. Montgomery.

Mr. LITTLE. The witness has already stated that Mr. du Pont gave this as a contribution to charity. We want to show that this was not charity, that the organization was used by du Pont and others to advance their philosophy.

Mr. BROWN. You mean you want to show that du Pont said something different?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it ought to be brought out in the hearings. As far as what we can do about it, there is nothing at all we can do as a committee. But, nevertheless, I think we ought to be aware of such a suit that is pending and the contention of one of the individuals, especially where it is pertinent to the National Economic Council.

Mr. BROWN. Let us understand what it is. One man calls it a contribution to something and the other man calls it payment for services.

Mr. LITTLE. Payment for services rendered.

Mr. BROWN. Quote from the petition.

Mr. LITTLE. I will give you the exact language.

The CHAIRMAN. Quote from the petition.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I could make a statement that I think could avoid that necessity.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you quote from the petition?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The only issue involved here, Mr. Chairman, is the question of tax liability. I object to the admission of this.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not trying anything here. It is merely some information to get before the committee which would be relevant to this whole discussion and which might influence our attitude in sitting down and making recommendations on this particular act to the proper committee of the House. I think it is rather relevant.

Mr. LITTLE (reading):

Plaintiff, by Richards, Layton and Finger, his attorneys, respectfully, shows to the court and alleges as follows:

1. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a resident of the State of Delaware.

2. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a sovereign body politic.

3. This is an action at law of a civil nature arising in connection with the administration of the law of Congress providing for internal revenue, and specifically for the recovery of internal-revenue taxes illegally assessed against and collected from the plaintiff by the defendant. The amount involved is less than \$10,000.

4. During the year 1946, the plaintiff paid to an organization known as National Economic Council the amount of \$11,000, and to an organization known as American Action the amount of \$5,000. In the opinion of the plaintiff, each of such organizations was, at the time of such payment, engaged in activities calculated to promote sound financial, economic, business, and political conditions within the United States and elsewhere. At the time of such payments, it was the purpose and intent of the plaintiff that said payments should be used by said organizations for such purposes. It was the opinion and belief of the plaintiff, at the time of such payments, that the use of such payments and of other payments made to such organizations by others, for such purposes, was in the interests of the plaintiff personally and of all the citizens of the United States. Said payments were made in the belief and understanding that they would be used by such organizations for services, the performance of which was desired by the plaintiff. Said payments were in no sense a gift or intended as such but, on the contrary, were made to enable and induce said organizations

to perform services believed by the plaintiff at the time of such payments to be beneficial to the plaintiff personally. Said payments were made for the purpose of obtaining from said organizations the performances of services believed by plaintiff to be beneficial to him personally.

Mr. BROWN. What is your argument? So what? For services rendered. What services?

Mr. LITTLE. He says that these services were to benefit him personally. And he does not charge in this complaint—if you will read what he said—he does not charge this off as a charity, and the Government had described it as a gift.

Mr. BROWN. Did he try to claim it as a gift to charity?

Mr. HART. No, no. The first payment to us which we treated as a gift to a charitable, educational, and religious group was in 1947. This is by Mr. du Pont in 1946.

Mr. LITTLE. We understand that.

Mr. BROWN. Let me ask you one other question, Counselor, and I certainly don't want to put you on the witness stand: But if, regardless of your opinion, the Federal court decides that Mr. du Pont's contention is wrong, then what?

Mr. LITTLE. Besides? The collector has already taken the stand here.

Mr. BROWN. All right. Suppose the Federal court doesn't agree Mr. du Pont's statement and allegations are correct? Then what?

Mr. LITTLE. This is Mr. du Pont's statement. This is not the statement of the Government.

Mr. BROWN. But the court may say that isn't what he gave the money for, that he gave it for something else.

Mr. LITTLE. But Mr. du Pont says that he gave it for personal reasons and for services rendered.

Mr. ALBERT. What did the collector say he gave it for?

Mr. LITTLE. First, as I understand, he tried to get it classed as a gift, and that was disallowed. And now he comes back and makes a statement—I will read from the petition—and he explains his position:

On or about March 15, 1947, plaintiff filed with the collector of internal revenue at Wilmington, Del., a return of gifts made by him during the calendar year 1946. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue caused an examination of said return to be made, and upon such audit determined that said payments of \$11,000 to National Economic Council and of \$5,000 to American Action constituted taxable gifts, to the extent that each exceeded an exclusion of \$3,000. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue accordingly assessed gift tax thereon in the amount of \$5,775.

On or about May 24, 1940, plaintiff duly paid to the collector of internal revenue the assessment of gift tax as aforesaid in the amount of \$5,775, and interest thereon in the amount of \$753.60. Said payment was made pursuant to notice and demand duly received from the collector of internal revenue.

Said assessment and collection of tax represented an assessment and collection of gift tax in excess of the gift tax properly assessable and collectible from the plaintiff for the year 1946.

On or about June 10, 1940, plaintiff filed with the collector of internal revenue at Wilmington, Del., a claim for refund of such excessive collection of gift tax for the year 1946.

On August 12, 1940, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue gave notice to the plaintiff that said claim for refund had been disallowed in full. A copy of such notice is hereto annexed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have got it all in the record.

Mr. BROWN. I want to object on the record to that going in, because I contend that it doesn't make any difference whether this was a

charitable gift or it was a payment for services, whether it was taxable or not taxable. The only question is whether this man, as far as we are concerned, is engaged in lobbying activities; and if so, whether he made the complete revelation as required by law; and if not, what the situation was—not whether this man had a right to make a gift or whether it was taxable or not taxable.

Mr. LITTLE. You understand that this was organized as an eleemosynary institution. Now Mr. du Pont says that, "I am using this institution for my personal benefit."

Mr. BROWN. But what difference does it make as long as the man supports the institution?

Mr. LITTLE. That isn't the point. Is this an eleemosynary institution doing lobbying, or is it an institution such as Mr. du Pont wants to further his own interests?

Mr. BROWN. Maybe I am dense and stupid.

Mr. LITTLE. I am sure you are not, Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. I must be, because the man has been sitting here for days and saying, "We came to the conclusion that we came under the Lobbying Act, that we were engaged in lobbying activities, and we have filed under that act." Now, what difference does it make whether he contributed it as a gift? What we are concerned with it trying to find out about lobbying activities.

Mr. LITTLE. Aren't we trying to find out what is wrong with the Lobbying Act?

Mr. BROWN. But not the Internal Revenue Act.

Mr. LITTLE. But if there are any loop holes, that ought to be brought out.

Mr. BROWN. But didn't he report that \$11,000? I thought I saw that and heard that a while ago.

Mr. LITTLE. May I offer the complaints for the record? We have one complaint covering the calendar year 1945 and another for 1946 and I ask that they go in at this point with their accompanying exhibits A and B.

The CHAIRMAN. In its entirety.

(The complaints referred to are as follows:)

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE.
LAMMOT DU PONT, Plaintiff, v. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Defendant. Civil
Action No. 1268

COMPLAINT

Plaintiff, by Richards, Layton and Finger, his attorneys, respectfully shows to the court and alleges as follows:

1. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a resident of the State of Delaware.

2. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a sovereign body politic.

3. This is an action at law of a civil nature arising in connection with the administration of the law of Congress providing for internal revenue, and specifically for the recovery of internal-revenue taxes illegally assessed against and collected from the plaintiff by the defendant. The amount involved is less than \$10,000.

4. During the year 1945, the plaintiff paid to an organization known as National Economic Council the amount of \$6,000, and to an organization known as American Action the amount of \$4,000. In the opinion of the plaintiff, each of such organizations was, at the time of such payment, engaged in activities calculated to promote sound financial, economic, business, and political conditions within the United States and elsewhere. At the time of such payments, it was the pur-

pose and intent of the plaintiff that said payments should be used by said organizations for such purposes. It was the opinion and belief of the plaintiff, at the time of such payments, that the use of such payments and of other payments made to such organizations by others, for such purposes, was in the interests of the plaintiff personally and of all the citizens of the United States. Said payments were made in the belief and understanding that they would be used by such organizations for services, the performance of which was desired by the plaintiff. Said payments were in no sense a gift or intended as such; but, on the contrary were made to enable and induce said organizations to perform services believed by the plaintiff at the time of such payments to be beneficial to the plaintiff personally. Said payments were made for the purpose of obtaining from said organizations the performance of services believed by plaintiff to be beneficial to him personally.

5. On or about March 15, 1946, plaintiff filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue at Wilmington, Delaware, a return of gifts made by him during the calendar year 1945. The Commission of Internal Revenue caused an examination of said return to be made, and upon such audit determined that said payments of \$6,000 to National Economic Council and of \$4,000 to American Action constituted taxable gifts, to the extent that each exceeded an exclusion of \$3,000. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue accordingly assessed gift tax thereon in the amount of \$2,310.

6. On or about October 18, 1948, plaintiff duly paid to the Collector of Internal Revenue the assessment of gift tax as aforesaid in the amount of \$3,003 and interest thereon in the amount of \$466.94, of which said assessment of \$2,310 represented gift tax assessed upon said payments to National Economic Council and American Action. Said payment was made pursuant to notice and demand duly received from the Collector of Internal Revenue.

7. Said assessment and collection of tax represented an assessment and collection of gift tax in excess of the gift tax properly assessable and collectible from the plaintiff for the year 1945.

8. On or about June 16, 1949, plaintiff filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue at Wilmington, Delaware, a claim for refund of such excessive collection of gift tax for the year 1945. A copy of such claim for refund is hereto annexed, marked "Exhibit A."

9. On August 12, 1949, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue gave notice to the plaintiff that said claim for refund had been disallowed in full. A copy of such notice is hereto annexed, marked "Exhibit B."

10. By virtue of the erroneous action of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in making the adjustment hereinbefore set out, and in assessing and collecting additional gift tax for the year 1945 in the amount of \$2,310 and interest thereon, the defendant is indebted to the plaintiff in the amount of \$2,310 tax and \$359.19 interest paid as aforesaid, together with interest thereon from October 18, 1948.

Wherefore, plaintiff prays judgment against the defendant in the sum of \$2,669.18, together with legal interest thereon from October 18, 1948.

Attorneys for Plaintiff, 4072 du Pont Building, Wilmington, Delaware.

EXHIBIT A

REFUND OF TAX ILLEGALLY COLLECTED

STATE OF DELAWARE,

County of New Castle, ss:

Name: Lamot du Pont.

Business address: du Pont Building, Wilmington 98, Delaware.

Residence address: Pennsylvania Avenue and Rising Sun Lane, Wilmington, Delaware.

District filed: Delaware.

Period: January 1, 1945, to December 31, 1945.

Character of assessment: Gift tax.

Amount: \$3,003.

Date of payment: October 18, 1948 (interest \$3,003).

See statement attached.

LAMMOT DU PONT.

[SEAL]

HERBERT B. MEARNS, Notary Public.

16th day of June 1949.

During the year 1945, taxpayer paid to National Economic Council the amount of \$3,000 and to American Action the amount of \$4,000. Said payments were held by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to be gifts. In the computation of gifts subject to gift tax payable by the taxpayer for the year 1945, the Commissioner included said payments, to the extent that each exceeded an exclusion of \$3,000 and assessed gift tax thereon which was paid by taxpayer.

Said payments to National Economic Council and to American Action did not constitute gifts, nor were said payments includible as gifts in computing the total gifts subject to gift tax for the year 1945.

Taxpayer is an individual possessed of substantial wealth. He is a substantial stockholder in many corporations doing business in the United States and elsewhere. From such stockholdings taxpayer derives substantial income. Taxpayer is liable for and pays substantial taxes upon income.

In addition to the interest of taxpayer as a citizen, it is to the financial interest of the taxpayer that sound financial, economic, business, and political conditions should be preserved and improved in the United States and elsewhere. The values of properties, the right and ability of capital to earn income and the rate of earnings; the amounts and rates of taxpayer's taxes all depend upon such conditions.

One of the rights and privileges of the taxpayer, as well as his duty as a citizen, is to exert his effort and influence to keep this country strong and sound in all respects; to work as best he may to preserve its financial, economic, and business soundness. This may be done in many ways. In making payments to the National Economic Council and the American Action, taxpayer made no gifts, for those payments were made to those organizations for services to be performed by them as experts in the field of assembling and distributing information with respect to economic, monetary, business, and political conditions in the United States and elsewhere, warning against dangers and encouraging soundness. No part of the fund paid inured to the benefit of any individual, and all were used for performing services which the taxpayer was interested in having performed, and which were for his benefit. No element of gift was involved.

EXHIBIT B

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, August 12, 1940.

IT-EG-10-Delaware.
Coner—Lammot du Pont.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, 98, Delaware.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Reference is made to your claims filed June 16, 1940, on Form 843 for refund of \$3,003 and \$5,775 gift tax, and interest, paid for the calendar years 1945 and 1946, respectively.

The claims for refund are based on the contention that the payments made to the National Economic Council and American Action did not constitute gifts subject to the tax for the above-mentioned calendar years.

The records disclose that the amount of deficiency attributable to the disallowance of the deductions claimed, with respect to the payments made to the National Economic Council and American Action during the year 1945, is \$2,810 instead of \$3,003 as set forth in your claim for refund for said calendar.

In communications previously addressed to you, you were informed that the deductions claimed with respect to the payments made to said organizations were disallowed for the reason that they were not organized and operated exclusively for the purposes set forth in section 1004 (a) (2) (B) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Accordingly, it is held, after consideration of the entire record in the case, that no adjustment in your tax liability for the calendar years 1945 and 1946 is warranted.

In accordance with the provisions of section 3772 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code, notice is hereby given of the disallowance of your claims in full.
 Very truly yours,

GEORGE J. SCHOENEMAN,
Commissioner.

By E. I. McLARNEY,
Deputy Commissioner.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

LAMMOT DU PONT, PLAINTIFF, V. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DEFENDANT

Civil Action No. 1270

COMPLAINT

Plaintiff, by Richards, Layton and Finger, his attorneys, respectfully shows to the court and alleges as follows:

1. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a resident of the State of Delaware.

2. At all times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and still is a sovereign body politic.

3. This is an action at law of a civil nature arising in connection with the administration of the law of Congress providing for internal revenue, and specifically for the recovery of internal revenue taxes illegally assessed against and collected from the plaintiff by the defendant. The amount involved is less than \$10,000.

4. During the year 1940, the plaintiff paid to an organization known as National Economic Council the amount of \$11,000, and to an organization known as American Action the amount of \$5,000. In the opinion of the plaintiff, each of such organizations was, at the time of such payment, engaged in activities calculated to promote sound financial, economic, business, and political conditions within the United States and elsewhere. At the time of such payments, it was the purpose and intent of the plaintiff that said payments should be used by said organizations for such purposes. It was the opinion and belief of the plaintiff, at the time of such payments, that the use of such payments and of other payments made to such organizations by others, for such purposes, was in the interests of the plaintiff personally and of all the citizens of the United States. Said payments were made in the belief and understanding that they would be used by such organizations for services, the performances of which was desired by the plaintiff. Said payments were in no sense a gift or intended as such; but, on the contrary, were made to enable and induce said organizations to perform services believed by the plaintiff at the time of such payments to be beneficial to the plaintiff personally. Said payments were made for the purpose of obtaining from said organizations the performance of services believed by plaintiff to be beneficial to him personally.

5. On or about March 15, 1947, plaintiff filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue at Wilmington, Delaware, a return of gifts made by him during the calendar year 1940. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue caused an examination of said return to be made, and upon such audit determined that said payments of \$11,000 to National Economic Council and of \$5,000 to American Action constituted taxable gifts, to the extent that each exceeded an exclusion of \$3,000. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue accordingly assessed gift tax thereon in the amount of \$5,775.

6. On or about May 24, 1940, plaintiff duly paid to the Collector of Internal Revenue the assessment of gift tax as aforesaid in the amount of \$5,775 and interest thereon in the amount of \$753.60. Said payment was made pursuant to notice and demand duly received from the Collector of Internal Revenue.

7. Said assessment and collection of tax represented an assessment and collection of gift tax in excess of the gift tax properly assessable and collectible from the plaintiff for the year 1940.

8. On or about June 18, 1940, plaintiff filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue at Wilmington, Delaware, a claim for refund of such excessive collection of gift tax for the year 1940. A copy of such claim for refund is hereto annexed, marked "Exhibit A."

9. On August 12, 1949, The Commissioner of Internal Revenue gave notice to the plaintiff that said claim for refund had been disallowed in full. A copy of such notice is hereto annexed, marked "Exhibit B."

10. By virtue of the erroneous action of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in making the adjustment hereinbefore set out, and in assessing and collecting additional gift tax for the year 1946 in the amount of \$5,775 and interest thereon, the defendant is indebted to the plaintiff in the amount of \$5,775 tax and \$753.60 interest paid as aforesaid, together with interest thereon from May 24, 1949.

Wherefore, plaintiff prays judgment against the defendant in the sum of \$0,-528.60, together with legal interest thereon from May 24, 1949.

Attorneys for Plaintiff, 4072 du Pont Building, Wilmington, Delaware.

EXHIBIT A

CLAIM

REFUND OF TAX ILLEGALLY COLLECTED

STATE OF DELAWARE,
County of New Castle, ss:

Name: Lammot du Pont.

Business address: du Pont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

Residence address: Pennsylvania Avenue and Rising Sun Lane, Wilmington, Del.

District filed: Delaware.

Period: January 1, 1946, to December 31, 1946.

Character of assessment: Gift tax.

Amount: \$5,775.

Date of payment: May 24, 1949 (Interest \$5,775).

See statement attached.

LAMMOT DU PONT,

HERBERT B. MEARNS, *Notary Public.*

[SEAL]

10th day of June 1949.

STATEMENT

During the year 1946, taxpayer paid to National Economic Council the amount of \$11,000 and to American Action the amount of \$5,000. Said payments were held by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to be gifts. In the computation of gifts subject to gift tax payable by the taxpayer for the year 1946, the Commissioner included said payments, to the extent that each exceeded an exclusion of \$3,000 and assessed gift tax thereon which was paid by taxpayer.

Said payments to National Economic Council and to American Action did not constitute gifts, nor were said payments includible as gifts in computing the total gifts subject to gift tax for the year 1946.

Taxpayer is an individual possessed of substantial wealth. He is a substantial stockholder in many corporations doing business in the United States and elsewhere. From such stockholdings taxpayer derives substantial income. Taxpayer is liable for and pays substantial taxes upon income.

In addition to the interest of taxpayer as a citizen, it is to the financial interest of the taxpayer that sound financial, economic, business, and political conditions should be preserved and improved in the United States and elsewhere. The values of properties, the right and ability of capital to earn income and the rate of earnings, the amounts and rates of taxpayer's taxes all depend upon such conditions.

One of the rights and privileges of the taxpayer, as well as his duty as a citizen, is to exert his effort and influence to keep this country strong and sound in all respects; to work as best he may to preserve its financial, economic, and business soundness. This may be done in many ways. In making payments to the National Economic Council and the American Action, taxpayer made no gifts, for those payments were made to those organizations for services to be performed by them as experts in the field of assembling and distributing information with respect to economic, monetary, business, and political conditions in the United States and elsewhere, warning against dangers and encouraging soundness. No part of the fund paid inured to the benefit of any individual, and all were used for performing services which the taxpayer was interested in having performed, and which were for his benefit. No element of gift was involved.

EXHIBIT B

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, August 12, 1949.

IT-EG-10-Delaware,
Coner—Lammot du Pont.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Dupont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Reference is made to your claims filed June 16, 1949, on Form 843 for refund of \$3,003 and \$5,775 gift tax, and interest, paid for the calendar years 1945 and 1946, respectively.

The claims for refund are based on the contention that the payments made to the National Economic Council and American Action did not constitute gifts subject to the tax for the above-mentioned calendar years.

The records disclose that the amount of deficiency attributable to the disallowance of the deductions claimed, with respect to the payments made to the National Economic Council and American Action during the year 1945, is \$2,310 instead of \$3,003 as set forth in your claim for refund for said calendar.

In communications previously addressed to you, you were informed that the deductions claimed with respect to the payments made to said organizations were disallowed for the reason that they were not organized and operated exclusively for the purposes set forth in section 1004 (a) (2) (B) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Accordingly, it is held, after consideration of the entire record in the case, that no adjustment in your tax liability for the calendar years 1945 and 1946 is warranted.

In accordance with the provisions of section 3772 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code, notice is hereby given of the disallowance of your claims in full.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE J. SCHOEENEMAN,
Commissioner.

By E. I. McLAURNEY,
Deputy Commissioner.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a full analysis here of your contributions, and they show, according to our analysis, many discrepancies in the reporting of the National Economic Council under this lobbying law. They don't account for loans. Their lobbying reports further have "sales of literature" as contributions, in some cases, but they do not include a number of others in that list of that nature. You reported some contributions to the ITO Fund as contributions, but not those to the Lecture Fund. Now, you have left out a lot of contributions which you yourself say are straight-out contributions—in fact, eight of them. And there are altogether some 49 instances here where payments of some \$500 or more to your organization are not reported, despite the act's definition of what constitutes a "contribution" for reporting purposes. Now, no doubt there are some questions about some of these funds, that this is what we are here to find out. And I think your appearance here can help immeasurably in straightening these things out. You are not alone by any means in this particular thing, because we have analyzed many reports and have compiled an index, and we have found a lot of discrepancies. We want to correct the reporting, if it is at all possible—not by prosecution, but by cooperation. I think that your testimony here and the manner in which you have appeared and given us this information has been fair and aboveboard. These statements will be immeasurably helpful. Since you cannot explain many of these statements and omissions without consulting your records, you will be permitted to file an affirmative statement—

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I don't want to be understood as agreeing to any of those statements you have just made, except that we were guilty of an oversight on loans.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all. We have listed them in this analysis of the disclosures made by the group here who have filed under the act, and you can check them.

Mr. BROWN. I don't care whether the du Ponts paid taxes on those contributions or not. None of my sons ever married into the du Pont family, and I don't even know them. But I am trying to get at what this lobbying thing is, and I can't understand some of this testimony.

Mr. HART. Mr. Little stated that we considered ourselves an eleemosynary institution. We don't. We claim that the contributions made by certain people to these schools were made to eleemosynary institutions. But we are not one. We don't claim so.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are not a charitable organization, but the contributions are made to your organization as an intermediary to charitable organizations such as colleges, churches, and so forth?

Mr. HART. We claim the gifts were to them as charitable or religious organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were the intermediary and the receiver of the gift and the designer and planner of the material that was sent to them. And you are registered as a lobbying organization.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, if I wanted to make a gift of a subscription to the Reader's Digest to the church, I would send a check to the Reader's Digest.

The CHAIRMAN. I would send it to the church and let them buy all they wanted to.

Mr. HART. And then I would let them know that I had made a gift of the Reader's Digest.

The CHAIRMAN. If they wanted to buy the Reader's Digest, that would be up to the church.

Mr. HART. Or any other persons.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I think we should not forget that the organization is incorporated in the form of a charitable organization.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a difference between a nonprofit organization and an eleemosynary organization. It isn't an eleemosynary organization. But I am not a lawyer and I don't want to be arguing with a lawyer.

Any further questions?

You have a supplemental statement?

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read my statement to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have copies?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; I have them.

Mr. BROWN. May I ask one question before he does that?

I am just wondering, if one of these organizations went to the bank and borrowed \$500 and paid it back, would that loan come under the act? It would, wouldn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It is a loan. It is a contribution.

Mr. BROWN. Would that be a contribution?

The CHAIRMAN. It would be a loan from a bank into the receipts of the organization. They would have to show the \$500.

Mr. BROWN. Would the organization have to show what bank they borrowed from?

The CHAIRMAN. I believe it would.

Mr. BROWN. I want to know how far we are going.

The CHAIRMAN. They would want to know where they got the money. In other words, if they had to borrow \$500 to start the organization, maybe they would vote on using the bank's funds or the people's funds.

Mr. BROWN. Let's not start getting into banking law, Mr. Chairman. The people's interest in the loan is protected through the bank examiners and the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve bank regulations, and the banking laws. But certainly we are not concerned in lobbying with how to protect banks or the depositors in the banks.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. You would like to read your statement?

Mr. HART. I would like to; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. HART. At the hearing before this committee on June 20, the committee staff submitted a list of measures to which the National Economic Council in recent years has been openly opposed before this Congress. Since the assertion was implied, if not expressed, to this committee that the council has been opposed to many measures, I believe I owe it to the committee and to the public to tell at this time why the council has opposed them.

We have opposed them because we are for the continued full independence of the United States of America; and because we are for the continuation and strengthening of the institutions of private enterprise, private property and individual initiative—not for the benefit of the few, but for the benefit of the whole people.

We utterly distrust the repeated inroads of Government on the individual lives of citizens, whether this intervention be placed upon individuals themselves or the partnerships and corporations which they form to effectuate their purposes.

We believe the people of the United States were stronger, more dependent and happier before World War I than they have ever been since. We believe the tendency of the socialistic measures in recent years, and the tendency of Government through taxation to seize a large part of the income of citizens and of the savings of decedents, has been to weaken the fiber of the American people, to make them less self-reliant. They are less like Americans today, as we always used to know Americans, and more like Europeans who have never known freedom from domination by Government.

We believe that a continuation of recent and present foreign and domestic policies will result eventually in the destruction of all the things that we have known as the American way of life. We believe they will prove to have been the preparation for the taking over by some Stalin under a world government, and the reduction of the American people to slavery.

We believe that ghastly mistakes have been made by the administration the past 17 years, in many of which mistakes the Congress itself has too often acquiesced.

One has only to consider the enormous strength and prestige of the United States a dozen years ago, morally, materially, financially,

and spiritually, and to compare it with the weakness and lowered prestige of the United States in world affairs today, in order to realize what America has lost. We have permitted a large part of our own strength to be destroyed, and we have built up the strength of the only country that could successfully make war upon us, and, incidentally, certainly intends to make that war.

Judging by the results upon America, it is my opinion that our participation in World War I was of little benefit to any of our then allies, and was greatly harmful to us; that our involvement in World War II could and should have been avoided; that it was tragic for us, and brought no good to any of our allies except Soviet Russia. World War II and the criminal, or unutterably stupid, policies of the State Department and the administration since the end of hostilities, have set Soviet Russia up as potentially the greatest nation on the face of the earth.

Under the influence of men in and out of public life who are either traitors to their country or who have fallen completely for Soviet propaganda, America quickly demobilized her forces after July 1945; wantonly caused the destruction of immense quantities of war and other material—material that would be of considerable use today, incidentally—betrayed Poland and other iron-curtain countries. She betrayed China, and as a result probably all of Asia will fall into Communist hands. As we sit here today Soviet Russia is invading the southern half of Korea, a move that any intelligent man could have foreseen, along with many other similar moves, years ago.

Germany and Spain are the two great anti-Communist countries in continental Europe. Yet American policy in Germany has been to keep the German people in servile subjection. In Spain we have refused to cooperate with one of the most stable governments in Europe. Even today the administration is going on the theory it can still leave out Germany and Spain, and yet stop communism.

The great problem before America today is the problem of survival in the face of the Soviet Russian peril which we ourselves were a major factor in setting up. Everything should give way to preparation for the defense of America.

We have a direct public debt of \$260,000,000,000, a budget of \$42,000,000,000, and a deficit that will be upwards of \$5,000,000,000. Yet in this precarious time and in the face of all this, we are calmly committing ourselves to fresh hand-outs that will involve the spending of billions more. The Congress is seriously considering the passage of the FEPC, which in our opinion had its origin in cunning Communist propaganda. The Congress and the administration are toying with the idea of still further enmeshing America's vital interests with the poorer, weaker countries of the world—through ratification of the ITO, certain conventions of the ILO, UNESCO, and the programs of other international alphabetical agencies. To ratify any one of these would mean the sacrifice of more American sovereignty, and would tend to subject the lives of 150,000,000 Americans to the decisions of Europeans and Asiatics.

Every one of the measures that have led to these developments the National Economic Council has opposed. We have no apologies to offer. Nearly every evil result that we have predicted has come to pass.

If these measures had been the carefully considered actions of the Congress, uninfluenced by left-wing pressure groups—many of them

of alien origin—we would have little to say. But I believe those of these measures that have been passed, have in most cases, been railroaded through this Congress by sheer propaganda—by intimidation of some members and by political pressure applied to others. Some of the propaganda is illegal, as for instance, the use, in violation of section 201 of title XVIII of the United States Criminal Code, of the taxpayers' money at the hands of Government bureaucrats, to press some measures through and to stop others.

Left-wing groups with representatives on the air, have talked much of the fact that several organizations, including our own, have spent an aggregate of a million dollars in a year for lobbying. Yet one organization, the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, organized for the purpose of pushing through the DP bill, spent a million dollars in lobbying for that one measure alone. And there is not the slightest doubt in our minds, in the light of deceit and misrepresentation—not to speak of downright falsehood—employed in securing the admission of certain DP's in the past, and among the three or four hundred thousand who will come in under this law there will be spies and other persons having no interest whatever in the preservation of those American institutions on which the future peace and happiness of this country depend.

Has this committee made any attempt to investigate the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons?

Has it raised a finger to investigate the spending of 80 or 90 million dollars by Government bureaucrats contrary to the Federal Penal Code in lobbying its measures through Congress?

A charge incessantly made against the National Economic Council is that it is "anti-Semitic." I denied this charge, under oath, before this committee on June 6. Eight or ten prominent Jews have been members of our board of directors. We today have Jewish members and Jewish supporters.

We are not against Jews who are Americans first. But we are strongly against militant political Zionism. Our view, in fact, is similar to that of Rabbi Elmer Berger, executive director of the American Council for Judaism, who, in a speech in New York on October 5, 1949, said in part—and I quote:

There is more to Zionism than meets the eye. There is something in the movement that is deeply disturbing to these people who like you and me are just Americans. There is something in Zionism that does not square with their concepts of America. * * * And there is something in Zionism which does not square with their understanding of the place and status of Jews in the liberal America of which these people are a part.

The National Economic Council has conceded the right of the Congress to investigate lobbying activity or anything else, though we have objected to the making public of the names of subscribers. This objection was not because of any mere dislike that these names should become public, for we are proud of our list of supporters. A better cross section of the most patriotic men and women and corporations in the United States would be hard to find. Many of these supporters, large and small, have written us encouraging letters, have renewed their subscriptions, have in some instances doubled their subscriptions, and in others have sent us additional subscriptions.

Our dislike of having these names made public is that it has subjected all of them to the well-known Communist technique of smears

on the radio and in the press by certain commentators and columnists. Nor have these left-wingers hesitated to try intimidation. We have asked the committee to insert in the record a two-page statement, of which I have given the committee a photostatic copy, by a group calling itself "Friends of Democracy," in which this alien-minded group headed by Rex Stout, a former editor of the Communist magazine the New Masses, brazenly announced that it is organizing a campaign to intimidate corporations that subscribe to us so that they will desist.

We in the National Economic Council have tried, both when your representatives were going through our files and at these hearings, to show this committee exactly what we do and how we do it.

Believe me, Mr. Chairman, a similar investigation of groups such as I have mentioned would go far to show the committee, the Congress and the entire people, which ones are the real Americans, and which ones are trying to destroy America.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Albert.

Mr. ALBERT. I think, Mr. Hart, you have mistaken the purpose of this committee. We are not trying to probe into the Americanism of anybody. And nobody doubts your Americanism. We are simply studying lobbying techniques. And I think we have studied the subject on both sides of the street. Most of this is just a statement of your own political ideology. We are not investigating that either.

Mr. BROWN. We have been on both sides of the street, I will agree to that, Mr. Albert. But I would like to weigh the testimony and the documents for both sides of the street, and perhaps try to balance the scales that way, or by counting the number of hours devoted to each side by this committee.

Mr. ALBERT. Well, in the housing lobbying we had before us——

Mr. BROWN. I know what we had before us then, but it was for just a matter of a short time.

Mr. ALBERT. Well, that hasn't been limited, Mr. Brown, to those on the other side of the street.

Mr. BROWN. Just for fun.

Mr. ALBERT. I know it.

Mr. BROWN. But if we start counting the number of words or the pages on both sides of the street, the record would speak for itself. But I want to compliment the chairman and the committee for giving this gentleman, Mr. Hart—with whom I agree in some things and disagree violently in others——

Mr. ALBERT. I, too.

Mr. BROWN. The opportunity to make a statement as to his political philosophy, because I have a very distinct feeling—or perhaps I should say suspicion, because I don't want to be unfair—that we have been sort of lobbying here as to the ideas and philosophies of individuals, by making a little suggestion now and then that that isn't right or this isn't right, and I don't like it. I think our job has been one of getting down to what we are going to do about this lobby law. And, Mr. Chairman, I don't know what the answer is yet.

Mr. ALBERT. Well, will you refer to the last page of Mr. Hart's statement? Do you believe that that was what this committee was set up to do? It seems to me that that would be within the province of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. BROWN. No, I don't say that. I am not going that far. But I do have a sort of lurking suspicion in my own mind that perhaps back of some of our ideas and actions has been the thought we can sort of frighten off those people who espouse the free enterprise system from opposing some of the legislative proposals of the Administration—perhaps I shouldn't say that, but I have had that suspicion, and that implies no criticism of any member of the committee, because I joined in the support of this resolution, and I offered an amendment in the Rules Committee to the original resolution—for we had original jurisdiction over the resolution as a legislative matter. I joined with Senator Wadsworth in offering the amendment to the original resolution to provide that we also would go into the activities of Government agencies, officials, and employees in connection with legislative matters, putting pressure on Congress; or attempting to influence actions of Congress. And we armed the resolution because we wanted to keep it absolutely fair. And I have been—and this is no criticism again, because I personally like our chairman and other members of the committee immensely—I have been disappointed that we have not been able thus far to devote much time to the examination of witnesses in that particular field of activity, as we were directed by the House to do.

I understand the chairman says that we will—

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, in answer to some of the points that you have raised, that the policy of the committee has been to cite alleged specific abuses, and there have been some three citations to that effect as far as Government agencies are concerned. We have made through the General Accounting Office—far better equipped than we are to delve into these activities—an investigation of the so-called buying of an audience in the Twin Cities—Minneapolis—by a speech by the Secretary of Agriculture. We are ready with that report, and as soon as we are in executive session, we can make a decision as to whether to bring that material before the committee, whether through the GAO or by calling up the parties involved. Likewise, in the case of the Federal Security Administrator, Mr. Ewing and his trip to Europe for the alleged purpose of lobbying on political medicine or socialized medicine or compulsory health insurance—whatever label you want to call it by. And likewise the so-called social functions at the Prospect House by the State Department. Those three have been cited specifically. We have delved into them, and we have a completed report on one. We are about ready to have reports completed on the second and third.

We are ready to have a hearing in any manner that the committee sees fit. That is one of the things on the agenda of the next executive session of the committee.

Likewise, a number of other things that are coming at the end.

Now, as to the other groups mentioned. Of course at the time we started out on our investigation there were certain Senate committees peering into the so-called DP issue. We veered away from that, of course, because it looked as though they were going to make a full-scale investigation, and we didn't want to duplicate anything that some other committee had gone into.

And we have set up investigations for future hearings counterpart organizations—some of them, I might say, resent being called counterpart organizations—to the National Economic Council or the Com-

mittee for Constitutional Government—but we deem them to be fairly good counterparts. I refer to the Americans for Democratic Action and the Civil Rights Congress, the latter of which is a very excellent one on the far left field.

We had not yet revealed the names of those others that we are making an investigation into, but I can reveal them now, probably.

Likewise in the so-called letter to corporations I think that they cried "Wolf" a little too soon, because it was the full intent of the chairman to make a broad-gaged inquiry into business, labor, and agricultural groups, because if we are to have a well-rounded, balanced picture of the total expenditures, total receipts and total contributions that go into lobbying, we will have to do that.

I have contended all along that what is being reported here through these lobbying reports is only a very small amount in comparison to the total amount of dollars being spent.

I would like to say that when we finally direct our report to the Congress, the scales will not be as unbalanced as they may appear to be to some people at this time. It will be pretty evenly balanced picture of what is going on in all lobbying fields.

So if you will be patient—I might say to you, Mr. Hart, directly—you will see that when this job is completed it will be a very well-balanced presentation of lobbying activities among not only—I don't want to use terms like the "right" or the "left," because they are not in my vocabulary—but proponents or opponents of, let us say, the administration policy.

Likewise, in terms of corporations that are using lobbying techniques, we find that in all of our investigations so far that all groups pretty well use the same accepted techniques. And we were amazed, after some 3 months of investigative work, to find how those techniques were broadening out into the whole field of national policy. It isn't a new thing. It is an outgrowth of 40 or more years—in fact, I believe the first lobbying investigation back in 1913, into the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers, brought out this indirect approach to the Congress. And we will have a pretty well-documented case on these present-day activities of an indirect nature. I think that the greater part of the lobbying activities that go on today are of that nature, and the major sums of money that are spent are spent in that manner.

We are aware of the fact that you can not under the Constitution deny the right of anyone to influence public opinion in any manner whatsoever by the publication of a book or pamphlet or anything else. All we are after is a full disclosure of the sums of money that are spent for purposes that we deem to be in a broad sense indirect lobbying when it pertains to legislative activity. And when the record is written, when the record is filed, I believe that you will see a very fine presentation of those facts. I let you go ahead with your statement even though it is mostly on the merits of these issues you are interested in, and we have been keeping away from that.

Mr. BROWN. May I say this, Mr. Chairman: I want to compliment the chairman on his statement. I don't agree with a great deal of what he has said, and I disagree with some things he has done. But if I can read the English language in the resolution, and in the portion of the resolution that I have personally written, there wasn't any-

thing said about having the General Accounting Office investigate the pressure activities of Government agencies. There was a great deal said about this committee investigating them. So I am just wondering if we can agree that our staff has devoted anything like as much time to investigating the activities of Government agencies as it has to investigating the activities of some of these other groups or organizations; and whether we have, as a committee, been as zealous—or the staff has been as zealous—in going right out and looking into these things, and into files, to see what can be found, as we have in this one connection. I don't mean Mr. Hart; I mean in these so-called opponents, or whatever you want to call them, of certain legislative activities, and of the general policies of the administration. And it seems to me—and I think the record speaks for itself—that we haven't been nearly as zealous as we might have been in that particular field. And I am not happy to hear you say that we are not going to go forward into it. For it seems to me that we have a fixed duty or fixed responsibility, under the orders of the House, itself, which created this committee, and we are only acting under the orders and under the authority conferred upon us to go into these many things.

May I inquire, Mr. Chairman, if there has been any activity at all on behalf of our staff toward looking into Mr. Ewing's reported attempts to influence the defeat of the resolution to reject Reorganization Plan No. 27, for instance, now before Congress, which is to be submitted to the Congress soon? Plan 27 would authorize the President to create the Department of Welfare, in which Mr. Ewing seems to be greatly interested, and which pertains to public health. There have been a great many stories in the newspapers and a great deal of radio comment about Mr. Ewing's very open attempts, according to these stories, to influence Congress. I don't know whether they are true or not, but I think we ought to investigate such reports of Mr. Ewing's activities, and of his attempting to influence legislative activity contrary to the statutes of the United States, which would constitute a criminal offense if true. We are directed to investigate those things, and I am wondering whether we are going to get around to doing so, and whether our staff is going to have a little time left over from looking into the activities of conservative organizations which can be devoted to doing the rest of the job assigned to us by the House?

The CHAIRMAN. I might say in retort, in the Eightieth Congress—

Mr. BROWN. My statement was not a retort, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Harness subcommittee, of course, made a very penetrating study into this very field. You will recall we did set a policy of this committee that on presentation of specific instances of alleged abuses we would delve into any of these activities, or else when we take up a general area of lobbying in which an agency is involved.

Now, I wonder whether or not Mr. Brown wants to go into all the lobbying on the Hoover plan. The last plan mentioned here was plan No. 27. Is that right?

Mr. BROWN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this is the first time it was brought to my attention by anyone on the committee.

Mr. BROWN. You mean Mr. Ewing's activities in connection with this resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with this resolution on plan No. 27; yes.

Mr. BROWN. I want to make it very clear that any statement made, Mr. Chairman, by you or anyone else, that someone else looked into something that was done at some other time has nothing in the world to do with what this resolution directs us to do. This Eighty-first session of Congress directed us to look into both of these things. It is a matter of whether we are going to perform the duties we were assigned, whether the staff is going to be just as zealous, and the committee just as zealous, in looking into that field of activity as they have been in looking into the other fields of lobby activity. Certainly, I would like to see the staff—not just me as an individual but the staff and the committee—look into Mr. Ewing's activities, and into all these stories and statements. If they are true, then we ought to look into them because that is what we are charged with doing under the resolution as passed by the House. That is what we are directed to do. We are just servants of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution states this—and I just want to make the record clear—that the committee—

is authorized and directed to conduct a study and investigation of (1) all lobbying activities intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation; and (2) all activities of agencies of the Federal Government intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation.

The investigators we brought over from the agencies of the Government were on a reimbursable basis, with some added folks that we put on ourselves. They would not be nearly enough to cover all of the activities we were to study, so we had to make spot checks, and to get GAO help where they could give it. I do believe when the final record is written there will be a proper balance of both parts of this resolution, and I would ask you to withhold judgment until that time.

Mr. BROWN. I hope that will be true, Mr. Chairman, and your agreement thereto means a great deal. I will just conclude by requesting whatever investigation we make, we just do not ask the General Accounting Office or someone else to do it for us, that we let our own staff do some of the work, too.

The CHAIRMAN. We did have our own staff, as you may well know, make a check on the Army engineers and the activities in their civil functions, of course, and it was my judgment at that time that if we were going to do a complete job on any one particular phase, that we would not need only \$85,000, we would need \$85,000,000 to make a complete and full investigation of all the activities that are itemized in this resolution. It would not take just one year, but I doubt if we would cover it in 10 years. So, we had to spot check a few areas. I think we have done a reasonable job here.

Mr. BROWN. I think you have done a very fine job, Mr. Chairman, as far as you have gone, but then I want you to go down the other side of the street a little way, too. I think we have to sort of have a balance here, and I am happy to hear you say we are going to have it before we get through, because we are going to have to devote a lot of time from now on to looking into the other side of the picture to get the scales balanced.

Mr. HART. May I just request something of the committee?

I handed counsel that two-page statement of Friends of Democracy. Could I ask that that be put into the record?

I referred to it two or three times in my statement.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is it the original?

Mr. HART. It is the photostatic copy.

THE CHAIRMAN. I believe we incorporated that with your statement as an exhibit. (See p. 10.)

Mr. HART. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. At the time you handed it to us on June 6.

Mr. HART. I referred to it several times. If it could be included in the record, it would be appreciated.

THE CHAIRMAN. I believe that will be found as part of the record, as an exhibit, as presented by you as by the hearing had on June 6.

The committee will be in recess until 10 tomorrow morning, when we will resume.

You are dismissed, and we thank you very much for your appearance.

Mr. HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your courtesy, as well as those of the committee.

(Whereupon, at 5 p. m., the select committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a. m., of the following day, Thursday, June 29, 1950.)

(The following statement was filed by Mr. Hart for inclusion in the record at this point.)

JULY 12, 1950.

MEMORANDUM TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FILED WITH THE COMMITTEE TO BE INSERTED IN THE COMMITTEE'S RECORD, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE, JUNE 28, 1950, BY MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.

When I appeared before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, June 28, I was handed a 10-page summary, described by the chairman as "an analysis of the disclosures that you have submitted to this committee * * *." At the same time copies were distributed to the press.

I was immediately questioned on the contents of this "analysis." Since I had no opportunity to examine it, I was obliged to say that it would be impossible for me to answer questions intelligently until I had had time to go over the matter with our treasurer. In other words, it would be necessary for me to analyze the "analysis."

This has now been done and this statement, which I volunteered to the chairman I would presently furnish, and which he assured me would be inserted in the record of the hearing as completely as the committee's own "analysis," is hereby presented as our reply to the committee's "analysis."

The general tenor of the committee's "analysis" is a statement or at least an implication that the National Economic Council had withheld important facts in its quarterly lobbying reports. This was the way the matter was taken by at least one radio commentator who has had a good deal to say in recent months in the attempt to smear the National Economic Council and its officers; for on July 2, Walter Winchell in his broadcast said:

"Merwin K. Hart, up before a congressional committee which wants to find out why his frightened backers are afraid to have their names made public, has real trouble coming up. The evidence now on the record is very interesting to the income-tax collector. He also wants to learn why Merwin K. Hart failed to report 49 payments of \$500 or more. Easy come, easy go!"

Allowing for a few clerical errors that were without significance, the committee's "analysis" can readily be answered by the statement that, according to the advice of our counsel who had the matter under careful consideration, no payments, except for loans (see below), that in the judgment of our legal counsel needed under the law to be reported, failed to be reported.

Nearly all of the comments in the committee's "analysis" fall readily into four general headings: namely,

- (1) Loans
- (2) Sale of literature and literature subscriptions
- (3) Contributions to lecture fund
- (4) Lecture fees

These are taken up seriatim:

(1) LOANS

Chairman Buchanan commented on the fact that loans were omitted from our reports. He read, from section 302 of the statute, the definition of a contribution as: "a gift, subscription, loan advance, or deposit of money or anything of value."

It appears to be true that according to the definition in section 302 of the Lobbying Act, a loan should be included in the report. Moreover, there is no reason whatever why we would not have been willing to report loans which in point of fact were neither large nor significant.

But the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, from the start prepared forms on which were printed what we had a right to believe were the pertinent sections of the act. One of these forms, namely Form "A," intended for lobbying organizations like the National Economic Council, quotes sections 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310, and 311. We used this form. We did not go back of it to look up the statute. We properly assumed that the official form included all pertinent provisions of the statute.

None of the sections of the act printed on the form contain any reference to loans. Hence the inclusion of loans by us was overlooked. Early this year a new form was prescribed on which organizations should report for the first quarter of 1950. This form did call for the setting forth of loans and we have since then included loans in our reports. All such loans have been regularly paid and have in no case been used as a device to avoid the reporting of contributions.

(2) SALE OF LITERATURE AND LITERATURE SUBSCRIPTIONS

A large part of the committee's "analysis" is taken up by statements that we did not report the purchases of literature, or of quantities of subscriptions to our publications.

The chairman of the committee pointed out while I was on the stand that the definition of lobbying in section 303 (which section as we have said above was never quoted from or set forth in any forms provided by either the House or Senate until the first quarter of 1950) included "subscriptions." We considered, however, and we believe rightly, the term "subscription" as being identical with "contribution." The two words, indeed, have been interchangeable in the way we, and we think other organizations, have used them. We did not think of the word "subscription" as being a subscription to our publications. We considered revenue from this source as being in no way different than would be the proceeds from the sale of a quantity of books or other literary material. Consequently, in our reports revenue from this source has been reported as "receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter."

It is a fact that most of these purchases of subscriptions were by purchasers who donated the literature thus purchased to charitable, educational, or religious corporations. We understand from our counsel that under the Federal income-tax law such an individual purchaser and donor is entitled to deduct for income-tax purposes the value of his donation up to an amount not exceeding 15 percent of the taxpayer's gross income.

The chairman inserted in the Congressional Record of June 30 a five- or six-page statement including many letters that passed between Mr. Lamont du Pont and Mr. Irénée du Pont on the one hand and myself; and the idea running through this article is disclosed in the headline above the article which reads: "An interesting device for avoiding income tax on contributions for lobbying purposes."

This intimation is absurd and unjustified. Citizens are held to the observance of the tax law as of other laws. They may do anything the tax law allows. They may not do anything the tax law forbids. The tax law says that a contribution of money or anything else of value to a charitable, educational, or religious corporation is deductible before taxes. Any of those who purchased our subscriptions for the benefit of charitable, educational, and religious corporations (an accurate list of which was, of course, in all cases kept) could just as well have purchased so many subscriptions to the Reader's Digest or the Saturday Evening Post, or, for that matter, even the Washington Post, and if these subscriptions were for the benefit of charitable, educational, or religious corporations, no one would have questioned that it was a deductible item.

(3) CONTRIBUTIONS TO LECTURE FUND

We omitted, under advice of counsel, from all our lobbying reports filed prior to the filing of the subpoenaed data on June 6 contributions to our lecture fund. This lecture fund was for the purpose of bringing to the United States an Englishman, Mr. Cecil Palmer, who is opposed to socialism in England, and who we felt confident would be able to tell the American people what socialism has done in England.

In preparation for his trip and as a kind of cushion, in late 1948 we asked a number of friends to contribute to a fund which presently rose to a sum of about \$5,000. All expenses were paid out of this fund and all lecture fees went into the fund. Since Mr. Palmer never included in his lectures any mention of any measures pending in the Congress but devoted himself solely to telling about what had transpired in England, our legal counsel advised us that the fund was not subject to reporting as a lobbying activity. No part of this fund was used for any lobbying activity.

(4) LECTURE FEES

Similarly, all lecture fees received, all of them being for lectures by Mr. Palmer, and which were credited to this lecture fund and used exclusively for the same purposes, were for the same reason not included.

There were a few errors in our subpoenaed data which was filed by me with the committee on June 6. These may be considered as due to the haste under which we were obliged to operate; we had asked the chairman for an extension of time and it was refused.

On page 2 of the committee's "analysis" it is set forth: "It should be noted here that Hart, in testifying before this committee on June 21, acknowledged that there had been no differentiation in NEC's lobbying reports between various types of receipts until the report filed in early 1949 for the fourth quarter of 1948, when 'sales of literature' were distinguished separately from 'contributions.'"

I think it is conceded by the committee itself and by everybody else that the lobbying statute is not very clear.

We have tried ever since our registration under the act, with the advice of counsel, to make our reports comply fully with the act and regulations thereunder. Our practice has evolved with experience and with the changing form of report. We have at all times aimed to make the reports reflect as accurately as we could what we are actually doing and the financial aspects thereof.

As I pointed out to the committee on the stand, in most of the lobbying reports we gave, in addition to the names of those who had contributed \$500 or more, and in addition to setting forth an estimate of the percentage of the time of various employees of the Council that we thought was fairly allocable to lobbying, the total sum of money received by the council during that quarter from all sources. We were not required to set forth this latter figure but it seemed to us since we were obliged to estimate approximately various items in connection with our report, that the authorities receiving the report would feel they had a more complete picture if they knew the total sum received by the council for all purposes, unless clearly excludible.

Aside from the four above general classifications, the balance of the committee's analysis consists of eight instances on which we comment as follows:

(1) Miss Ella Mabel Clark. The committee's analysis asserts that we failed to report her as contributing more than \$500 during the last quarter of 1949. We find we made a clerical error because in the subpoenaed records under Miss Clark's name, the last item, namely \$150 in the fourth quarter of 1949, is a duplicate of the first item in the same quarter. Actually she contributed only \$350 in that quarter and hence we were not obliged to include her name in the report for that quarter.

(2) S. H. Kress & Co. The report by us of \$500 as a contribution from S. H. Kress & Co. on March 8, 1948 was an error. The company made no such contribution in that period.

(3) The Wisconsin Manufacturers Association. Two items included by us in the subpoenaed reports as "contributions" were in fact lecture fees and hence, in accordance with the statements made above, were not reportable.

(4) Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee. Mrs. Leatherbee actually made three \$200 contributions to us in the third quarter of 1948. One of these was overlooked

by us which is the reason we failed to report her as giving \$500 or more during that period. This was our mistake.

(5) Mrs. G. G. Whitney. The committee's analysis shows a contribution of \$740 in the fourth quarter of 1940. This was an error of the committee for she actually contributed only \$340 in that period. The other \$400 mentioned in your analysis must have consisted of a \$250 item and \$150 item in the first quarter of 1950.

(6) John W. Blodgett, Jr. should have been reported by us on the lobbying report of the fourth quarter of 1948. Our failure to report him was an oversight.

(7) Chapel Hill Gas System should have been reported by us in the lobbying report of the fourth quarter of 1940. Failure to report it was an oversight.

(8) Tobin Packing Co. should have been reported by us in the lobbying report of the third quarter of 1940 and failure to report it was our oversight.

Other statements contained in the committee's analysis, such as statement 4 toward the bottom of page 9 and statement 5 on page 10, are merely statements which the committee staff apparently felt to be of interest; but they clearly have no significance.

The chairman subsequently submitted for inclusion in the record at this point the following memorandum to him from the committee's research director discussing the information provided above under date of July 12 by Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

Memorandum to: Chairman Buchanan.
From: C. B. Holstein, research director.

In response to your request for my comments on Merwin K. Hart's July 12 "analysis of the analysis of June 28," the following facts are probably of interest to the committee:

1. Mr. Hart states that the "general tenor * * * or at least the implication" of the analysis is that the NEC had "withheld important facts in its lobbying reports." The purpose of the analysis was to determine for the committee which receipts NEC had reported by name of donor under the Lobbying Act and which it had not, based on NEC's subpoenaed records. It was not intended as a bill of particulars of alleged violations, since, obviously, these would be controversial legal issues. It took into account every large payment or combination of payments to NEC as shown in the subpoenaed material without regard to the question whether purchases of dinner tickets, contributions to the lecture fund or to other funds, lecture fees, or receipts from sales of literature, should or must be reported under the act.

2. Mr. Hart in his statement of July 12 acknowledges that loans should have been reported and were not reported. He states that NEC was not familiar with this requirement of the act. Five such loans totaling \$8,000 were noted in the June 28 analysis.

3. Mr. Hart acknowledges that four "contributions" of \$500 or more into the general funds of the organization and not earmarked for specific purposes should have been reported but were not because of oversight or clerical error in the office of the National Economic Council. These totaled \$2,350.

4. Mr. Hart reports that several other payments identified in the subpoenaed material of June 8 as "contributions" were incorrectly identified or improperly included due to clerical errors in the NEC. These involved Miss Ella Mabel Clark, whom he said contributed only \$350 in the particular quarter rather than the \$500 as shown in the subpoenaed material; S. H. Kress & Co., listed as having made a \$500 contribution which he said it had not made; and the Wisconsin Manufacturing Association, listed as having made \$500 and \$1,250 "contributions," whereas, he reports, they were fees paid for Palmer lectures.

5. He points out that on advice of counsel no receipts which represented lecture fees, and no receipts which represented contributions to the lecture fund, were regarded by NEC as "contributions" under the act. He does not refer to receipts from large individual purchases of dinner tickets, where these receipts added to other receipts from the same persons, amount to \$500, but presumably they fall into the same category of not being regarded by NEC as "contributions" under the act.

6. Mr. Hart correctly reports one error in the June 28 analysis in reference to payments made by Mrs. G. G. Whitney. The analysis had shown total pay-

ments to NEC from Mrs. Whitney during the fourth quarter of 1949 of \$800, including \$740 in un earmarked "contributions" and \$160 in dinner-ticket purchases. Mr. Hart points out that she "contributed" only \$340 in that quarter, rather than \$740. The subpoenaed material bears this out. The error at the committee's end was due to the fact that a transcript of an executive session in which the subpoenaed material appeared, and which was used instead of the original document in the compilation of the analysis, failed to include the dates of three payments made between November 2, 1949, and February 27, 1950, and all appeared therefore to have been made on November 2. Actually, one of these was in December and two were in January. Even with this error corrected, however, Mrs. Whitney's total payments to NEC during the fourth quarter of 1949 were \$500 (\$340 in "contributions," and \$160 in dinner tickets) and her name would have appeared in the analysis in any event in exactly the manner it did appear, but with the lower figure.

7. Nearly half of all of the unreported receipts cited in the analysis involved receipts from sales of literature. Mr. Hart testified that NEC did not regard these as "contributions" under the act, and his memorandum of July 12 reiterates that position. However, NEC has from time to time reported such receipts as "contributions" under the Lobbying Act and in other instances has not. Among those it has reported are two each from Carter Carburetor Corp., and Irénée du Pont, and one each from S. M. Swenson and W. H. Regnery. All four had made similar payments for purchases of literature in different calendar quarters which were not reported under the act. Mr. Hart was asked to explain why some of these transactions were regarded as "contributions" under the act while others of similar nature were not, but his statement of July 12 does not shed any light on this question.

APPENDIX

(Documents pertaining to the National Economic Council listed in chronological order:)

MAY 6, 1946.

MR. A. F. DAVIS,
*Vice President, The Lincoln Electric Co.,
12818 Colt Road, Cleveland 1, Ohio.*

DEAR MR. DAVIS: As you requested in your letter of May 1, we will disregard your order for 1,000 copies of our May 1 Book Review. We are very sorry we did not know in time that you wished extra copies of the Book Review. Mr. A. W. Rucker, whose book *Labor's Road to Plenty*, was reviewed in the same issue, informed us 3 weeks ago that he wished to order 3,000 copies. We were able to have these printed at the same time our own was printed and so we could give him a much better price. Perhaps you did not know that Mr. Lincoln's book was to be reviewed.

We naturally order an extra supply of all our literature as we have demands from subscribers and friends for quantities ranging from one to one or two hundred. We regret that we did not order enough extra to fill an order as large as 1,000.

We are sending you, under separate cover, 30 copies of the Book Review as you requested. The charge for these reviews is \$0.10 each, therefore the price will be \$3.60.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL.

JUNE 20, 1946.

MR. PHILIP LIEBMAN,
36 Forrest Street, Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

DEAR PHIL: In preparation for our board meeting today, I have reread the minutes of the organization board meeting of the council of last year. I quote the following from those minutes:

"Under miscellaneous business, Mr. Liebmann voiced great regret at the announcement by Upton Close in his broadcast of June 3 that he was to go off the air July 1, and said that in his opinion the Economic Council ought to try to sponsor Mr. Close. Ways and means were discussed. Mr. Hart stated that it was his understanding that considerable headway had been made toward arranging for the broadcast to be continued under the sponsorship of a national organization whose principal office is in the Middle West, and which, in his opinion, could safely sponsor Mr. Close without fear of reprisal. It was urged, in response to this, that the council might sponsor Mr. Close on a different network of either a few or many stations, depending on what could be secured.

"On motion duly seconded and carried, a committee was authorized to be appointed, of which Mr. Philip Liebmann was designated the chairman, to look into the matter and ascertain what could be accomplished."

In view of your interest in this, and in view of the fact that we have gone ahead and have had Upton Close on the air for 4 months, I think it is pretty surprising that we have not had a dollar from you for nearly 2 years.

Really, my dear sir, it takes money to keep this thing going—even though the president gets practically no salary whatever. Won't you reach for your pen and write us a generous check?

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

PHILIP LIEBMAN.
AUGUST 20, 1946.

MR. PHILIP LIEBMAN,
36 Forrest Street, Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

DEAR PHIL: I really wish you would send us a check. I know you intend to, but the delay is embarrassing us.

This is the peak of the year for us financially—that is, the peak of financial problems. Money is slow in the summer. We have to count on simply our old and intimate friends to whom we can turn. The great mass of people at this season will not listen to appeals for money.

You were the first man on our board of directors to urge that we put Upton Close back on the air. And we did. He has been on now 6 months. Last week we succeeded in getting WOR, and this week WJR in Detroit, both of them 50,000-watt stations. The cost of adding these will be from \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year.

So, you see, we need your money. You will help us very particularly if you will send us a check—make it whatever you can—while you are in town tomorrow.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

36 FORREST STREET,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
August 22, 1946.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: The reason I did not answer your last letter is that I considered it rather unfair. Since I talked to you I have been burdened with a great many personal financial problems and obligations which prevented my being as generous as I should have liked. However, I hope very soon to be able to send a more generous check. In the meantime, I am enclosing my check for \$300.

I am sure you understand that my heart is still in this work but, unfortunately, financial obligations hinder me from contributing as large an amount as I intended.

Best regards and I hope to have an opportunity to see you soon.

Sincerely,

NOVEMBER 14, 1946.

MR. CARL P. DICK,
1032 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.

DEAR MR. DICK: As you suggested in your letter, we will write Miss Helen Farr at the Madison Free Library, enclosing copies of our Review of Books and Council Letters, asking her to please take the matter up with the proper authorities and advise us if she wishes us to send her complimentary copies.

In regard to your question about American Action, it seems advisable for you to ask Frank Carnahan to write to Captain Hayes, chairman of American Action, at 1203 Board of Trade Building, Chicago 4. If we had Mr. Carnahan's address, we would write him direct so as not to bother you with this. Captain Hayes should be very glad to work with such a crowd, who seem quite well organized.

American Action had some full-page advertisements in the Chicago Tribune and one or two New York papers recently, somewhat along the same lines of our own. As you doubtless know, Mr. Hart is very interested in American Action and has been for some time.

If you wish us to handle this matter any further, we shall be glad to do so.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

THE CLAXTON PRINTERS, LTD.,
Caldwell, Idaho, November 20, 1946.

MERWIN K. HART,
Room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I appreciate your good letter of November 18.

It has crossed a couple of letters that I've written you recently, in which I advised you that I expected to be in the East about the first of the year, and in which I enclosed a suggested program for American Action.

Certainly, if I cannot be represented at the executive committee meeting, I will send my proxy, as I did before.

I do hope, however, that we can get the group together, and see what can be planned for the future.

American Action can, I am sure, be made a power for good in the country. There is a far greater need than ever before for a tremendous effort to raise the standard of economic literacy here. If people get the impression that they make progress simply by electing Republicans, and then forgetting public affairs, we cannot either restore or preserve constitutional government in this country.

Only an enlightened public vitally interested in this greatest of all human problems now can do the job. Winning elections is really a small part of the problem, I feel.

I am hopeful that you and your New York friends will use all influence to see that the meeting of American Action is called for a time when I can attend. As I have stated in letters to Captain Hayes' office, it would be inconvenient for me to leave Idaho until after Christmas, as I want to be in Washington for the opening of Congress January 3, to see my old friend, Joe Martin, take over as Speaker.

As ever,

J. H. GIPSON.

DECEMBER 2, 1946.

MR. CARL G. PAULI,
*Pauli-Heckin Fuel Co., 5435 North Teutonia Avenue,
Milwaukee, Wis.*

DEAR MR. PAULI: Thank you very much for your check for \$25 to help keep Upton Close on the air.

We will send you copy of Mr. Close's November 26 script as soon as it is received from Upton Close's business office in California.

We appreciate your support of our work.

Very truly yours,

C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

NOVEMBER 18, 1946.

MR. CARL P. DICK
1032 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.

DEAR MR. DICK: We are very sorry you did not receive your 20 copies of the November Review of Books and 5 copies of letter 154. We are duplicating this order under separate cover.

We know well the Foundation for Economic Education at Irvington-on-Hudson. Mr. Hart is a personal friend of Mr. Read's. I went to the Foundation with Mr. Hart a few weeks ago and we had a long and interesting talk with Mr. Read.

Mr. Read feels that our work and theirs is, as you stated, more complementary rather than competitive. They expect their work to be a great deal more in the field of education. Mr. Read stated himself he felt the great need for both types of organizations as ours was more directly on the firing line.

They have opportunity to do some fine work which is now in the development stage. Mr. Read has extensive plans for doing research along various lines, in connection with various types of mailings, pamphlets, different approaches, etc., etc.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

DECEMBER 6, 1946.

MEMO OF TALK WITH LEONARD READ

Spent half an hour with him at his place in Irvington, and told him of the tentative plan of the council to go into selected congressional districts and form an organization for economic and social education.

His organization has already put out a pamphlet calling for the making up of study clubs in various cities. His theory is that if you give the people the facts they will know what to do.

My theory is that you have to go a little farther than that, and express opinions indicating what views they out to hold. This expression of views must, of course, be accompanied by sufficient facts to justify the views that we suggest they hold. But this world is not yet idealistic enough to leave to them the formulating of the right views.

I think Read sees this now a little better than he did, but he is thinking of his own Foundation for Economic Education. His main thought was that as we form these organizations we should send him a list of names to add to his list. He is eager to build up a list that within two years will number half a million names.

I think Read's organization can be useful to us, and can supply us with much material. But we will have to do the organizing ourselves.

M. K. HART.

[File 1947, general correspondence]

UNITED STATES SENATE

MEMORANDUM

322 SYCAMORE AVENUE, MERION STATION, PA.

DEAR MR. HART. Hope American Action may lend a thought to this. It carries the most powerful punch for our cause.

Isn't it interesting that Mr. Hoover is now speaking for us—we should have stayed out of the Red mess.

Hope to have the long-delayed visit someday soon in New York

Sincerely,

W. M. HAUSHALTER.

JANUARY 2, 1947.

Mr. ALFRED P. SLOAN, Jr.,
80 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. SLOAN: I read with interest your address before the Boston Chamber of Commerce on December 19, a copy of which your office sent me. It seemed to me it was a genuine contribution to the consideration of the questions of which you treated.

I have always wondered about the business of arbitration in labor disputes. President Roosevelt's method, when the two sides could not get together, was to appoint arbitrators himself. He invariably appointed men of his own philosophy, so the decisions that were arrived at were unfair, if the nature of arbitration is to be fairly weighed.

You state on page 11 of your address that you are "unalterably opposed to arbitration or anything of that kind, in any form, under any conditions."

Arbitration has worked well, as I understand it, in business disputes, following the method employed by the American Arbitration Association. Would not arbitration in some cases be fair and sound if each party to a labor dispute (after all other means had been exhausted) selected one arbitrator, and if these two then agreed on a third?

Of course, the third arbitrator would make the decision, but it would be the decision of a man whom both sides approved. It would certainly be a darn sight fairer than arbitration by some political appointee of a Roosevelt.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

GENERAL MOTORS CORP.,
New York, N. Y., January 14, 1947.

Re General Motors P. R.—Boston Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. HART: I have your letter of January 2 on the above subject and thank you for your comments. I am glad indeed to note your interest.

The reason I am opposed to any form of arbitration, labor courts or otherwise, is because it takes the dispute out of the hands of the two parties involved and places it in the hands of a third party. This I consider extremely dangerous because, in wage determination and other economic problems involving industry's operations, it means in fact that the arbitrators must enter into all the economic problems of the individual business. They are bound to consider the philosophy of "ability to pay" which from my point of view is an unsound and highly dangerous approach to the problem.

If you want to take a look at what I am talking about in detail, I will give you an opportunity by sending under separate cover copy of the report made by the General Motors fact-finding board last winter. Consider that approach and consider what has happened since.

If we are to pass on to third parties the determination of the important policy questions of American industry which must be valued and make determinations on controversies, the management of business can no longer be responsible. And it is clear—to me, anyway—that we pass on to a regimented economy or move rapidly in that direction where wages, prices, and everything else are in the hands of outsiders.

I do not think it would be possible to lay down a set of conditions in industry in which arbitrators can work to without involving more or less the important economic factors of the business involved. That is why I am against it. The fact that arbitrators are generally not so good, so to speak—especially when politically appointed—simply accentuates the difficulty. The principle involved is what I am talking about. In my judgment, there is where the danger lies! And that's the reason I am against it.

Very truly yours,

ALFRED P. SLOAN, Jr., *Chairman.*

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, *January 22, 1947.*

JAMES SELVAGE,
135 South La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.:

Can we lunch together next Saturday New York, say, Harvard Club 12:15?

MERWIN K. HART.

JANUARY 20, 1947.

Mr. JAMES P. SELVAGE,
10 East Forty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR JIM: I reached Ed Rumely on the phone, and he says he thinks he can be with us next Monday at luncheon at the Metropolitan Club at 12:30. He will know positively on Friday and will telephone me then, and I will then telephone you.

Meanwhile, until Friday the engagement stands at least tentatively.

It was good to see you today.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

BIBLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Collingswood, N. J., *January 28, 1947.*

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HART: I received today *The Smear Terror*, by Mr. Flynn, and I am, indeed, happy that he has taken time to expose this attack upon freedom.

You would be surprised at the number of preachers who are afraid to say anything on these issues of communism for fear of being smeared. It is a very effective instrument to silence men.

Your *Inventory Time* with its references to the Federal Council was excellent. More and more secular newspapers are coming out with a mention of the issue and of the Federal Council.

I will be in Pittsburgh February 17 through 21 attending the Federal Council session on the church and economic life. I will go purely as a reporter, as we will not have any rights to participate in a discussion or vote. The stage is being set for a very powerful attack upon our free society in the name of the church.

Yours gratefully,

CARL MCINTIRE.

JANUARY 29, 1947.

Rev. CARL MCINTIRE,
Bible Presbyterian Church,
Collingswood, N. J.

DEAR CARL: I have your letter of January 28 and thank you for your friendly reference to *Inventory Time*.

I am most interested in the fact that you are to attend the Federal Council session on the church and economic life in Pittsburgh February 17-21. I note that you are going as a reporter.

Several of my friends in Congress, some if not all of whom you perhaps know, are going to be there as delegates. One of them, with whom I talked recently, is Ralph Gwinn, whose district includes Yonkers and part of Westchester and Putnam Counties, N. Y. He is extremely well versed in the dangers of communism and the menace of the Federal Council. We discussed this conference somewhat when I dined with him when I was in Washington last week.

Ralph tells me that Howard Buffett of Omaha, and Congressman Max Schwabe of Missouri, will also attend. I am taking the liberty of writing Ralph Gwinn suggesting that if he does not know you he be on the lookout for you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

(NOTE: letter dated February 11, 1947 from Mr. Hart to Mr. Young will be found on p. 537.)

GRAND LODGE, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS,
FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EMPLOYEES,
Dedham, Mass., February 15, 1947.

Dr. W. O. H. GARMAN,
*Director of Civil Affairs, the American Council of Christian Churches,
Wilkinsburg, Pa.*

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST: Please permit me at the outset to apologize for not giving you an answer before this to your letter of November 9. It was not due to lack of interest, but entirely due to lack of time to write so long a letter as this should be to adequately cover this controversial subject.

I will take for granted that you have had experience in both fields, labor and management, but I would be interested to know in what capacity. I, too, have had field experience in working for a railroad for 26 years, 24½ of which were spent at the desk as a worker taking orders from others and 1½ years as a supervisor on management side. I started this career as a boy of 14 when the union was very weak and as the years went by I understood why the union was sorely needed and joined it also. This was not due to coercion from those who were already members, but because I could see on every hand the trickery and deceit of management. Wherever the boss could bring in a relative and push him ahead of those who were qualified by reason of seniority and ability, he would do it. This is only one of the many reasons that I and many more thousands of railroad workers, the country over, have aligned themselves with the organizations that could and would protect their interests.

As you are aware, railroad workers are subject to the Railway Labor Act, which prohibits the union or closed shop, however, this feature, I believe will be corrected in the near future by virtue of the fact that under the so-called open shop there are too many free riders. However, the railroads, by their arbitrary and inconsistent dealing with their employees, have made possible what almost amounts to a closed (or union) shop for the standard railroad unions have over 90 percent of the workers organized. The remaining 5 to 10 percent are the parasites who live off the efforts of those who realized that only unionism could get for them a fair wage and better working conditions. These nobills would not work for the wages and the other conditions to which they would be subjected by the managements if there were no unions to obtain the benefits to which they have made no contribution. This is much like the people who are willing to take all the benefits that have been brought into the world by the church, schools, hospitals, etc., but are not willing to make their contribution, by giving themselves to the Lord Jesus and further the work for the benefit of others.

You can draw the conclusion from the above paragraph that I must totally disagree with your statement that the closed shop is un-American. It is no more un-American than the tax system which makes the payment of taxes obligatory to all, because all participate in the benefits. I would also ask that you study the situation today in the States where antiunion legislation was passed and note that it has had practically no effect on the contracts which embodied closed and union shop clauses. Antiunion legislation only widens the rift between labor and management as has been demonstrated many times in the past. The days when industry hired detectives to spy on their workers, goon squads to beat down all attempts at organization, strike breakers to rob the workers of jobs that rightfully belonged to them, and other methods of intimidation, coercion, and browbeating, are still too vivid in the minds of labor to capitulate to legislation which would further deprive them of their blood-bought gains. Have you, my friend, read the early history of labor and its fight for a fair share of the returns from goods which it has produced? You say labor has been ruthless, irresponsible, and lawless. It seems to me from the knowledge that I have gained the hard way that labor leaders can be likened to the crusaders of old who went out and fought against great odds to rescue the victims of the aggressors. Because the newspapers of this country were, and still are, controlled by big business, the truth of industry's refusal to bargain fairly was not given out to the

general public. All that one could read was the fact that labor was on strike, but if one could go behind the scenes and see what was actually happening, one could readily understand why labor had to strike. It was the only weapon at labor's disposal.

You say that for our protection, we had to control big business. Do you honestly believe that it is under control? If it were under control why do we still have monopolies that ruthlessly wipe out competition, maintain expensive lobbies in State and National Capitols to enhance their selfish ends, maintain closed-shop conditions through trade associations and the like, and last, but not least, to set prices as high as the traffic will bear, thereby wiping out all gains made in wages, and then placing the blame for high prices on labor. Are you also aware of the fact that the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association practice closed shop policies? Yet I do not hear of anyone advocating a law against it.

I again must take exception that a Christian cannot be true to his Lord and participate in the sins of labor. You are intimating that labor unions are sinful. I firmly believe that if our Lord were here today, He would sanction labor unions which are formed for the express purpose of protecting the rights of the worker. The fifth chapter of the Epistle of James quite adequately describes the attitude of the early Christian church and, I believe, should be the attitude of the church of today. Unfortunately I find the fundamental churches fighting rather than helping the unions. Brother Garman, if the unions are going to be properly handled, the Christians must join and take an active part in the conduct of the unions. Is it not time to throw away the hammer and get a shovel? Do you expect to win converts to the Lord from among the workers if you deny them your assistance? If the workers do not get a living wage, how do you expect them to contribute to the Lord's work? You must be aware of the fact that the opportunities of earning a living wage in any place that is unorganized are very few. Consequently, since the worker must then go to the industries that are organized and obtain the benefits that the union has won for him, does he not owe it to the union to make his contribution so that it can maintain his status quo? I would like to have your opinion on the literature enclosed from the Christian Labor Association, with whose principles I am in full accord. I wish it were possible for this organization to spread into all industries, but it is not probable that it will reach other than those that are principally Christian. Is your group going to get behind this association and give it encouragement?

After telling you that I spent 26 years working for one railroad, you will see that you misjudged my age when you said, "I take it you are young." As I said before, my convictions are born of experience and having spent 10 years in the evening school of the Moody Bible Institute, I have come to understand what true Christianity is and what it means to serve both the Lord and my fellow man. I have heard a lot of preaching, but not so much living of Christianity from so-called fundamental churches. I was one of the leaders of a group that broke away from the denomination that was allied with the Federal Council, and we started a Bible church that has made a good reputation in the small community back in Illinois for its practicing as well as preaching of Christianity. Our Lord died for all and we as a Christian church must do all we can to help the poor, for the rich can well take care of themselves. The church of today as always exists by the contribution of the workers more than of capital, and for that reason alone, I should think, the church should be more ready to help the worker obtain and maintain a good standard of living.

The clippings you enclosed from men of broad experience as far as labor was concerned, are returned to you with thanks, but brother you were saying something when you said these men had broad experience in labor matters. The Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers has a record of labor baiting and union busting that smells to high heaven, so that anything I read in those papers along with the notorious Chicago Tribune is taken with the proverbial grain of salt. As to Senator Ball of Minnesota, he is a turncoat of the first water. He had the gall to mask his true attitude toward labor under the guise of liberalism and sought and won labor's support. Then when he was elected he kicked labor in the face. Even he is changing his true tune now that the new Congress is waking up to the fact drastic legislation will bring chaos rather than order to labor relations in this country. Your article is discouraging to say the least, for I would expect the leaders of fundamentalism to set an example that all Christians from all walks of life could follow. The same is true of the Economic Council letter. By the way, were not Messrs. Merwin K. Hart and Upton Close connected with the organization known as the Christian Front some years ago, and what happened to that group? What kind of a labor-baiting scheme is

connected with the Bill Smiths (the Average Citizens group)? It reminds me of the Tool Owners Union, which was sponsored by and provides a substantial living for one man, who is no more interested in the members than to get their money. That is a charge that cannot be truthfully leveled at trade unions. The literature from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America is naturally biased because that group is well known for its antiunion activities. It is always a good method of attracting attention away from oneself to point the finger and yell communism at others. If the truth were known, I believe, one could find many Fascist sympathizers among the industrialists who support the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Now in closing let me call attention to the copy of labor and the address of our grand president enclosed, and let me say that I admit and all honest leaders of labor, of which there are many, will admit that there are Communists in the ranks of labor, but they are few and their actions are being curbed by the majority of true, honest, and loyal Americans in the ranks of labor. I have spoken frankly, but without malice, for I feel that if I dodge the issue in speaking my honest convictions, I would be untrue to my God and my fellow man.

May God continue to use you in His work in preaching the gospel of salvation, and I trust that you will look more kindly upon the plight of the man who must work to live.

In His name,

CHRISTIAN F. SOMMERFIELD,
C. F. SOMMERFIELD, TUF.

P. S.—Dear Hart, please accept this also as a reply to yours of December 16, 1946. If I am wrong in any of my statements, please furnish substantiating evidence to the contrary.

FEBRUARY 25, 1947.

MR. CHRISTIAN F. SOMMERFIELD, TUF,
22 Lindate Avenue, Dedham, Mass.

DEAR MR. SOMMERFIELD: Thank you very much for sending me copy of your letter of February 15 to Dr. W. O. G. Gurman, of the American Council of Christian Churches.

No one could read what you have written without being deeply impressed with your sincerity. Without doubt there were many, many instances of nepotism, undue favoritism and discrimination for many, many years on the part of many employers. Such qualities are human traits, though none the less deserving of criticism on that account.

Of course, in recent years the pendulum has swung from one side over to the other. For some time past employers have had very little opportunity to discriminate in an unfair way. Indeed, the shoe is now on the other foot. There have been many, many cases of discrimination on the part of a lot of the labor leaders—unfair discriminations, too. It is needless to go into these things, but let me say again that these are human traits.

Lord Acton was right in his oft-quoted remark, "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

However, what impresses me most at the present time is the very widespread demand on the part of apparently millions of wage earners for repeal of the closed shop. That was one of the principal things, it seems to me, the American people voted against last fall. The constantly increasing number of States that are outlawing the closed shop bears this out.

I have long been convinced that much of the excessive labor agitation—the mass picketing and all of that—is inspired by the Communists in the United States. More and more people appear to be coming to the conclusion that that is so.

I repeat, however, that I am glad to read a letter of one who is as earnest and sincere as you appear to be.

On page 3 of your letter you asked if Messrs. Merwin K. Hart and Upton Close are not connected with the organization known as the Christian Front. The answer is "No" so far as I am concerned. As a matter of fact, I do not know anybody that I have any evidence is connected with the Christian Front. I think the Christian Front is a vague organization. You recall, perhaps, that 5 or 6 years ago a dozen or 15 young men in New York were indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the Government, or something of the kind. They were widely hailed as Christian Fronters. After several years of persecution the thing petered out to just exactly nothing at all. The persecution was clearly inspired.

Thank you for writing, and I am enclosing our council publications of March 1.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

P. S.—On reading the above I see I did not say whether Upton Close ever had anything to do with the Christian Front or not. This does not mean that I have any knowledge or even any suspicion that he had. I very much doubt that he had.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 SECOND STREET SE.,
Washington 3, D. C., March 5, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Your letter came this morning. When you came into the House Labor Committee room the other day you and Mrs. Dail sat in the row directly ahead of me and several seats to the right. I tried several times to attract your attention but was unsuccessful, and didn't want to make it too pointed. I then became absorbed in the testimony, taking notes, and when I looked up again you had both disappeared.

Cannot understand why you were not able to reach us at the office Wednesday and Thursday. There is always someone at the switchboard and if on rare occasions everyone is out we have a secretarial service taking our calls. The office is open from 8:30 in the morning until midnight, so I cannot understand why you were not able to reach us.

We have sent you, from time to time, a copy of some of our committee Digests, but you are not on the daily list, I am sorry to say. The average person does not realize the terrific expense of the daily preparation, printing, and mailing of these Digests. Because of this we have had to limit our regular mailing only to our subscribers in the more substantial brackets. I wish some good soul would give us a big enough contribution—or even an endowment (!)—to allow us to send these Digests far and wide. They tell a very different story from that given in the press. Of course the committee had been handicapped with its news dissemination because of the guild attitude.

You will be interested and amused to know that one or two of our subscribers—and, incidentally, in the very low brackets—have been forwarding our material to one or two big organizations who have been using excerpts of it as their own. They are now off the list. Also, one or two of the public-relations people attempted to do likewise. They are no longer on the list.

Of course when I see the way some corporations throw their money around down here it literally "burns me up." Likewise when I see their well-paid representatives appear in the committee room late in the day and come to us for enough information to put in their report to their head office—I literally want to tear their hair.

Am sorry we did not have a chance to visit while you were in town, for my nose is so close to the grindstone I am completely out of touch with what is going on in other parts of the country.

I am enclosing the Digest covering Mr. Cecil B. DeMille's testimony. He did a magnificent job—the most dramatic appearance made before the committee. I believe he can take much of the credit for the committee sentiment on the closed shop. His opening remarks as to the labor relation board may give you ideas. The closing question by Congressman Kearns made a very dramatic finale.

Someone told me the other day you are no longer on the air. Is it so? Why? Best wishes to you as always.

Sincerely,

CATHRINE CURTIS, *President.*

MARCH 8, 1947.

MISS CATHRINE CURTIS,
President, Women Investors Research Institute, Inc.,
Washington 3, D. C.

DEAR CATHRINE: Thank you for your letter of March 5. I wish you had thrown a brick at me in the hearing room as I would like to have seen and talked with you if you had had a little time.

You are certainly doing excellent work in connection with the Labor Committee. I hear it from many sides.

What would it cost us (being as how you and we are friends) to receive all of your Digests?

Yes, our radio program terminated the 11th of February. We have intended some months ago to terminate it then. It was quite a job for us to take care of, involving as it did nearly \$200,000 in the year's work.

I enclose our March 1 publications.

We have a number of plans under way.

Keep up your good work and let me know what it will cost to receive your publications.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 7, 1947.

MR. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: We have devised a plan that should greatly widen the list of readers of our council publications and strengthen us financially.

We have had legal opinion (I enclose copy) to the effect that a purchase by anybody of subscriptions to council publications to be sent to educational and religious corporations is a gift that is deductible before taxes. Furthermore, as such a gift, it may be for any amount—not limited by the \$3,000 gift tax.

We are already receiving subscriptions along these lines. We have composed a list of colleges and universities, public libraries and Protestant Churches in many sections of the country, and we are going to press this in the hope we can eventually place these publications of ours in the hands of all of these organizations throughout the country. That would be of inestimable help.

We have already covered the States of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, and most of Illinois, so far as libraries and colleges are concerned, as well as certain other sections.

I write to ask if you would be willing to subscribe for 500 sets of these publications at \$10 each on the above lines.

The enclosed copies of letters from a college president and a librarian indicate that the gifts are being well received.

The publications in each case are sent to the institution, "Attention of" either the college president, or the librarian, or the rector or pastor of a church.

I am enclosing an order form for your consideration.

Incidentally, the legal counsel of at least two other parties, one of whom has made a substantial purchase of these subscriptions and the other intends to do so, have likewise given us their opinion that without question such an expenditure is a deductible item.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 19, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: You asked me by telephone whether I had received your letter in regard to the sending of council publications to educational and religious organizations, and suggested I might subscribe funds for that purpose. I had not read your letter at the time, but have done so since.

If in the council publications to be sent are included the council letters, I have some misgivings. As you know, I think your language is frequently too violent and positions taken are too positive, and perhaps based on too little information to make an entirely satisfactory impression on the public. Many people who are "on the fence" would be pushed off on the wrong side by this kind of publication.

In spite of the above, I have not definitely decided to decline your proposal, but would like some further information.

In Mr. Bigelow's letter, he gives a very logical reason why a subscription for this purpose would not be taxable, but he says in the taxpayer's return he will have to claim as a charitable deduction the value of each donation. In your suggestion, that would mean that I would have to list in my tax report 500 donees. Are you prepared to send me such a list, and is the game worth the candle? Perhaps Mr. Bigelow did not mean his statement literally.

May I hear from you on this question?

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

MARCH 20, 1947.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Thank you for your letter of March 19.

I suppose the language of our letters is occasionally fairly strong. Yet quite a number of libraries, including some of the best, subscribe to our publications and themselves pay the usual rate. Many more libraries have asked us to send them. I have an impression that a well-run library is glad to have different points of view presented. Certainly the language in our publications is not nearly as strong as that in many leftist, and even middle-of-the-road, publications. Frequently libraries will write us if they have missed so little as a single number, and request us to send duplicate copies.

You raise the question as to whether, in event you went into the matter, you would have to claim as a charitable deduction the value of each donation. We meet this situation by furnishing the person who makes such a contribution with duplicate lists of the corporations, with, of course, addresses, and with the names of the particular individual to whose attention our publications are directed. Any contributor can, therefore, append one of these to his income-tax return, or can hold it in his office and show it to the Internal-revenue examiner if it is subsequently requested. In short, we attend to all this detail ourselves.

I hope the above is satisfactory comment on the two points you raise.

Looking forward to seeing you next Tuesday evening,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 10, 1947.

Mr. JAMES W. McLAUGHLIN,
Union Carbide & Carbon Co.,
30 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. McLAUGHLIN: There is a matter about which I would like to see you briefly if you could arrange it some day this week--a matter that arises out of a request which came to us recently from certain members of Congress for a substantial degree of cooperation and assistance.

I shall appreciate it if your secretary could phone to me or to my secretary and name some hour when you could give me ten minutes.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 15, 1947.

HON. CARROLL REECE,
Chairman, Republican National Committee,
Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. REECE: Though I have never had the privilege of meeting you, we have many friends in common, and aside from a year's activity in the Progressive Party in 1912-13, I have been consistently a Republican all my life. I was in the New York Legislature when Jim Wadsworth was speaker.

The purpose of this letter is to express my concern over the apparent likelihood that enough Republicans are going to vote in favor of the Lillenthal nomination to insure his confirmation.

If the Republican Party, after the verdict at the polls last fall which certainly condemned New Dealism in just about all its phases, is going to let slip through the nomination of a man who has been the personification of the New Deal, I do not see how it can hope to carry the country in 1948.

I need not enter into any arguments--you, of course, know them all.

I am enclosing our economic council letter of February 15 which had something to say about this Lillenthal matter.

Briefly, New Dealism is simply socialism. It has shown repeatedly its disposition to tolerate--and even play with--communism. It has let Communists and Communist sympathizers, as well as left-wingers who may not be Communists, into strategic Government jobs.

That very thing is what the American people struck at at the polls last November.

This man Lillenthal has tolerated Communist sympathizers in the TVA. All his life he has run with the crowd whose actions the voters condemned last fall, thereby bringing the Republican Party into power. We know by inference

from the report of the Canadian Royal Commission that the United States is honeycombed with Communist spies—most of them seeking to learn the secrets of the atom bomb. For this reason alone none but a 100-percent American (and I make no apologies for this term) should head this Commission.

Moreover, this Atomic Energy Commission will have the power to come into control of the vast new industry into which it is expected atomic energy will develop. That will put a certain Wall Street element and its friends in and out of Washington into even greater control of the American people than they have today.

I should think you would feel it important to stop this.

Landon in 1936 embraced much of the New Deal—and was never a factor in the campaign.

Willkie in 1940 went New Deal at the instance, probably, of the very Wall Street crowd back of Lillenthal—and he was beaten.

Dewey in 1944 followed the same course—and with the same result.

Must the Republicans in Congress in the year of God 1947 repeat the same mistake?

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

Room 554, SHELTON HOTEL,
New York, March 17, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.
New York City.

DEAR MERWIN: Confined to hotel room with cold.

I want to show you the mechanics of a money-raising plan by which I grossed about \$800,000 in anti-Communist campaigns from 1935 to 1942 (when newsprint became scarce and all contests were out for the duration). Below are the actual figures, attesting which I have with me letters of the publishers.

I have submitted this plan to Sam Pettengill and Dr. Rumely—because it fits in well with their campaign on Norton's book. They are "sold" on it, but feel they cannot divert from their radio funds (at this time) the advertising money necessary to run the first contest (about \$3,200.00). I don't want to wait too long to start because, since Truman's message, the country is now abundantly ready for this sort of campaign.

The NEC would be just as appropriate a sponsor for these educational competitions as the Committee for Constitutional Government. Your Economic Council Letter is a publication in the same American category as most of the organs for which I conducted a total of 20 successful contests.

I cannot go into full details of the mechanics here. Briefly, a contest consists of 50 questions on United States History, the Constitution and civil government. Each question is accompanied by six-eight suggested answers, all of which, except one, are wrong. The task of the contestant is to make the necessary research and set down what he or she considers the proper answer. The process is intriguing, irresistible and highly educating.

A contestant remits \$2.50 as a participation fee. Though there is no legal requirement to do so, it has been customary to give each contestant some book (costing in lots 10 or 15 cents) on the Constitution or American institutions. You, for instance, could give a trial subscription of four issues of the Council Letter (then get the renewals). All ad copy states the money is used to oppose communism, spread knowledge of American institutions and help save the Republic as a free nation.

I put this contest up to Hearst a few weeks ago. Only draw-back is shortage of newsprint.

My plan is to run the first contest in the two leading Catholic weeklies, Our Sunday Visitor (circulation 700,000) and the Catholic Register (circulation 635,000). Bill Fink, editor of the Visitor, will give us 15 percent off advertising cost if we deal with him direct—and I think Father Cavanaugh of Register will follow suit. Here is combined Catholic, anti-Communist circulation of 1,335,000 who have not had a contest for years, and are "ready." In contests I previously ran for these papers, from three to four percent of the circulation entered. (At that time the circulation of the two ranged from 700,000 to around 950,000. Look at the figures below). Let us say only one percent enter this contest. Here is how the results would be:

Revenue: 13,365 contestants at \$2.50..... \$33,412.50

Costs:

Prizes.....	4,000.00
Advertising.....	3,200.00
Direct mail.....	1,100.00
Labor.....	1,000.00
Commission at 10 percent.....	3,341.25
Miscellaneous.....	200.00
Total.....	12,841.25
Profit.....	20,571.25

The contest would last 9 weeks. If you should give each contestant a trial sub to the Letter, at 7 cents, 28, \$3,742.20, it would cut profits to \$10,829.05. (These "cents" figures are foolish--caused by the odd number of contestants figured at 1 percent.)

You then could go into Hearst's Pictorial, which goes into 11 Hearst papers across the country, with a total circulation of slightly more than 6,000,000. Here is how it would work out, figuring that even less than 1 percent would enter. My experience is that this estimate is too conservative, but we'll use it:

Revenue: 40,000 contestants at \$2.50..... \$100,000.00

Costs:

Prizes.....	\$6,000.00
Ads (full page or 2 half pages).....	9,200.00
Direct mail.....	4,200.00
Labor.....	3,000.00
Commission at 10 percent.....	10,000.00
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00
Total.....	33,400.00
Profit.....	\$66,600.00

This contest would last 11 weeks. If you should give each contestant four issues of the Letter, at 7 cents, it would cost \$11,200, and would reduce profits to \$55,400.

For a third contest in the fall you could go into the New York Daily News, Chicago Tribune and Washington Times-Herald (total Sunday circulation about 6,000,000) and obtain similar results.

You would then have more than 100,000 contest "leads." You would put on a fourth competition by direct mail, without the cost of advertising. It should yield a profit of \$50,000, or more, because all recipients would be contest-conscious--and people who don't win prizes are sure to enter the next contest. Strange to say, only winners drop out.

In other words, Merwin, this educational program would, I am confident, yield a net profit of \$150,000 a year to be used for radio or any other anti-Communist program during 1948 or any other time. It would educate a large segment of our people in Americanism, and would greatly spread circulation of the Letter.

Here are returns from my former question-answer contests:

Pathfinder:

1941, Know America Contest.....	\$47,800
1941, American First Contest.....	26,760
Total.....	74,560

Our Sunday Visitor:

1935, Know Your Religion Contest.....	56,433
1936, Catholic Education Contest.....	63,680
1936, Catholic Titles Contest.....	26,700
1937, Light of the World Contest.....	44,800
1938, Catholic America Contest.....	28,450
1939, Current Problems Contest.....	83,840
1940, United Catholic Press Contest.....	46,185
1940, Pro-America Contest.....	80,160
Total.....	385,748

Social Justice Magazine:

1937, Know Social Justice Contest.....	\$80,470
1937, Know America Contest.....	54,370
1938, Forward America Contest.....	43,980
1939, America First Contest.....	45,040

Total..... 230,460

Catholic Register:

1941, Know Your Religion Contest.....	50,700
1941, Know America Contest.....	32,305

Total..... 80,125

Grit. (Williamsport, Pa.): 1941, United America Contest (in this contest only \$1 was taken as a fee; 25,000 entered out of a circulation of 600,000—more than 4 percent)..... 25,000

Townsend Weekly: 1941, Townsend-America Contest (this on circulation of only 160,000)..... 17,800

Grand total..... 772,753

Of course, I clear all contests with the Post Office Department. All questions and suggested answers are submitted to the solicitor. Only last week I personally called at that office in Washington and conferred re this first contest with Mr. S. J. Mindel, assistant solicitor. It is usual to have three judges look over the questions and answers—professors of history and Constitution in leading universities.

If you can spare an hour Tuesday, Merwin, I would like to show you all ad copy, questions, suggested answers, and letters from publishers. I am sending a copy of this letter to Earl Harding.

Yours,

L. F. REARDON.

MARCH 10, 1947.

Mrs. ROSE WILDER LANE,
Route 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.

DEAR Mrs. LANE: I don't know whether Mr. Hart thought to tell you, but in case he didn't I thought you would be glad to know that Mr. Lathrop of William Volker & Co. ordered 10,000 copies of the March Review of Books along with 10,000 copies of the March 1 Council Letter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL.

WILMINGTON, DEL., March 19, 1947,

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HART: You asked me by telephone whether I had received your letter in regard to the sending of council publications to educational and religious organizations, and suggested I might subscribe funds for that purpose. I had not read your letter at the time, but have done so since.

If in the council publications to be sent are included the council letters, I have some misgivings. As you know, I think your language is frequently too violent and positions taken are too positive, and perhaps based on too little information to make an entirely satisfactory impression on the public. Many people who are "on the fence" would be pushed off on the wrong side by this kind of publication.

In spite of the above, I have not definitely decided to decline your proposal, but would like some further information.

In Mr. Bigelow's letter, he gives a very logical reason why a subscription for this purpose would not be taxable, but he says in the taxpayer's return he will have to claim as a charitable deduction the value of each donation. In your suggestion, that would mean that I would have to list in my tax report 500 donees. Are you prepared to send me such a list, and is the game worth the candle? Perhaps Mr. Bigelow did not mean his statement literally.

May I hear from you on this question?

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

MARCH 25, 1947.

Mrs. B. R. LEONARD,
1017½ W. Highland, Ponca City, Okla.

DEAR Mrs. LEONARD: We have just received your check for \$10. You sent us a check for \$10 on June 24 and another check for \$5 on December 6. Would you like to consider this check as an added contribution to the work of the Council?

The Council is planning a very busy year. In view of the pending important legislation in both Houses of Congress, we find it necessary to send representatives of our staff on frequent trips to keep in close touch with developments. Several Congressmen and Senators repeatedly request us for information of various kinds to aid in their work.

Recently we filed a brief with the Labor Committee of the House. In this way, we extend our work, and we are glad of extra contributions to help finance it.

Please write a note stating your wishes at the bottom of this letter, and return in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Thank you for your continued interest in our work.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST IN NORTHAMPTON, MASS.,
March 20, 1947.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have received samples of your literature sent to me at the request of Roy B. Smith. I do not desire to join the Council, as your principal writers, Mr. Hart and Miss Lane seem to represent a reactionary type of thought, tending toward a native fascism.

At any rate my good friend, Mr. Smith, who thinks a good deal of your publications, keeps me supplied with your propaganda in sufficient quantity.

Very truly yours,

ROBBINS RALPH,
Rev. Robbins Ralph, Minister.

MARCH 20, 1947.

Rev. ROBBINS RALPH,
The First Church of Christ, Northampton, Mass.

DEAR Mr. RALPH: Your letter of March 20 in which you say that Mrs. Lane and I "seem to represent a reactionary type of thought, tending toward a native fascism" has been brought to my attention.

I am wondering if you would be willing to define what a "native fascist" is. We have never seen the term except as emanating from Communist sources.

This organization is 17 years old. And all during its life, and way back to about 40 years ago, when I was a member of the New York Legislature—during all this time, I have been standing for precisely the same things.

Of course, at that time we did not have the very brilliant and able, as well as thoroughly unscrupulous minds of the Communist Party and its many, many fellow travelers, who suggest words and phrases and put through such publications as the New Masses, the New Republic, The Nation, and others like them.

If you by chance read Mr. John T. Flynn's very carefully written pamphlet, entitled "Smear Terror," I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

MARCH 27, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
Care of National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 1.

MY DEAR MERWIN: The Economic Club of New York is holding a dinner meeting on Wednesday evening, April 10. The subject for discussion will be Preserving and Strengthening the American Economic System.

Speakers: Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Chairman of Board, General Motors Corp.; Hon. Irving M. Ives, United States Senator from New York; Hon. Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

I have a table and should like very much to have you join us.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Hotel Astor
Dinner, 7 p. m.

MARCH 20, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR ED: Thanks for your invitation of March 27 to join a group of you at a table for dinner at the Economic Club, Wednesday, April 16, at the Hotel Astor. I shall be glad to attend.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

APRIL 8, 1947.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart from Miss Schmid.

Sometime ago you mentioned to me that you felt the need for organizing congressional districts, and that we might get together with the Committee for Constitutional Government on this. At that time you were thinking of giving them a list of the names of our subscribers.

I am wondering if you did this, for the reason that one of the field men for the committee has been calling on our Utica subscribers soliciting subscriptions. Kindly advise me about this.

From the experience of the past year, I am hoping we will never again give lists to other organizations. The acquiring of all lists that we have has cost the council, in one way or another, a great deal of money.

As you know, we gave the Gipson list to four or five other organizations. This cut down greatly the returns from this list. The greater part of all of the radio lists have been shared with Mr. Close, and this I feel has cut down greatly our results from these lists.

I want to talk all of this over with you when you are next in Utica.

(Signed) A. M. S.,

(Typed) A. MARGARET SCHMID.

APRIL 9, 1947.

Memo to Miss Schmid from Mr. Hart:

I am dictating this at the house in answer to your letter of April 8 telling me that the Committee for Constitutional Government has a representative who has been soliciting money from our members.

The Committee for Constitutional Government has at no time had any of the lists of the economic council. Under the peculiar circumstances of our radio program and our dealings with Close and of his very considerable importance in the raising of much of the money, we could not avoid giving our lists to Close.

As for the Gipson list, that was not ours in the first place. Mr. Gipson offered it to us because he wanted to help the council. He also was the one who sent it to the Committee for Constitutional Government.

We cannot help having competition in the raising of money. We are all competing for the dollar of the man who believes as we do. Such competition is healthy. But the main thing is that we cannot prevent it.

Of course the representative of the Committee for Constitutional Government who goes around soliciting money gets a commission, probably as high as 25 percent. They raise a part of their money that way. We have never paid any commission on money raised except to the rather limited extent, and over a limited period of time, to Reardon; and we inherited Reardon.

I am still at the house, but if the sun shines Thursday I hope to get out. I am feeling much better.

Selected list, colleges and universities

[Serviced April 15, 1947]

Name	Location	Governing official
Albright.....	Reading, Pa.	Harry V. Masters.
Allegheny.....	Meadville.....	John R. Schultz.
Beaver.....	Jenkintown.....	Raymon M. Kistler.
Bryn Mawr.....	Bryn Mawr.....	Katherine E. McBride.
Bucknell University.....	Lewisburg.....	Herbert L. Spencer.
Carnegie Institute of Technology.....	Pittsburgh.....	Robert F. Doherty.
University of Delaware.....	Newark, Del.	William H. Carlson.
Dickinson College.....	Carlisle, Pa.	William W. Edol.
Drexel Institute of Technology.....	Philadelphia.....	James Creese.
Dropsie.....	do.....	Abraham A. Neuman.
Duquesne University.....	Pittsburgh.....	Rev. Francis P. Smith.
Elizabethtown.....	Elizabethtown.....	A. Charles Baugher.
Franklin and Marshall.....	Lancaster.....	Herbert B. Anstett, librarian.
Geneva.....	Beaver Falls.....	M. M. Pearce.
Gettysburg.....	Gettysburg.....	Henry W. A. Hanson.
Goucher.....	Baltimore, Md.	Otto Kraushaar.
Grove City.....	Grove City, Pa.	Weir C. Ketter.
Haverford.....	Haverford.....	Gilbert F. White.
Hood.....	Frederick, Md.	Miss Miriam R. Appel, librarian.
Johns Hopkins University.....	Baltimore.....	Isaiah Bowman.
Junata.....	Huntingdon, Pa.	Calvert N. Ellis.
Lafayette.....	Easton.....	Prof. Morrison Handsaker, depart- ment of economics.
La Salle.....	Philadelphia.....	Brother Emilian.
Lebanon Valley.....	Annyville.....	Clyde A. Lynch.
Lehigh University.....	Bethlehem.....	Martin Whitaker.
Lincoln University.....	Lincoln University, Pa.	Horace M. Bond.
Maryland.....	Lutherville, Md.	W. H. Moore II.
Marywood.....	Scranton, Pa.	Sister M. S. Morgan.
Mercyhurst.....	Erie.....	Mother M. Egan.
Moravian College and Theological Sem- inary.....	Bethlehem.....	Raymond S. Hauptert.
Morgan State.....	Baltimore, Md.	D. O. W. Holmes.
Mount Mercy.....	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Mother M. Irenaeus.
Muhlenberg.....	Allentown.....	Loving Tyson.
Notre Dame, College of.....	Baltimore, Md.	Sister Mary Frances.
Pennsylvania College for Women.....	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Paul R. Anderson.
Pennsylvania Military.....	Chester.....	Frank K. Hyatt.
Pennsylvania State.....	State College.....	Ralph D. Hetzel.
Pennsylvania, University of.....	Philadelphia.....	Geo. W. McClelland.
Pittsburgh, University of.....	Pittsburgh.....	Euphus Fitzgerald, Chancellor.
Princess Anne.....	Princess Anne, Md.	R. A. Grishy, acting dean.
St. Francis.....	Loretto, Pa.	V. Rev. Adrian J. M. Viegie.
St. Joseph's.....	Emmitsburg, Md.	Francis J. Dodd.
Do.....	Philadelphia, Pa.	John J. Long.
Scranton, University of.....	Scranton.....	Rev. J. Eugene Gallery, S. J.
Swarthmore.....	Swarthmore.....	John W. Nason.
Temple University.....	Philadelphia.....	Robert L. Johnson.

Selected list of public libraries

DELAWARE

Name	Location	Librarian
Bridgeville Library.....	Bridgeville.....	Margaret R. Cannon.
Dover Library.....	Dover.....	Mrs. Edna A. Bico.
Free Public Library.....	Milford.....	M. Edith Simpson.
Public Library.....	Laurel.....	Mrs. Walter T. Smith.
Do.....	Lewes.....	Edna Short.
Free Library.....	Milton.....	Sarah L. Atkins.
Public Library.....	Newark.....	Adelo Thomas.
Corbit Library.....	Odessa.....	Mrs. George Whitlock.
Rehoboth Library.....	Rehoboth Beach.....	Mrs. Florence Salln.
Public Library.....	Seaford.....	Mrs. Marjorie Smith.
Do.....	Stolbyville.....	Mrs. N. U. Tubbs.
Do.....	Smyrna.....	A. Louise Donny.
New Castle County Free Library (Wil- mington Institute).....	Wilmington.....	Nellie Morton.
Wilmington Institute (Free Library).....	do.....	Harland A. Carpenter.
Lincoln University Library.....	Jefferson City, Mo.	D. Eric Moore.

Selected list of public libraries—Continued

MARYLAND

Public Library of Annapolis and Anne Arundel County.....	Annapolis.....	Ester King.
Enoch Pratt Free Library.....	Baltimore.....	Mary N. Barton (general reference department).
Peabody Institute Library.....	do.....	Lloyd Arnold Brown.
Dorchester County Public Library.....	Cambridge.....	Mrs. M. S. Henry.
Public Library.....	Chestertown.....	Cornelia Davis.
Cumberland Free Public Library.....	Cumberland.....	Mary G. Walsh.
Talbot County Free Library.....	Easton.....	Mrs. C. B. Walker.
Public Library.....	Emmitsburg.....	Mary F. Higbee.
O. Burr Artz Library.....	Fredorick.....	Josephine P. Etchison.
Washington County Free Library.....	Hagerstown.....	Mrs. Mary L. Holzapfel.
Public Library.....	Havre de Grace.....	Sallie P. Galloway.
Wicomico County Free Library.....	Salisbury.....	Mrs. S. King White.
Public Library.....	Takoma Park.....	Mrs. Ruth B. Pratt.
Do.....	Westminster.....	Mrs. Martha S. Shaw.

PENNSYLVANIA

Laughlin Memorial Free Library.....	Ambridge.....	Sara D. Caldwell.
Public Library.....	Bedford.....	Mrs. J. N. Minnick.
Do.....	Bloomsburg.....	Marlan E. Mausor.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Bradford.....	Grace Steele.
Citizens Free Library.....	Canonsburg.....	Jennie E. McBurney.
Andrew Carnegie Free Library.....	Carnegie.....	Mary B. Harris.
Coyle Free Library.....	Chambersburg.....	Mary C. Sherrard.
Free Public Library.....	Charlottesville.....	Mrs. H. L. Shrock.
Public Library.....	Chilton.....	Harriet Hart.
Joseph and Elizabeth Shaw Public Library.....	Clearfield.....	Inez Crandle.
Carnegie Free Library.....	Connellsville.....	Sally Seaton.
Free Library.....	Coudersport.....	Francis L. Mills.
Public Library.....	Donora.....	Mrs. R. C. Muolo.
Do.....	Erie.....	William Bacon.
Do.....	Franklin.....	Mary H. Clark.
Do.....	Hanover.....	Mrs. C. P. Wolcott.
Do.....	Harrisburg.....	Alice H. Eaton.
Huntingdon County Library.....	Huntingdon.....	Kathryn Oller.
Free Library.....	Indiana.....	Ida M. Shields.
Cambria Free Library.....	Johnstown.....	Ruth Such (acting).
Public Library.....	Meadville.....	Helen Dermitt.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Oil City.....	Florence G. Trosh.
Public Library.....	Ridgway.....	Grace S. Sevier.
Warren Library Association.....	Warren.....	Leon I. Jones.
Citizens Free Library.....	Washington.....	Adeline J. Craft.
Alexander Hamilton Memorial Library.....	Waynesboro.....	Grace H. Hilderbrand.
Carnegie Library.....	Homestead.....	Catherine J. Butler.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute

DELAWARE

Church	Minister	Address
Cool Spring Presbyterian Church.....	Thomas Whyte.....	Georgetown, Del.
Delaware City Presbyterian Church.....	D. Linton Doherty.....	Delaware City, Del.
Dover Presbyterian Church.....	Lindley E. Cook.....	54 State St., Dover, Del.
Georgetown Presbyterian Church.....	Thomas Whyte.....	Georgetown, Del.
Lewes Presbyterian Church.....	William Leshman.....	Lewes, Del.
Red Clay Creek Presbyterian Church.....	Gordon M. Ruff.....	Marshallton, Del.
Forest Presbyterian Church.....	John E. Thomas.....	Middletown, Del.
Presbyterian Church of Milford.....	John M. DeChant.....	Milford, Del.
Newark Presbyterian Church.....	H. Everett Hallman.....	Newark, Del.
Pencader Presbyterian Church.....	G. A. Burslem.....	St. George's, Del.
Head of Christiana Presbyterian Church.....	E. W. Renne.....	Rural Delivery No. 2, Newark, Del.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	William Gibson.....	Rehoboth Beach, Del.
First and Central Presbyterian Church.....	Willard G. Purdy.....	2106 Van Buren St., Wilmington, Del.
Church of the Covenant.....	Geo. L. Hunt.....	211 Blue Rock Rd., Gordon Heights
Elsmere Presbyterian Church.....	O. S. Hoffman.....	604 New Rd., Elsmere, Wilmington, Del.
Green Hill Presbyterian Church.....	John E. Paul.....	3108 Penn's Ave., Wilmington, Del.
Hanover Presbyterian Church.....	J. H. Darling.....	1804 Baynard Blvd., Wilmington, Del.
Oliver Presbyterian Church.....	L. M. Bloknell.....	400 Geddes St., Wilmington, Del.
West Presbyterian Church.....	A. H. Kleffman.....	1013 Park Place, Wilmington, Del.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	John W. Christie.....	2308 Madison St., Wilmington, Del.
Bethel Methodist Church.....	W. A. Turner.....	Bethel, Del.
Blades Methodist Church.....	D. T. Campbell.....	Blades, Del.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute—Continued

DELAWARE—Continued

Church	Minister	Address
Bridgeville Methodist Church	L. E. Wingrow	Bridgeville, Del.
Camden Methodist Church	A. W. Goodhand, Jr.	Camden, Del.
Cantebury Methodist Church	J. T. Bailey	Cantebury, Del.
Cheswold Methodist Church	C. W. Spry	Cheswold, Del.
Ewell Methodist Church	E. A. Dougherty	Clayton, Del.
St. Paul Methodist Church	B. W. Kirwan	Do.
Dagsboro Methodist Church	L. W. Ross	Dagsboro, Del.
Grace Methodist Church	A. W. Goodhand, Sr.	Dover, Del.
Wesley Methodist Church	C. S. Lowell	Do.
Ellendale Methodist Church	W. B. Bundick	Ellendale, Del.
Felton Methodist Church	J. R. Diehl	Felton, Del.
Frankford Methodist Church	J. J. von Hagel	Frankford, Del.
Frederica Methodist Church	D. E. Wood	Frederica, Del.
Grace Methodist Church	W. P. Kasmodol	Georgetown, Del.
Wesley Methodist Church	O. E. Jones	Do.
Greenwood Methodist Church	J. O'Neill	Greenwood, Del.
Grace Methodist Church	E. C. Graham	Do.
Gumboro Methodist Church	C. E. Wilkins	Gumboro, Del.
Harboson Methodist Church	E. E. Crockett	Harboson, Del.
Asbury Methodist Church	J. H. Wright	Harrington, Del.
Indian River Methodist Church	Milton Elliott	Indian River, Del.
Kenton Methodist Church	I. B. Morgan	Kenton, Del.
Centenary Methodist Church	F. D. Milbury	Laurel, Del.
Christ Methodist Church	F. H. Bailey	Do.
Lewes Methodist Church	W. H. Revelle, Sr.	Lewes, Del.
Lincoln Methodist Church	E. N. Wright	Lincoln, Del.
Magnolia Methodist Church	H. N. Nicklas	Magnolia, Del.
Middletown Methodist Church	E. E. Coleman	Middletown, Del.
Avenue Methodist Church	F. Heron	Millford, Del.
Calvary Methodist Church	L. E. Werner	Do.
Millsboro Methodist Church	W. L. Beckwith	Millsboro, Del.
Goshon Methodist Church	Harold Davis	Milton, Del.
Grace Methodist Church	Milton Elliott	Do.
Mount Pleasant Methodist Church	T. B. Brinton	Mount Pleasant, Del.
Ocean View Methodist Church	F. C. Louhoff	Ocean View, Del.
Odessa Methodist Church	D. A. Littleton	Odessa, Del.
Rehoboth Methodist Church	D. W. Baker	Rehoboth, Del.
Roxana Methodist Church	J. F. Langrall	Roxana, Del.
St. George's Methodist Church	Harold Fordham	St. George's, Del.
Mount Olive Methodist Church	W. H. Stone	Seaford, Del.
St. John's Methodist Church	Otis P. Jefferson	Do.
Solbyville Methodist Church	C. S. Jarvis	Solbyville, Del.
Smyrna Methodist Church	R. E. Green	Smyrna, Del.
Townsend Methodist Church	Tilghman Smith	Townsend, Del.
Wyoming Methodist Church	W. O. Hackett	Wyoming, Del.
Bethel Methodist Church	W. E. Habbart	Ochester, Del.
Christiana Methodist Church	W. D. Geoghagan	Christiana, Del.
Claymont Methodist Church	P. W. Spence	Claymont, Del.
Ebenezer Methodist Church	A. D. Ward	Ebenezer, Del.
Hockessin Methodist Church	J. H. Link	Hockessin, Del.
Holly Oak Methodist Church	R. E. Proud	Holly Oak, Del.
Hopewell Methodist Church	Geo. Prettyman	Hopewell, Del.
Leeds Methodist Church	S. O. Parsons	Leeds, Del.
Marshallton Methodist Church	H. K. Krams	Marshallton, Del.
Mount Lebanon Methodist Church	W. E. Fosnocht	Mount Lebanon, Del.
Newark Methodist Church	A. J. Jackson	Newark, Del.
New Castle Methodist Church	J. W. Wootten	New Castle, Del.
Newport Methodist Church	V. M. Goodhand	Newport, Del.
Red Lion Methodist Church	D. J. Moore	Red Lion, Del.
Stanton Methodist Church	E. W. Cursey	Stanton, Del.
Asbury Methodist Church	J. C. Hanby	Wilmington, Del.
Brandywine Methodist Church	R. T. Thawley	Do.
Calvary Methodist Church	A. T. McFarland	Do.
Grace Methodist Church	B. M. Johns	Do.
Bethany English Lutheran Church	J. H. L. Trout	15470 Triskett Rd., Cleveland 11, Ohio.
St. Mary's Episcopal Church	Joseph Tatnall	Bridgeville, Del.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	J. C. F. Strong	Camden, Del.
Ascension Episcopal Church	C. A. Hantz	Claymont, Del.
Christ Episcopal Church	P. A. Kellogg	Dover, Del.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	J. O. Settle	Georgetown, Del.
Calvary Episcopal Church	F. D. Daley	Hillcrest, Del.
St. Philip's Episcopal Church	R. V. Barber	Laurel, Del.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church	N. W. Rightmeyer	Lewes, Del.
St. Anne's Episcopal Church	R. W. Trapnell	Middletown, Del.
Christ Episcopal Church	J. S. Hinks	Millford, Del.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church	W. H. Hanckel	Nowark, Del.
Immanuel Episcopal Church	Lawrence Mills	New Castle, Del.
St. James' Episcopal Church	A. W. Boyer	Newport, Del.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church	P. M. Ferno	Seaford, Del.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church	P. F. Hebbenger	Smyrna, Del.
St. James' Episcopal Church	A. B. Potter	Stanton, Del.
Grace Episcopal Church	E. H. Ehart, Jr.	Talleyville, Del.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute—Continued

MARYLAND

Church	Minister	Address
Grove Presbyterian Church.....	Otto Gruber.....	56 Bel Air Ave., Aberdeen.
First Presbyterian Church.....	Burgett E. McHoe.....	Post office Box 732, Annapolis.
Ashland Presbyterian Church.....	Ben F. Wyland.....	Glen Arm.
Chestnut Grove Presbyterian Church.....	do.....	Do.
First Presbyterian Church.....	John H. Gardner, Jr.....	210 West Madison St., Baltimore
Second Presbyterian Church.....	Paul C. Warren.....	4204 Charleote Rd., Baltimore.
Abbott Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	R. W. Martin.....	321 South Highland Ave., Balti- more.
Alsquith Presbyterian Church.....	A. E. Newcomer, Jr.....	3003 Oakcrest Ave., Baltimore.
Arlington Presbyterian Church.....	T. Roland Phillips.....	5105 Denmore Ave., Baltimore.
Babcock Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	E. G. Conrad.....	3806 Sequoia Ave., Baltimore.
Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	T. Guthrie Speers.....	1510 Park Ave., Baltimore.
Calvary Presbyterian Church.....	Charles E. Kirsch.....	610 North Linwood Ave., Balti- more.
Central Presbyterian Church.....	Merton S. Fales.....	2705 Parkwood Ave., Baltimore.
Crisp Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	Raymond P. Day.....	317 Patanco Ave., Baltimore.
Faith Presbyterian Church.....	W. T. Jackson.....	1705 Windemere Ave., Baltimore.
Forest Park Presbyterian Church.....	Earl S. Fox.....	3114 Garrison Blvd., Baltimore.
Gevana Presbyterian Church.....	Lloyd G. Ice.....	5824 York Rd., Baltimore.
Grace Presbyterian Church.....	J. T. Colbert.....	829 North Fronton Ave., Balti- more.
Hamilton Presbyterian Church.....	R. B. Cunningham.....	2005 Evergreen Ave., Baltimore.
Hampton Presbyterian Church.....	Euclid Phillips.....	860 West 37th St., Baltimore.
Hunting Ridge Presbyterian Church.....	D. W. Weaver.....	706 Walnut Ave., Baltimore.
Knox Presbyterian Church.....	H. O. Graham.....	1627 East Preston St., Baltimore.
Lakeland Presbyterian Church.....	L. F. Hoffman.....	3215 Howard Park Ave., Balti- more.
Light Street Presbyterian Church.....	C. J. Hicks.....	805 William St., Baltimore.
Lochearn Presbyterian Church.....	P. H. Walenta.....	2326 West Lanvale St., Baltimore.
Madison Presbyterian Church.....	R. J. Daniels.....	2102 Madison Ave., Baltimore.
Northminster Presbyterian Church.....	A. F. Wells.....	1821 St. Paul St., Baltimore.
Ridgely Street Presbyterian Church.....	J. H. Braundlin.....	405 Normandy Ave., Baltimore.
Roland Park Presbyterian Church.....	J. T. Galloway.....	106 Elmhurst Rd., Baltimore.
Walbrook Presbyterian Church.....	A. Brown Caldwell.....	2221 Elsinor Ave., Baltimore.
Waverly Presbyterian Church.....	G. J. Riester.....	3728 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	B. H. McDonald.....	515 West Fayette St., Baltimore.
Barton Presbyterian Church.....	Stanley H. Jewell.....	Barton.
Bel Air Presbyterian Church.....	E. G. Switzer.....	Bel Air.
Catonville Presbyterian Church.....	W. H. Kepler.....	8 Locust Dr., Baltimore.
Churchville Presbyterian Church.....	J. E. Grant.....	Churchville.
First Presbyterian Church.....	W. A. Eisenberger.....	222 Washington St., Cumberland.
Southminster Presbyterian Church.....	R. M. Campbell.....	310 Race St., Cumberland.
Frederick Presbyterian Church.....	W. M. Weaver.....	117 West Second St., Frederick.
Frostburg Presbyterian Church.....	Henry Little.....	35 Broadway, Frostburg.
Granite Presbyterian Church.....	J. M. Rittick.....	Randallstown.
Hagerstown Presbyterian Church.....	G. A. Young.....	204 Mealy Parkway, Hagerstown.
Hayre de Graco Presbyterian Church.....	R. A. Brown.....	563 Franklin St., Hayre de Graco.
Bethel Presbyterian Church.....	J. R. Butcher.....	White Hall.
First Presbyterian Church.....	C. S. Goshorn.....	Lonaconing.
Relay Presbyterian Church.....	John Barnard.....	1726 Arlington Ave., Relay, Balti- more.
Severna Park Presbyterian Church.....	John McPherson.....	Severna Park.
Highland Presbyterian Church.....	J. M. Croup.....	Street.
Taneytown Presbyterian Church.....	C. S. Owen.....	Taneytown.
Buckingham Presbyterian Church.....	E. W. Klein.....	Berlin.
W. Nottingham Presbyterian Church.....	S. J. Venable.....	Colora.
Elkton Presbyterian Church.....	A. J. Gibson.....	239 East Main St., Elkton.
Ocean City Presbyterian Church.....	P. C. Jassimides.....	Ocean City.
Pitts Creek Presbyterian Church.....	R. M. Shoaf.....	Pocomoke City.
Port Deposit Presbyterian Church.....	E. M. McKee.....	Port Deposit.
Rehoboth Presbyterian Church.....	Herman Blachof.....	Rehoboth.
Wicomico Presbyterian Church.....	J. J. Brown, Jr.....	706 North Division St., Salisbury.
Makemie Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	Herman Dam.....	Snow Hill.
Berwyn Presbyterian Church.....	J. E. Kidder.....	8514 Fifteenth Ave., Berwyn.
Boyd's Presbyterian Church.....	J. P. Kerr.....	Boyd's.
St. Paul (Brentwood) Presbyterian Church.....	C. A. Shreve.....	2847 Twenty-ninth St., NW, Washington, D. C.
Neelsville Presbyterian Church.....	R. W. Hand.....	Germantown.
Hyattsville Presbyterian Church.....	D. H. Evans.....	Hyattsville.
Warner Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	W. S. Fredrick, Jr.....	Kensington.
Riverdale Presbyterian Church.....	W. Keith Custis.....	Riverdale.
Aberdeen Methodist Church.....	J. H. Tackett.....	Aberdeen.
Bel Air Methodist Church.....	A. E. Berry.....	Bel Air.
Buckeystown Methodist Church.....	I. A. Moya.....	Buckeystown.
Centerville Methodist Church.....	C. E. Davis.....	Centerville.
Chase Methodist Church.....	Attention to the minister.....	Chase-White Marsh.
Churchville Methodist Church.....	J. H. Tackett.....	Aberdeen.
Fairview Methodist Church.....	H. M. Washington.....	Fairview.
Fallston Methodist Church.....	L. H. Davis.....	Fallston.
Frederick Methodist Church.....	E. E. Williams.....	Frederick.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute—Continued

MARYLAND—Continued

Church	Minister	Address
Hagerstown Methodist Church.....	J. B. A. Dyson.....	Hagerstown.
Harrisburg Methodist Church.....	T. N. Hodges.....	Harrisburg.
Herford Methodist Church.....	R. E. Burnett.....	Herford.
Libertytown Methodist Church.....	A. A. Thompson.....	Libertytown.
Luthertown Methodist Church.....	M. M. Jefferson, Sr.....	Luthertown.
Mount Washington Methodist Church.....	J. E. Johnson.....	Mount Washington.
Mount Winans Methodist Church.....	O. G. Coleman.....	Mount Winans.
New Market Methodist Church.....	Richard Jackson.....	New Market.
Reisterstown Methodist Church.....	Matthias Williams.....	Reisterstown.
Sykesville Methodist Church.....	H. E. Dixon, Jr.....	Sykesville.
Westminster Methodist Church.....	J. W. Carroll.....	Westminster.
Williamsport Methodist Church.....	L. E. Dorsey.....	Williamsport.
Annapolis Methodist Church.....	I. R. Berry.....	Annapolis.
Atholton Methodist Church.....	J. H. Carter.....	Atholton.
Balnew Methodist Church.....	S. W. Fields.....	Balnew.
Broadneck Methodist Church.....	R. O. Williams.....	Broadneck.
Catonsville Methodist Church.....	N. B. Carrington.....	Catonsville.
Churchton Methodist Church.....	A. T. Middleton.....	Churchton.
Davidsonville Methodist Church.....	J. W. Langford.....	Davidsonville.
Eastport Methodist Church.....	L. C. Chase.....	Eastport.
Ellicott City Methodist Church.....	L. L. Williams.....	Ellicott City.
Friendship Methodist Church.....	S. T. Collins.....	Friendship.
Glenburnie Methodist Church.....	C. B. LaGrange.....	Glenburnie.
Huntingtown Methodist Church.....	C. A. Randall.....	Huntingtown.
Lusby Methodist Church.....	R. R. Robinson.....	Lusby.
Mount Hope Methodist Church.....	P. R. Vauls.....	Mount Hope.
Mount Zion Methodist Church.....	A. H. Durham.....	Mount Zion.
Patapsco Methodist Church.....	T. S. Tilden.....	Patapsco.
Prince Frederick Methodist Church.....	L. A. H. Moore.....	Prince Frederick.
South River Methodist Church.....	J. E. Roberts.....	South River.
Sparrows Point Methodist Church.....	J. O. Grant.....	Sparrows Point.
Town Neck Methodist Church.....	J. J. Thomas.....	Town Neck.
Barnesville Methodist Church.....	Joseph Stemley.....	Barnesville.
Boyd Methodist Church.....	O. E. Smallwood.....	Boyd.
Bowie Methodist Church.....	Howard Wallace.....	Bowie.
Brandywine Methodist Church.....	W. G. Simms.....	Brandywine.
Brookville Methodist Church.....	E. E. Arter.....	Brookville.
Chicamuxen Methodist Church.....	A. J. Munnerlyn.....	Chicamuxen.
Zion Methodist Church.....	Sidney B. Bradley.....	Cambridge.
La Plata Methodist Church.....	J. W. Ford.....	La Plata.
Laurel Methodist Church.....	L. B. Miller, Jr.....	Laurel.
Laytonsville Methodist Church.....	W. H. Tyler.....	Laytonsville.
Newburg Methodist Church.....	E. W. Johnson.....	Newburg.
Mount Airy Methodist Church.....	T. H. Reed.....	Mount Airy.
Pisgah Methodist Church.....	B. F. Hall.....	Pisgah.
Pomonkey Methodist Church.....	H. A. Brooks.....	Pomonkey.
Poolesville Methodist Church.....	C. W. Aukward.....	Poolesville.
Ridgely Methodist Church.....	T. H. Brooks.....	Ridgely.
Rockville Methodist Church.....	W. E. Williams.....	Rockville.
Sandy Spring Methodist Church.....	I. H. Carpenter.....	Sandy Spring.
Upper Marlboro Methodist Church.....	T. J. Burley.....	Upper Marlboro.
St. Anne's Episcopal Church.....	C. E. Berger.....	Annapolis.
All Saints Episcopal Church.....	H. P. Manning.....	Baltimore and Monroe Streets, Baltimore.
Ascension and Prince of Peace Episcopal Church.....	J. C. Wood.....	Walbrook and Elamont Aves., Baltimore.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	H. F. Butt.....	St. Paul and Chase Sts., Baltimore.
Emanuel Episcopal Church.....	E. V. Konnan.....	Cathedral and Read Sts., Balti- more.
Epiphany Episcopal Church.....	C. H. Best.....	Old York Rd. and Arlington Ave., Baltimore.
Grace and St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	Daniel Corrigan.....	Park Ave. and Monument St., Baltimore.
Holy Cross Episcopal Church.....	L. O. Forqueran.....	Millington Lane, Baltimore.
Holy Nativity Episcopal Church.....	H. W. S. Powers.....	Garrison Ave. and Egerton Rd., Baltimore.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.....	S. A. Broadbent.....	Lafayette and Wheeler Aves., Baltimore.
Memorial Episcopal Church.....	B. R. Howarth.....	Lafayette Ave. and Bolton St., Baltimore.
Messiah Episcopal Church.....	A. J. Miller.....	Harford Rd. and White Ave., Baltimore.
Mount Calvary Episcopal Church.....	W. A. McClenthen.....	Eutaw and Madison Sts., Balti- more.
Nativity Episcopal Church.....	G. B. Scriven.....	York and Cedarcroft Rds., Balti- more.
Our Saviour Episcopal Church.....	R. T. Dickerson.....	Broadway and McElderry Sts., Baltimore.
Redeemer Episcopal Church.....	R. H. Baker, Jr.....	Charles St. and Melrose Ave., Baltimore.
Redemption Episcopal Church.....	G. E. Zachary.....	Towson and Clement Sts., Balti- more.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute—Continued

MARYLAND—Continued

Church	Minister	Address
Resurrection Episcopal Church.....	E. P. Baker.....	Fayette and Curley Sts., Baltimore.
St. David's Episcopal Church.....	R. T. Loring.....	Roland Ave. and Oakdale Rd., Baltimore.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	O. E. Mills.....	Arlington and Lafayette Sts., Baltimore.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	E. L. Gettler, Jr.....	Greenmount Ave. and Old York Rd., Baltimore.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church.....	H. N. O'Connor.....	Carey St., Baltimore.
St. Margaret's Episcopal Church.....	P. C. Adams.....	Reisterstown Rd. and Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore.
St. Mary's Episcopal Church.....	M. D. Ashbury.....	Roland Ave. near Fortieth St., Hampden, Baltimore.
St. Matthias' Episcopal Church.....	C. L. Helm.....	Belair Rd. and Codonia Ave., Ruspburg, Baltimore.
St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church.....	D. F. Fenn.....	St. Paul and Twentieth Sts., Baltimore.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	H. L. Doll.....	Charles and Stratona Sts., Baltimore.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.....	F. F. Lynch.....	3115 The Alameda, Baltimore.
Transfiguration Episcopal Church.....	N. H. Cochran.....	Groveland and Granada Aves., West Arlington, Baltimore.
Emmanuel Episcopal Church.....	P. H. Sloan.....	Bel Air.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	W. J. Reed.....	Brumwick.
St. Timothy's Episcopal Church.....	The Rector.....	200 Ingleside Ave., Catonsville, Baltimore 23.
Sherwood Episcopal Church.....	C. R. Sutton.....	Cockeysville.
Emmanuel Episcopal Church.....	The Rector.....	29 Prospect Square, Cumberland.
Holy Cross Episcopal Church.....	L. H. Ewald.....	Cumberland.
All Hallows' Episcopal Church.....	V. S. Ross.....	Davidsonville.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	G. V. Shriver.....	Dorsey, Howard County.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	H. R. Madge.....	Dundalk.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	C. C. Durkee.....	Elkridge.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	F. A. Parsons.....	Ellicott City.
St. Mary's Episcopal Church.....	H. B. Lee, Jr.....	Emmorton.
All Saints' Episcopal Church.....	S. S. Johnson.....	Frederick.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	L. B. Browne.....	Frostburg.
St. Alban's Episcopal Church.....	C. O. Hill.....	Glen Burnie.
Immanuel Episcopal Church.....	A. W. Mayer.....	Glencoe.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	C. E. Buck.....	Glyndon.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	W. B. Stahl.....	Hagerstown.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.....	H. K. Jones.....	Halecock.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	L. M. Brewster.....	Havre de Grace.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	O. M. Langley.....	Lothian.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	K. M. Gearhart.....	Kingsville.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	L. O. Heck.....	Monkton.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	R. J. Gunkel.....	Mount Savage.
St. Matthew's Episcopal Church.....	A. F. Schildwelter.....	Oakland.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.....	F. J. Jensen.....	Owings Mills.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	O. H. Halbert, Jr.....	Prince Frederick.
All Saints' Episcopal Church.....	F. M. Dart.....	Reisterstown.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church.....	W. O. Smith, Jr.....	Ruxton.
St. Anne's Episcopal Church.....	O. F. R. Tredor.....	Smithsburg.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	H. L. Paff.....	Solomons.
St. Matthew's Episcopal Church.....	A. E. Martin.....	Sparrows Point.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	W. C. Roberts.....	Towson.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	L. S. Barnett.....	West River.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	R. J. Harkins.....	Westminster.
Ascension Episcopal Church.....	J. R. Cooper.....	Westminster.

PENNSYLVANIA

Hawley Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	O. P. Muyskens.....	Blue Ridge Summit.
Camp Hill Presbyterian Church.....	Spencer B. Smith.....	111 North 23d St., Camp Hill.
First Presbyterian Church.....	R. W. Anderson.....	253 West Pomfret St., Carlisle.
Second Presbyterian Church.....	O. M. Smier.....	243 South Hanover St., Carlisle.
Central Presbyterian Church.....	M. W. Riddle.....	222 5th Ave., Chambersburg.
Rolling Spring Presbyterian Church.....	R. T. Taylor.....	North Main St., Chambersburg.
Duncannon Presbyterian Church.....	R. B. Snyder.....	Duncannon.
Gettysburg Presbyterian Church.....	R. M. Hunt.....	19 East High St., Gettysburg.
Greencastle Presbyterian Church.....	A. M. Stevenson.....	182 Washington St., Greencastle.
Calvary Presbyterian Church.....	C. C. Gray.....	1071 South Cameron St., Harrisburg.
Covenant Presbyterian Church.....	P. W. Johnston.....	521 Peffer St., Harrisburg.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church.....	R. H. Holme.....	1644 and Liberty Sts., Harrisburg.
Market Square Presbyterian Church.....	R. C. Walker.....	Market Square, Harrisburg.
Olivet Presbyterian Church.....	W. A. Webb, Jr.....	1236 Bellevue Rd., Harrisburg.
Pine St. Presbyterian Church.....	C. R. Smith.....	3d and Pine Sts., Harrisburg.
Trinity Presbyterian Church.....	H. K. Leishman.....	2844 Acot St., Harrisburg.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	N. O. Grimes.....	1502 Green St., Harrisburg.

Incorporated churches—removed; got substitute—Continued

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

Church	Minister	Address
Derry Presbyterian Church	W. V. Longbrake	248 East Derry Rd., Hershey.
Christ Presbyterian Church	W. W. Warman	737 Maple St., Lebanon.
Fourth St. Presbyterian Church	C. E. Bouquet	256 Hawthay Park, Lebanon.
Mechanicsburg Presbyterian Church	J. H. Davis	100 South High St., Mechanicsburg.
Silver Spring Presbyterian Church	E. J. Ardis	R. F. D. 5, Mechanicsburg.
Mercersburg Presbyterian Church	J. D. E. Turner	Mercersburg.
Middletown Presbyterian Church	J. W. Dyo	201 Race St., Middletown.
Millertown	G. B. Gensemer	Newport.
Big Spring Presbyterian Church	P. C. Nicholson	Newville.
Paxton Presbyterian Church	M. G. Gilke	3020 Sharon St., Paxtang, Harrisburg.
Shippensburg Presbyterian Church	W. H. Galbreath	12 South Prince St., Shippensburg.
First Presbyterian Church	A. W. Hepler	431 Pine St., Steelton.
Waynesboro Presbyterian Church	H. T. Smith	Waynesboro.
Avondale Presbyterian Church	R. C. Diebert	Avondale.
Trinity Presbyterian Church	F. H. Ross	Berwyn.
Central Presbyterian Church	J. R. Russell	314 Washington St., Downingtown.
Fairview Presbyterian Church	D. R. Stewart	Olton Moore.
Great Valley Presbyterian Church	C. E. Anderson	Rural delivery, Malvern.
New London Presbyterian Church	J. H. Thompson, Jr.	New London.
Nottingham Presbyterian Church	John Safford	Nottingham.
Oxford Presbyterian Church	C. H. Fisher	214 Penn Ave., Oxford.
Second Presbyterian Church	G. H. Hynes	Lincoln University.
First Presbyterian Church	K. A. Hammonds	Post Office Box 751, Paoli.
Upper Octarum Presbyterian Church	J. H. Brown	Rural delivery No. 1, Parkesburg.
First Presbyterian Church	W. G. Silbert, Jr.	Phoenixville.
Do	J. G. Kell	317 West Minor St., West Chester.
Second Presbyterian Church	M. C. Spang	17 West Burnard St., West Chester.
Westminster Presbyterian Church	Robert B. Booth	339 West Union St., West Chester.
Dilworthtown Presbyterian Church	C. W. Heathcote	215 South Walnut St., West Chester.
Brockway Presbyterian Church	L. L. Talt	817 Main St., Brockway.
Callensburg Presbyterian Church	E. D. Crawford	Callensburg.
East Brady Presbyterian Church	H. B. Taylor	East Brady.
Falls Creek Presbyterian Church	J. M. Jenkins	Falls Creek.
Knox Presbyterian Church	John C. Talbot	Knox.
Shiloh Presbyterian Church	H. W. Logan	Mt. Airy.
Nickelville Presbyterian Church	H. W. Kossack	Nickelville.
Avondale Methodist Church	H. S. Irwin	Avondale.
Clifton Methodist Church	D. A. Outinger	Clifton.
Durby Methodist Church	R. W. Wright	Durby.
Eddystone Methodist Church	M. R. Meredith	Eddystone.
Friendship Methodist Church	L. C. Leaming, Jr.	Friendship.
Llanerch Methodist Church	H. B. Howells	Llanerch.
Mount Hope Methodist Church	G. H. Frux	Mount Hope.
Norwood Methodist Church	H. D. Beck	Norwood.
Oxford Methodist Church	R. D. Bell	Oxford.
Quarryville Methodist Church	C. E. Knopp	Quarryville.
Ridley Park Methodist Church	H. A. Swartz	Ridley Park.
Strasburg Methodist Church	Wilson Davis	Strasburg.
Swarthmore Methodist Church	R. N. Kisor	Swarthmore.
West Grove Methodist Church	C. G. Thompson	West Grove.
Brookline Methodist Church	F. M. Gray	Brookline.
Honey Brook Methodist Church	J. H. Bulley	Honey Brook.
Hopewell Methodist Church	L. B. Brubaker	Hopewell.
Middletown Methodist Church	J. N. Arnstead	Middletown.
First Methodist Church	W. K. Shultz	Steelton.
Downingtown Methodist Church	A. J. Palmer	Downingtown.
Cornwall Methodist Church	W. S. Fox	Cornwall.
Leola Methodist Church	R. H. Manwiler	Leola.
Millersburg Methodist Church	H. W. Marsland	Millersburg.
Mount Carmel Methodist Church	W. H. Anderson, Jr.	Mount Carmel.
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church	G. W. Barnes	Clifton Heights.
Trinity Episcopal Church	Louis C. Leaming, Jr.	Coatesville.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Frank Damrosch, Jr.	Doylstown.
Incarnation Episcopal Church	O. F. Ehly	Drexel Hill.
Advent Episcopal Church	L. J. Sachs	Hathboro.
Honey Brook Episcopal Church	A. E. Wilcox	Honey Brook.
Grace Episcopal Church	O. E. Newton	Hulmeville.
Our Savior Episcopal Church	R. G. Davis	Jenkintown.
Advent Episcopal Church	J. W. Rennie	Kennott Square.
St. James' Episcopal Church	M. H. Caley	Langhorne.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church	M. M. Garcia	Lansdale.
St. John's Episcopal Church	C. E. Tukey	Lansdowne.
St. Martin's Episcopal Church	M. M. Hoekler	Marcus Hook.
Christ Episcopal Church	H. N. Truay	Media.
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church	David Holmes	Norwood.
Epiphany Episcopal Church	J. W. Twelves	320 West Carpenter Lane, Philadelphia.

Incorporated churches—removed; get substitute—Continued

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

Name	Location	Librarian
Gloria Dei Episcopal Church.....	J. C. Bonk.....	916 Swanson St., Philadelphia.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.....	E. F. Salmon.....	Nineteenth and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia.
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church.....	W. D. Turner.....	2020 Columbia Ave., Philadelphia.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church.....	S. T. Steele, Jr.....	5411 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church.....	W. H. Dunphy.....	1625 Locust St., Philadelphia.
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.....	A. W. Price.....	19 South Tenth St., Philadelphia.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.....	J. F. Anderson.....	Fifty-second and Parrish Sts., Philadelphia.
Zion Episcopal Church.....	James Mills.....	Broad St. and Wyoming Ave., Philadelphia.

LA NOTIZIA,

30-32-34 Battery Street, Boston, Mass., April 23, 1947.

Mrs. C. G. DALL,

National Economic Council, Inc.,

350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. DALL: We have always found the Council Letter releases interesting and quite informative on important issues which usually escape public attention.

Your treatment of Communist activities in the United States is quite enlightening; they correspond exactly to the activities carried on by these subversive elements in the Italian-American communities in the United States during the last war. Our newspaper has consistently fought and is still fighting the Communist menace in our midst. During the war it was singled out by these groups and made the target of a smear campaign with the usual label of "Fascist." In fact, some of these groups are still active in a campaign of anonymous letters to our advertisers.

We have an immense quantity of material in our files on the activities of these groups during the war. In fact, we believe that even the FBI ignores some of the activities which we have in our files.

In the very near future, we are planning to publish a feature article giving a general description of the activities of these groups among the Italian-American element of the United States during the war.

We shall be pleased to exchange helpful information on the matter for the welfare and safety of our country.

Very truly yours,

LA NOTIZIA PUBLISHING CO.,
G. N. LONGARINI, Publisher.

APRIL 24, 1947.

Mr. G. N. LONGARINI,

Publisher, La Notizia, 34 Battery Street, Boston, Mass.

DEAR MR. LONGARINI: Mrs. Dall has handed me your letter of April 23, and we are pleased that you have found our publications of value.

You inquire about two council letters, one of which was published more than a year ago, and I am wondering how that earlier one came to your attention. Did you happen to see it in some public library or, if not, where? It would be of interest to know.

We should be glad, indeed, to exchange publications with you and we would be glad to have copy of the future article that you speak of, telling of certain Communist activities among the Italian-American element of the United States during the war.

Under separate cover we are sending you copy of a pamphlet, entitled "Strikes," by Joseph P. Kamp, which was published some weeks ago, but which is of timely interest.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

APRIL 28, 1947.

Mr. JOSEPH P. KAMP.

*Constitutional Educational League,
342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. KAMP: Thank you very much for telephoning and giving Miss Ed Witt the information about those names I called you about last Friday.

Mr. Hart asked me to send you a copy of Mrs. Lane's letter about your pamphlet, *Strikes*. She says:

"It (*Strikes*) struck me as pretty good but I wanted another opinion. I sent it to Joseph Julianelle, business agent of the CIO United Electrical Workers in Bridgeport, who led the terrific and victorious fight there against the Communists who infiltrated and controlled the UMW unions.

"He is enthusiastic for 'extensive distribution of this booklet amongst industrial workers * * * many of them members of unions both CIO and AFL * * * as a means of informing them that strikes serve no purpose, achieve little in lasting results, are generally inspired by Communists, and he has recommended to his executive board that a copy of this booklet be purchased for each of our shop stewards, approximately 200."

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

APRIL 29, 1947.

Memo for: Miss Schmid.

From: Mr. Hart.

Don't forget that I want you to have copied all those figures that I brought up and gave you several weeks ago showing the detail of amounts I disbursed in connection with AA. I am anxious to get this as soon as possible. Please write me when you expect to have it.

MAY 1, 1947.

Memorandum to: Mr. Hart.

From: Miss Schmid.

Miss Gill will be able on Monday to commence copying the expense accounts about which you have written me.

How many copies do you want of each?

We, of course, shall not make copies of the vouchers attached as they consist of notes, etc., written down on pretty nearly any old thing. There are also hotel vouchers with printing and what-not and I doubt that we could copy those without the voucher blanks to do so.

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

MAY 2, 1947.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart

From Miss Schmid

I have given some little thought to what you said over the telephone this morning: That your having registered as a lobbyist, precludes the council from asking its subscribers to write to their Congressmen.

I may not have understood you correctly, and I feel the above can hardly be so. Our educational work is, according to my understanding, for the purpose of educating people to write intelligent letters to their Congressmen, and when we no longer can ask them to do this, we shall have thrown away a substantial part of our effectiveness. No appearances we could make before Congress would offset such a loss. Our lobby is the people back home.

Will you please, in the future before making any definite arrangements about things as important as this, let me give you my thoughts. Giving them to you after a thing is done is of no value. I know you will agree a vice president should be kept informed of all things of such importance and given an opportunity to express herself concerning them as they arise, and before they are settled.

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

MAY 3, 1947.

Memorandum to: Miss Schmid.
From: Mr. Hart.

Re your memorandum of yesterday about registration under the Federal Lobbying Act—I did not convey the right impression to you.

At first our legal counsel and executive committee felt it was not necessary for either the council as an organization, or for me as an individual, to register. We noted that other groups and individuals were slow to register. We first discussed the thing at length last September, and again in November. The law is to an extent contradictory, and certainly complicated. So nothing was done until after the first of the year.

In February our counsel advised us it might be best for me to register as an individual. This would give me the chance to speak for the council, but by registering as an individual it became necessary only to make the required quarterly financial reports of those sums of money which I received and disbursed solely in lobbying work. Our counsel told us it was not necessary for a general report to be made of receipts and disbursements by the council as a whole, which is what we thought first would be required. It would be unfortunate to have to do this because we have to give the name and address of every contributor of \$500 or more.

So I registered the middle of February, and in April made my first report. This registration enabled me to do anything I want to do in the way of lobbying so long as I report it.

But the other day the council very much wanted to send out a communication urging people to write to their Congressmen and Senators regarding the pending labor legislation. Our counsel ruled that that could not be done without the council registering first as a lobbying agent. So we could not do it.

Then I asked our counsel if we could not set up a special fund for lobbying only. All sums contributed to it would be contributed for lobbying, and all lobbying expenses (and the definition of "lobbying" is a complicated one into which it is perhaps not necessary to go at the present time) would be paid out of it. No moneys of the council would be used for lobbying that did not go through that fund. Furthermore, the council itself cannot contribute to that fund, for that would make a further complication.

Our counsel said that if we followed this course, it would not be necessary for a report to be made of the council funds generally. This would be a great advantage.

So we are going to send out in the next 2 or 3 days (not later than Tuesday I hope) a letter to our larger contributors urging them to contribute to this special lobbying fund. I thought we would write to all persons and corporations who have given us more than \$10. I enclose draft of letter I propose to send, and wish you would call me on the phone Monday after you have considered it, and let me have any comments you may have to make.

You see all this business is highly technical. Naturally I want, as much as you do, to be sure we can always speak up, whether to the Congress or to the people back home. But it has got to be done in accordance with this statute. And probably it was passed to trip up people like ourselves.

MAY 5, 1947.

Memorandum to: Mr. Hart.
From: Miss Schmid.

Thank you for your memorandum of May 3, 1947, regarding the Federal Lobbying Act.

I appreciate knowing more about it.

As I understand it, if the council has this fund solely for lobbying work, they can ask the people back home to write their Congressman. Am I correct in this?

I think as you do, that this act was probably passed to trip up people like ourselves, or to restrict their activities. We have to go through a lot to serve our country well, don't we.

Regarding draft of letter which you attached, and which you would send to members subscribing more than \$10, I think it is a very good letter, and is clear. It may be that you could boil it down a little, though the important thing is to have everything fully understood.

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

MAY 6, 1947.

Memo to: Miss Schmid.
From: Mr. Hart.

Answering your memo of the 5th on this lobbying fund, the council can do anything that is in the way of lobbying provided it comes out of the lobbying fund.

WERTHEIM & Co.,
120 BROADWAY,
New York, May 2, 1947.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7501,
New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Last night in a radio broadcast over Station WOR, Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that he was informed by Senator Styles Bridges, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, that while numerous witnesses had appeared before the committee advocating the expenditures called for by the Presidential budget, which the committee is trying to cut down, not one person or organization had appeared advocating a reduction in expenditures.

Under these circumstances it is difficult, if not impossible, for Congress to do what most taxpayers most certainly want, namely, to reduce governmental expenditures. The members of the National Economic Council I am sure want these expenditures reduced. Why does not the council in behalf of its members see that the proper representations are made before the congressional committees?

Very truly yours,

HENRY HOTTINGER.

MAY 7, 1947.

Mr. HENRY HOTTINGER,
Wertheim & Co., New York 5, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HOTTINGER: Your letter of May 2, referring to a statement of Fulton Lewis, Jr., on the radio quoting Senator Bridges that no one had appeared before the Appropriations Committee advocating a reduction in the expenditures while numerous witnesses had appeared in support of the expenditures, was received the day before yesterday.

I have been making inquiries about the matter.

The Economic Council has been concentrating on support of labor law amendments and opposition to Federal aid to education.

We assumed that Mr. Lewis H. Brown's Committee on Public Expenditures, which has been very active and has done some excellent work, was covering this matter. Yesterday I telephoned his office and in his absence I talked with his secretary who said he would get in touch with Mr. Brown and call me back. When he called me up, he rather surprised me by saying that Mr. Brown was grateful for having the thing called to his attention and that he would get busy at once and see if something could not be done.

I got the very strong impression that for some unaccountable reason this committee, whose sole concern is to reduce public expenditures, had done nothing about appearances before the committee.

Today I have communicated with Senator Bridges and asked if the National Economic Council could have someone appear. We will do the same with the House Committee on Appropriations if it is not too late.

I am certainly glad you wrote me about the matter. As matter of fact, this situation testifies to the utter inadequacy, both in number and financial resources, of those relatively few national organizations like ourselves that are trying to cover a wide front. Many portions of that front are going entirely unmanned. It is as though an enemy were attacking along a thousand miles of a country's coast line which was being defended from within only on a front of a hundred miles.

It may interest you to know that twice in the past year and a half I have called conferences of men representing several organizations and urged that a movement be instituted that would see to the proper manning of the entire pro-American front. I have pointed out that this thing is something that is perfectly susceptible of solution if adequate effort were made; that all that

is necessary is to plan the thing as a business proposition. In each case we had an interesting discussion but I could not find more than one or two men willing to join in taking action.

I would like to talk with you about this some day. The situation is most serious.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MAY 3, 1947.

Mr. ROSCOE PEACOCK,
North Cohocton, Mass.

DEAR ROSCOE: I got your letter yesterday in which you complained about Brother Ives and with which complaint I thoroughly agree, and I answered it then.

This morning has come to my attention a letter written by a woman and published on the editorial page of the Rochester Times Union on April 30—a letter that may have had some effect on Ives, for I noticed that yesterday he voted with the Taft crowd in the Senate on a vitally important amendment.

Quite likely, you have already written to one or more newspapers but it seems to me that a trenchant letter from you on this subject to a number of newspapers in the State might have further desirable effect.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NAPLES, N. Y., May 7, 1947.

MERVIN K. HART,
Care National Economic Council, 350 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

Please rush list of desirable papers per yours of third and will act.

ROSCOE PEACOCK.

MAY 8, 1947.

Mr. ROSCOE PEACOCK,
North Cohocton, N. Y.

DEAR ROSCOE: Answering your wire, I suggest you write to the following papers:

Utica Daily Press
Utica Observer Dispatch
Syracuse Herald
Syracuse Post Standard
Rochester Times Union
Buffalo Courier Express
Albany Times Union
Glens Falls Post Star
Gloversville Herald
Kingston Freeman

Lockport Union-Sun Journal
Middletown Times Herald
Newburgh News
New York Sun, 280 Broadway
New York Times, 229 West Forty-third Street
Ogdensburg Journal
Watertown Times
Rome Sentinel
Schenectady Gazette

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DEAR MERWIN: This is the letter I sent to most of your list. I left out the New York Times, as I felt sure they wouldn't print it. They are on our side, but did you ever notice the innocuous character of the letters they do print?

ROSCOE PEACOCK.

MAY 11, 1947.

EDITOR, UTICA OBSERVER DISPATCH,
Utica, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Bedevilled by wave after wave of paralyzing strikes, the voters at the last election threw out of legislative power the New Dealers responsible for the intolerable evils begotten by the Wagner law, with a plain mandate for the abatement of these tyrannies.

In this State Senator Jim Mead, outstanding in his attitude as a friend of labor, was ousted to be replaced by Hon. Irving M. Ives. If ever a man could read clearly the will of the voters on the labor question, it should have been Senator Ives. The CIO and its satellites had thrown down the gage of battle, with all the resources of a major political party. The issue was sharply drawn, with the result a humiliating defeat for that organization.

What then could be calculated to arouse a greater degree of disappointment, if not indignation, than to see this fledgling Senator joining that other renegade Republican, Senator Wayne Morse, in throwing a monkey wrench into the party's efforts to pass a labor bill with some teeth in it?

As to Morse, the people of Oregon knew what to expect when they elected him; a typical son of the wild jackass, as the late Senator Moses described this western specie, as shown by his previous performances as a member of the National Labor Board. If Ives had any such leanings, they were certainly not known to the average New York voter. And Governor Dewey, strange as it may seem, was his sponsor.

Senator Ives seems to have made no particular defense of his refusal to play ball with the majority of his party, nor does he seem to have been called to book thus far in any important way. And yet he and Morse, as the leaders of a revolt, are jeopardizing the whole effort to reform what another commentator has aptly described as intimidation, assault, arson, and even murder, to perpetuate a labor oligarchy at the expense of law and order.

Isn't it about time that those who voted for him tell the Senator in no uncertain terms what they think of his performances?

Sincerely yours,

MAY 20, 1947.

Mr. ROSCOE PEACOCK,
Naples, N. Y.

DEAR ROSCOE: Thanks for sending me copy of the letter you wrote to a number of newspapers. This, I am sure, will be helpful.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 3, 1947.

Mr. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: For some time past certain of the libraries and educational institutions of the country have taken our economic council publications. We have been studying methods of extending the distribution of this material to all such institutions throughout the country.

Sometime ago we received an order from a friend of ours in the Middle West for 300 sets of our publications at \$10 per set, to be sent to 300 public libraries, colleges and universities in three or four certain Middle Western States. With the order came the assurance that he had obtained from his legal counsel an opinion to the effect that a contribution of printed matter (or anything else, for that matter) given by him to such institutions could be deducted before taxes. He specified that the material should each time go addressed to, say, the "Public Library of Ann Arbor, Mich., attention John Doe, librarian."

We have had the matter up with our legal counsel, Mr. Mason H. Bigelow of Gould & Wilkie, 1 Wall Street, New York, who unhesitatingly confirmed this opinion, following it up with a written opinion of which the enclosed is a photostatic copy.

This opens up a new and substantial field for the council, for in the United States there are about a thousand colleges and universities, some 7,000 or 8,000 libraries, and perhaps 60,000 or 70,000 Protestant Churches. We hope to organize in such a way that these publications will, within a fairly short time, be going to every one of these educational and religious corporations. For the deductibility privilege applies whether the material goes to an educational or a religious organization.

Incidentally, as examples of the satisfaction of various of the libraries and colleges now receiving this matter under the order of our Midwestern friend, I am enclosing copies of two recent letters.

We are having lists prepared of all of the colleges, universities, and public libraries, and the Protestant Churches in the United States. Suiting the wishes of any donor, we can arrange for the material which he may order to go to whatever section of the country he may specify. We could, of course, be prepared to submit lists of names for his consideration, and copy of such list—with whatever additions or subtractions the donor cares to make—can be sent us with the order.

I write hoping that this matter will commend itself to you, and that you will feel you can personally send us an order for a quantity of our publications to be sent to certain libraries, colleges and religious corporations.

I am enclosing form of letter we are sending to each beneficiary of those who are subscribing to our publications for some of these educational and religious corporations.

Check should be made payable to National Economic Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM, INC.,

1638 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington 9, D. C., June 6, 1947.

Mrs. G. G. DALL,

Room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. DALL: Of the entire quantity of Operation Immigration booklets recently sent out from this office, we have had only two returned. I am enclosing one letter so that you may have someone make the proper notation on your mailing list.

The other was returned by the post office marked "not here." The addressee was: Mr. George E. Reece, 995 Howard Street, San Francisco 3, Calif.

The enclosed letter refers to a name on the second list sent to us from New York and the other appears on the first list.

Mr. Greaves and I were very sorry to learn of your recent illness and we both hope you are completely well again, by now.

Sincerely,

C. D. SIMPSON

Miss C. D. Simpson.

FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM, INC.,

1638 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington 9, D. C., June 2, 1947.

MISS SARAH B. TIBBITS,¹

33 First Street, Troy, N. Y.

DEAR MISS TIBBITS: Enclosed is a copy of our research report No. 1, Operation Immigration.

Foundation for Freedom was established to make and publish studies on economic, social, and political problems of the day. These studies are based on the application of the constitutional principles which made this country the envy of the world.

The aim is to put the results into simple, readable English, for businessmen, educators, writers, speakers, and all others interested in getting first-hand facts, explanations, and sound American solutions.

We think you will agree that Operation Immigration, as this first study is named, fulfills the above specifications.

There are, of course, many foundations in existence, too many with leftist theories which promote the un-American trend toward national socialism.

We who have formed Foundation for Freedom believe there is a need in the Nation's Capital for a foundation based on the theory that American institutions, as we have enjoyed them for 150 years, offer the greatest possible promise for individual opportunity and the continued progress of the people of the United States.

We have in our files a formal opinion from our legal counsel to the effect that contributions to Foundation for Freedom are deductible, before taxes. We will be glad to send you a photostat copy if you so desire.

¹ {Pencil notation:} Died April 18, 1947. Please remove from mailing list.

Foundation for Freedom has a budget for the coming 12 months of \$100,000. With your help the foundation will succeed. Your aid can best be shown by returning the enclosed subscription form, today.

Sincerely yours,

O. A. TAYLOR, *Chairman.*

APRIL 2, 1947.

MR. PERCY L. GREAVES, Jr.,
Foundation for Freedom, Inc.,
1638 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GREAVES: After talking with you yesterday, I called the printer and made all the corrections you requested. He is putting a title page on the back of which will have the table of contents.

We are changing the price of the pamphlet as you requested to: 1 for \$0.25—9 for \$2—50 for \$10—100 for \$18—1,000 for \$125. We also are adding the address for ordering.

The envelopes will be shipped to you today or at the latest, tomorrow, April 3.

Mr. Hart asked me to tell you that an amendment could be made to the bylaws along the lines of your letter. I guess you know what he means.

I hope this covers everything and that when you get the pamphlet you will like it. Of course it would have been better if we had been able to consult in person but I have done the best I could in view of trying to save time and money.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL.

E. A. GUMMIG, M. D.,
Suite 416 First Trust Building, Pasadena, Calif.,
April 18, 1949.

MR. MERWIN H. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Will you please send me 25 of the pamphlets by Hon. Frederick C. Smith of Ohio and Hon. Roy O. Woodruff of Michigan made in the House of Representatives January 13 and 17, 1940 on socialized medicine.

Yours sincerely,

E. A. GUMMIG, M. D.

APRIL 28, 1949.

DR. E. A. GUMMIG,
Suite 416, First Trust Building,
Colorado at Madison, Pasadena, Calif.

DEAR DR. GUMMIG: In answer to your request for 25 copies of the pamphlets inserted in the Congressional Record, we believe you would like a copy of council letter No. 206, "Political Medicine," which was the original from which the excerpts were placed in the Record.

We are enclosing a copy of council letter No. 206 and sending you 25 copies under separate cover. An invoice herewith is enclosed to cover.

You may be interested to know that we have filled orders in the quantity of almost 1,000,000 for this letter. Many medical associations throughout the country have distributed them to their members, and now that President Truman has revived this whole issue, we are getting an increased quantity of orders for this material. We also enclosed a copy of a Commentary on Socialized Medicine in England as presented by Mr. Cecil Palmer, who is touring the country and speaking under the auspices of the council.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

J. HOWARD RHOADES,
197 Pondfield Road West, Cedar Knolls, Bronxville, N. Y.,
June 9, 1947.

DEAR MERWIN: In case you are still interested—"It has been a long fight to put the control of our economic system in the hands of the Government."

Eleanor Roosevelt—"My Day" April 30, 1940. See "American Affairs," April 1947, page 108.

I have been trying to find out something about The Foundation for Freedom, Inc., 1638 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., the publishers of a booklet, "Operation Immigration" by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. I am told that you are interested in it. So? Any information you care to give me will be held confidential if you wish.

Will "The Antidefamation League and its use in the World Communist Offensive," by Maj. Robert H. Williams (Air Reserve) be reviewed in a forthcoming issue of the N. E. C. Review of Books?

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD.

JUNE 12, 1947.

MR. J. HOWARD RHODES,
197 West Pondfield Road,
Bronxville, N. Y.

Dear HOWARD: I am particularly glad to get your note of June 9 and to have the exact location of that quote from Eleanor Roosevelt.

You asked about Foundation for Freedom. This was formed by a number of us about a year ago. The trustees are: Ora A. Taylor, former vice president of S. H. Kress & Co., and a member of its board of directors; Earl Harding, whom you know; Charles J. Brand of Washington, former secretary of the National Fertilizer Association; Percy L. Greaves, Jr., executive director, and myself. The treasurer is Joshua Evans, Jr., vice president of one of the leading banks in Washington.

You will find Taylor, Greaves and Evans in Who's Who in America.

Again many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

PITTSBURGH, PA., June 15, 1947.

MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, 350 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.:

Have been appointed by Secretary of War along with 13 others to conduct tour of observation in Europe. We are leaving by plane for Rome June 23. If you can help us contact desirable parties in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, or Austria it will be greatly appreciated as will suggestions. Sunday, June 22, is the deadline.

W. O. H. GARMAN,
Secretary, American Council of Christian Churches,
305 Long Road, Wilkensburg, Pa.

JUNE 16, 1947.

Rev. W. O. H. GARMAN,
Secretary, American Council of Christian Churches,
305 Long Road, Wilkensburg, Pa.

DEAR MR. GARMAN: I have your wire reading as follows: "Have been appointed by Secretary of War along with 13 others to conduct tour of observation in Europe. We are leaving by plane for Rome June 23. If you can help us contact desirable parties in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, or Austria it will be greatly appreciated as will suggestions. Sunday, June 22, is the deadline."

There are only two parties to whom I can give you letters, namely Dr. Theodore Aubert, who has for many years been one of the leaders in Europe in fighting communism and who, I believe, is a lawyer in Geneva, Switzerland, and a young man, Patrick Boardman, a Catholic, who is in Geneva and has finished his work for a doctor's degree. Boardman is one of the keenest young men I know. Twice in the past 2 weeks he has spoken on a news broadcast from Geneva and spoke admirably.

Boardman was the GI who made that talk at the Madison Square Garden rally for Frank Fay in January of 1946. He is a graduate of Fordham College and of the Columbia School of Journalism.

I am sending you copies of letters I am writing these men, together with letters of introduction.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

15 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

[Copy—Telegram]

JUNE 17.

Hon. ROBERT D. PATTERSON,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Chaplain Pouck, acting in the name of the Chief of Chaplains, Maj. Gen. Luther D. Miller, notified us that I was to accompany the party making European tour of observation and, since the time was short, all necessary preparations were to be made at once. Acting on his instructions, which we took in good faith, my congregation released me last Sunday and engaged speakers to fill the pulpit. I applied for passport and made other arrangements, some of which involved no little financial outlay.

This morning I received a telegram from General Miller stating that now you were not including me in this tour. This last minute act on your part puts me in a most embarrassing position. We cannot do other than protest your action and request an explanation.

(Signed) W. O. H. GARMAN,
Secretary, American Council of Christian Churches, 305 Long Road, Wilkesburg, Pa.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

15 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

305 LONG ROAD, WILKESBURG, PA.,

June 18, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City.*

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you very much for your kind letter and the enclosures. Whether I'll get to use them is now doubtful since a very shameful thing has happened as you will discover in reading the copy of my letter to the Chief of Chaplains.

It is possible as some believe that they did not want such an investigation as we would have made. Also it is possible that the Federal Council did not want us in Europe, especially since it was making plans for its meeting of the World Council of Churches there.

No few protests have gone in to the War Department. Whether they will do any good or not I can't say. Perhaps a word from you or some of your prominent friends might help. The time is short, however, since the date of departure is Monday, June 23.

With every good wish,

Most sincerely,

W. O. H. GARMAN,
Director of Civil Affairs.

305 LONG ROAD, WILKESBURG, PA.,

June 18, 1947.

Maj. Gen. LUTHER D. MILLER,
Chief of Chaplains, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL MILLER: In view of the cordial relationships we have always had in the past we are at a complete loss to understand your actions in regards to the tour of observation in Europe slated to leave Washington Monday, June 23.

Because of the strong protest our council made pertaining to the discrimination being practiced against us when this tour was first proposed, your aide,

Chaplain Pouck acting on your orders, informed our representative, Rev. Carl McIntire, that I was to accompany the party making this tour. He sent instructions through Reverend McIntire informing me to make every preparation at once, and I did so. My congregation released me for the time involved and speakers were engaged to fill the pulpit. In addition I applied for a passport and made considerable purchases. Also I arranged for many European contacts, in fact over 800. I have letters of introduction from prominent men in this country to prominent men in Europe. No less a person than the First Chancellor of the Royal Dutch Embassy, Peking, China, gave me letters of introduction and names of prominent Protestant clergymen in the countries to be visited.

Naturally such preparations could not be made without the matter becoming known on a very wide scale, both in America and abroad. Some of these folks are going to be very much surprised when I do not appear upon the scene. I wonder what they are going to think when they find out why?

It was because I had not received any written communication from the Secretary of War as I had been led to expect, which communication was to contain final instructions, that I called you by phone Monday, June 10. I was anxious to know the amount of baggage allowed, the medical precautions to be taken, and to ask you to expedite the matter of my passport, which incidentally will be sent to your office. In reply to that long-distance call you promised to call me back the same day or telegraph me. The next day I received a telegram from you stating that I would not be included in the party.

It is evident that I would not have found this out if I had not called you. Apparently no one in your office had any intention of acquainting me with this fact. I had been instructed by Chaplain Pouck to present myself and baggage in your office the morning of the flight and would most certainly have done so. What has already happened is embarrassing enough but to have been turned down in your office in the presence of the representatives of all those religious groups who were to make up the party would have been one of the most humiliating experiences I can imagine.

This entire matter can be construed as the worst possible insult and affront to the American Council of Churches and its constituent groups. Frankly I am shocked beyond description by the way your office has handled this matter. If there had been any change in your plans, why didn't you contact me and let me know instead of permitting me to go ahead with the preparations I had been ordered to make? I think I would have understood and have done my best to be reasonable. It is completely beyond our understanding why we have not had one word from you expressing any regret. Things like this are bound to shake our confidence.

Our relationship with the Chief of Chaplains of the Army has always been most cordial. This was particularly true of General Arnold who was not of our persuasion, being a Roman Catholic, but I always found him to be fair, of an understanding mind and one who promises could be relied upon. In fact I once practically staked my reputation on General Arnold's word and needless to say he didn't let me down. We haven't known you so well nor had as many contacts with you but it is our desire that the same cordial relationship and implicit trust and confidence might continue.

Another thing that troubles me is why you and your staff permit other groups to influence you and the War Department against us? Also if you want statistics and information concerning our constituent bodies why not contact us instead of listening to groups which misrepresent us and so present their cause as to gain every advantage and put us at a disadvantage?

My feelings toward you in the past have always been most warm and by God's grace they are going to continue to be just that.

With every good wish,

Most sincerely,

W. O. H. GARMAN,
Director Civil Affairs.

P. S.: Copy to Secretary of War.

PITTSBURGH, PA., June 22, 1947.

MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
New York, N. Y.:*

War Department reversed its decision. We fly for Rome tomorrow afternoon. Thanks for your good wishes and whatever help you gave us.

W. O. H. GARMAN.

900 NINETEENTH STREET,
Washington 6, D. C., June 18, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
New York City.

DEAR MR. HART: What are the chances for Mr. Close to get back on the air? We need his fearless and capable manner of handling our present day awful conditions.

Where do we go from here? Or is there any place to go? I am most discouraged over them. The tax bill veto no surprise but the sustaining it is one.

Industry that needs relief and when it reaches them all of us would benefit.

I am on a small annuity and living is just about impossible—and the winter does not hold out much hopes for us regarding food—the flood conditions so much in the Middle West—which is the locality we bank on—without rain this cool is not growing weather. What little we will have will no doubt go to the cutthroats in Europe.

Hope you have something in the way of good news regarding Mr. Close.

Best wishes to you.

Very truly,

Mrs. M. L. WALKER.

JUNE 23, 1947.

Mrs. M. L. WALKER,
900 Nineteenth Street, Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MRS. WALKER: I have no idea when Upton Close will go back on the air. We have no plan for resuming the broadcasts. It was quite an effort for us to carry him for the year that we did, and it seemed to us that some commercial sponsor should take him over.

You ask where we go from here—politically. I think we have got to wait until the end of the session and see what the net result is.

What you tell me about your own financial situation is impressive. Why don't you write a careful letter to the President and send a copy to the Washington Times-Herald. They might publish it. It would be most important to be extremely factual (it is hard for anybody to do this and make a real job of it).

If you write such a letter, I would suggest that you send a copy also to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, Hon. Harold Knutson, address: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.; and to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Hon. Styles Bridges, address: Senate Office Building.

I am sure you will realize that it would mean nothing for you to mention that someone had suggested you do this—it is merely an exercise or a citizen's right.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

FRANK WALTON SMITH,
19 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill., June 15, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc., New York City.

DEAR MR. HART: Some time ago I wrote you asking help in writing a simple, easily understood platform for the Republican ward workers of this city, and—if it were good enough—probably of the Nation. You answered that there was indeed a great need for a primer of politics and that my letter would have careful attention. Last month I called at your office in New York and met your Mr. Griffiths, who gave me a number of pamphlets which he admitted were not simple nor easily understood. He also told me that 85 percent of your funds were spent on a staff who could not write a simple, easily understood platform, and the remainder on mailing to people who were already on our side.

I have read your exchange with the Times about the difference between a democracy and a republic. You were right, in my opinion, but the Times got the best of the exchange. The worst of it was that nobody much noticed the argument, and nobody much yet knows what is wrong with a democracy, and I have nothing to tell the precinct captains.

These men would get you a lot more publicity and a lot more effective publicity than any mailing list of enthusiastic amateurs. Simplicity is a difficult art, but it can be learned. The Republic is a great idea. Our enemies are doing well with ideas that a hyena would be ashamed of if he understood them. What have they got that we haven't?

Could not the several foundations get together and agree to simplify till it hurts? For instance, I am sure that all labor legislation should be repealed. There are many reasons but the vital one is that the labor idea complicates an already fantastic complication.

The only worthy idea in the whole labor book is to prevent abject poverty. If this can be done by law, it can be done by a minimum wage law. Such a law is self-enforcing, infallible. Any other labor law would interfere with its operation and cause confusion. No unions are needed. If this view were taken, unions would soon recede to their reasonable place which is out of politics. If we enforced the laws we have against conspiracy and violence, we would do well. If we cannot, we are sunk.

It is that simple. The difference between a democracy and a republic was disposed of in two paragraphs in the small book on civil government which I had to study in high school back in Louisville in 1898. Democracy was disposed of to my complete satisfaction, though they had not at that time the shining mark of democracy in operation now afforded us by the rivalry of Messrs. Garner, Wallace, and Truman for the mantle of the protector of the poor. They did not need it.

Simplicity is your only hope. Economy, any kind of economy consists of the practice of four duties (no freedoms), industry, thrift, honor, and common sense. All the complications added by Adam Smith and Karl Marx are just confusion, unconscious in the first case but very deliberate in the second. There is no real class war," but if you accept the idea and begin to use the words, there will be. Economy is not necessarily, corporations, holding companies, banks, foreign trade, tariffs, etc. They are largely parasitic growths on the true economy, without which we would be far more prosperous and certainly more happy.

Simplicity is your only hope. Reiteration is your only means of getting acceptance. Get a simple formula, and go after the business. Get a canned spiel and start to ring doorbells. Get the president of the Fuller Brush Co. on your board of directors and ask him how he does it. Ask your wife how the Fuller Brush man does it. Then adopt the precinct captains of the Republican Party (and the Democratic Party if you can get at them), hand them your canned spiel, and then start checking up to see if the spiel is simple enough and if the men are sticking to it and making calls.

To this I would add one suggestion that may be a violation of my own gospel of simplicity. The only way to avoid some kinds of opposition is by going underground. The only effective underground movement in this country—and it is no longer active—was the freemasons. When I was "raised" one of the old hands admitted that the ritual was silly, but he said the main object—to safeguard the little red schoolhouse—was important. It needs safeguarding more today than it did then. These boys pulled a strong oar then. They could again.

Well, I am somewhat of a pamphleteer myself, judging by the above. You will, I am sure, take it in the spirit in which it is intended.

Yours truly,

F. W. SMITH.

P. S.—The land-grant colleges and their radio stations are another means of education that intrigues my political imagination. But a politician hasn't got an imagination. That's why simplicity is so important.

JULY 2, 1947.

MR. FRANK WALTON SMITH,
19 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11, Ill.

DEAR MR. SMITH: Thank you for your letter of June 15, which I have read with interest. I think you are quite right in advocating the repeal of useless legislation. We have too many laws today rather than too few.

And I think you are dead right about the four duties of industry, thrift, honor, and common sense. If more people in and out of government practiced them our problems would be much simpler.

Dr. Griffiths tells me that you evidently misunderstood the import of what he said to you when you were here. His view was sympathetic to yours, as is mine, in seeing the need for such a "primer of politics" as you mention. What he meant you to understand was that our Economic Council letter is not an attempt to meet

this need, but rather has another purpose. His 85 percent reference was to the proportion of overhead in some patriotic organizations, not this one. Nor did he mean you to understand that our staff is incapable of producing simple material.

As a matter of interest to you, we are now working on a campaign to be launched in the fall which I am sure you will like.

Again thanking you for your letter, I am

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

AMERICAN CHINA POLICY ASSOCIATION, INC.,

1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18, N. Y., June 24, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: This is to congratulate you on your bulletin of June 1 entitled, "Our Two Foreign Policies." I ordered 100 of these and sent them out to our directors.

While the analysis you make is excellent, in my opinion you could have gone farther and arrive at the conclusion that our real policy is not the firm policy but the soft policy. It would be difficult in the confines of this letter to explain why this is so, but some time possibly we could get together, at which time I could give you the picture of a confused firm policy at the top with a cleverly launched soft policy at the operational level. In the end all the commitments, promises, and involvements at the operational level force the abandonment of firmness at the top.

Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you,

Very sincerely yours,

ALFRED KOHLBERG.

JUNE 27, 1947.

Mr. ALFRED KOHLBERG,

American China Policy Association, Inc.,

1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18.

DEAR MR. KOHLBERG: Thank you for your letter of June 24. I appreciate your friendly comment on our June 1 letter.

I certainly would like to meet you, and will watch for a chance to give you a ring and see if we can get together—perhaps for lunch.

I see that Lucius S. Kirtland is one of your directors. I think he is a man with whom I was at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., in the late 1890's, and whom I ran across in France during the First World War.

It will be a pleasure to meet you.

How do you like letter 160, copy of which I enclose?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

ALFRED KOHLBERG, INC.,

1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18, N. Y., June 30, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Thanks for your letter of June 27. Mr. Lucius S. Kirtland is a neighbor of mine in Bronxville, N. Y., and has been a correspondent in many areas of the world. I do not know his educational background.

My knowledge of the Spanish situation is very limited but in principle I agree with you fully, my general understanding being that in every instance fascism has been nurtured by the danger of communism, and it is, therefore, ridiculous to speak of ending it in Spain until the danger of its replacement by communism has been removed from the world.

I have watched General Marshall with an open mind but fear that his knowledge of world affairs, and particularly his knowledge of international communism, is so limited that he is easily misled by his subordinates. How this Nation can be protected from a succession of Hays and ignoramuses in high office I do not

know. I even fear the excession of the Republicans to office because of their ignorance of this subject.

If you are free for lunch some day I would indeed be happy if you could give me a ring and join me at the Republican Club.

Very sincerely yours,

ALFRED KOHLBERG.

JULY 14, 1947.

Mr. ALFRED KOHLBERG,
1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18.

DEAR MR. KOHLBERG: Referring to your letter of June 30, I expect to be away from New York for most of the next 6 or 7 weeks.

I am marking your letter to come up again about the middle of September, and I shall be glad to meet you for lunch, as you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

MERVIN K. HART, *President.*

ALFRED KOHLBERG, INC.,
1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18, N. Y., July 21, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN HART,
National Economic Council,
360 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I thought you would be interested in the enclosed issue of Human Events with their point of view on Spain.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

A. KOHLBERG.

MEMORANDUM OF TRIP JULY 7-10 TO KANSAS CITY, ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO—
MERWIN K. HART

I spent 2 hours with H. W. Luhnow. They have a tremendous wholesale business, apparently in furniture and some other things and have, I understand, some 12,000 correspondents throughout the West between Kansas City and the coast.

Luhnow, I should say, is about 55 years of age, extremely patriotic and hard worker, and an able citizen. He apparently had a great deal to do with breaking up the Pendergast gang in Kansas City. But after he broke it up, hoping that those who had come into power on the Republican side would carry on on a higher level, he found they were not doing so and he was disgusted. And so when they came the next year to ask his aid, he refused. He kept on refusing until in the last analysis they simply had to have him. Then he surprised them by saying he had his price like everyone else. He said simply that he wanted the newly elected officers to come to his office and agree that they would favor certain legislation, chief of which was a little Hatch Act. They reluctantly agreed. The measures were submitted to referendum by the people and carried 5 to 1. So he felt better about this.

Mr. Luhnow has helped a good many institutions through the foundation, which was set up apparently by Mr. Volker who, I understand, is a very old man and has not been out of a wheel chair in 20 years.

Mr. Luhnow is the backer, I understand, of Leonard Read. He surprised me by saying he was disappointed by Read's accomplishments so far. He said that they had printed a lot of other people's stuff and that in spite of the fact that they had able writers like Orville Watts, they had not published a thing that any of them had written.

Luhnow made a subscription of \$5,000 while I was there for the council's work and in particular for the Restore the Republic program. He took a check-book from his pocket and wrote me a check.

I called up V. E. Speas, president of the Speas Co., who gave us \$250 for our radio program, but he begged off, saying he was intensely busy. So, by agreement, I have written him.

I had rather poor luck in St. Louis. As matter of fact, I did not see anybody. I talked on the phone with Edgar Queeny, who was a little cool (he is a crusty sort of fellow anyway) and said in substance he was not too well impressed with

what was coming out of our office. He did not particularize. He had come out of an all-morning conference and I could not crowd him very well. When I referred to our dropping the broadcast, which I did for the purpose of seeing if he would make some comment, he made none. Finally he said: "Let me check into it and I will drop you a note."

Chicago: I spent an hour and a half with R. H. Norton, chairman of the board of the Acme Steel Corp. and found him greatly interested in our Restore the Republic plans. He brought in an associate of his, whose name I did not catch. The latter left after about three-quarters of an hour but it was hard to get away from Mr. Norton and I must have been with him an hour and a half, though I had to do it in order to meet Mr. Regnery for lunch.

Mr. Norton is elderly but enormously interested in any movement that promises to improve the country's condition. He said they were generous givers to outfits that seem to promise results. He mentioned that they had been particularly interested in giving to the council because of Upton Close, whom they apparently like.

When I left Mr. Norton, I told him I would leave the matter in his hands and would hope to hear from him at his early convenience.

I spent an hour and a half with Harry Jung at his office on Wednesday evening. He was looking badly and told me he had just returned from Rochester, Minn. He added that he did not want to talk about himself.

Harry has dug up an enormous amount of stuff on the ITO and I told him we would send him \$300 instead of \$200 for his work. He promised me to get off by Saturday the 19th, the results of his study of the subject.

I had lunch with Mr. Regnery at his plant. He told me incidentally that they had never had a labor organization, a strike or an increase-in-pay demand. The outfit must have done well and there seems to be the fullest good will everywhere. He listened to the story about the Restore the Republic plans and at the conclusion, said: "When you get going, I of course will do my part." From this I inferred that he preferred not to give now but would give in the fall.

General Wood, of Sears, Roebuck, was out of the city, not to return until next week.

JULY 12, 1947.

Hon. Ed Gossett,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I read with the greatest interest your speech of July 2. I had been in the West and returned only yesterday, and immediately read it.

It was a courageous speech that I am sure will do good. You were probably expressing the views of the overwhelming majority of the House.

In this connection may I ask if you could, by any possibility, attend a dinner I am giving at the University Club, 1 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York, on Thursday, July 17, at 6:30? I am to have as my guest of honor Mr. Ben H. Freedman, a Jew who is thoroughly alive to all the mischief and harm that is being stirred up by the professional Jews, especially with respect to the Palestine question.

In all probability I will also have as a guest of honor, Assam Pasha, who is the secretary-general of the Arab League. He is in this country for a few weeks only, trying to make American officials understand that the United States, by seeming to back the Zionists in their Palestine ambitions, is risking the loss of the good will of the whole Arab world if not the Mohammedans. He is a man of great experience, speaks English fluently (I think he is an Oxford graduate), and is unassuming and pleasing in his manner. He has, I understand, ambassadorial rank.

He tells me he has talked with leaders in the State and other Departments, and while he finds many who agree with him, yet they won't do a thing openly—so greatly are they apparently under the influence of the professional Jewish group.

The invitation is on short notice because we are only just getting the dinner up. There will be 20 or 25 men there, and both Freedman and Assam Pasha are going to take down their hair. Of course it is off the record. And the dinner is informal.

If by any chance you can come, please do so.

Again let me congratulate you on your speech.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Received at Utica and forwarded to Mr. Hart, July 15, 1947.

A. M. S.

EAST ORANGE, N. J., July 14, 1947.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
Utica, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Am enclosing 10 cents in silver; please send me Book Review, by Rose Wilder Lane, and information concerning statistical data that may be secured from you pertaining to the seditious agitation now being high-pressed by unassimilated present refugees and the first generation born in this country who "matriculated" under the theory this country now is not a melting pot but is being colonized by Europe's unassimilated discontents.

Has an accounting been made to Congress covering Roosevelt's unauthorized immigration of refugee Socialist and Communist trade-unionists, left-wing writers, artists, and assorted Social Democrats from Germany as described on page II of Surrender on Demand, by Varian Fry, who was the American agent selected by the Emergency Rescue Committee which was headed by William Allan Neilson and Dr. Frank Klingdon to handpick left-wing European refugees headed by a long list of labor leaders?

If this information is covered in book form please state price.

Thanking you for any further source of information.

Yours very truly,

P. C. PAYSEUR,
Box 173, East Orange, N. J.

JULY 10, 1947.

Mr. P. C. PAYSEUR,
Box 173, East Orange, N. J.

DEAR MR. PAYSEUR: In accordance with your request, we enclose sample copies of our Review of Books by Rose Wilder Lane. We also enclose some council letters which contain references to the present immigration problem. We are sending you, under separate cover, pamphlet Operation Immigration which treats more fully of this subject.

We regret that we do not know whether an accounting has been made to Congress covering Roosevelt's unauthorized immigration of refugees. If it has, we have not heard of it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

JULY 22, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your very welcome letter was indeed encouraging to a man who was commencing to feel that no purpose could be served by trying to tell the truth against such great odds.

The facts which were presented to your guests the other evening hardly scratched the surface of the subject matter which brought them together.

The full implication of the future impact of the Zionist world-wide program upon the welfare and security of the people of this country requires more time to fully appreciate than one realizes.

It will be a great pleasure to call on you before you leave the city and Thursday will probably be the day from the present outlook.

If it is possible to do even partial justice to the subject in 2,500 words upon your return it may be possible to have for you the manuscript you suggest but it does not seem feasible at all.

With respect to Foundation for Freedom matter you will have to be patient. It is not a question of income or tax deductibility. At the present time the activity which is my master eats into capital to such an extent that my wife would have a guardian appointed for me if I undertook any further obligations of this kind at this time.

At the present time about 10 times our cost of living goes into this work each year. It will ease up as this year draws to a close. It cannot help doing that. My earning power has been completely destroyed by the Zionist attacks upon my character. So you can easily understand that the only rational and logical

attitude requires the limitation of financial support to the situation which depends solely upon financial support from myself, to be exact 99 94/100 percent upon me.

Thanks a million for what you did in getting together those wonderful men the other evening. You made a contribution toward the preservation of the decent things in life which we all are seeking to preserve if we act quickly enough and effectively enough.

You will surely be kind enough to understand and make allowances for the fact that it is not possible for me to favor your request in connection with the contribution we discussed. Between the admonitions from my wife to maintain my usual equilibrium in dealing with matters which can prove dangerous to normal existence and the necessity on the other hand to deal with the obligations which I have attracted to myself and which are supported exclusively from my own capital accumulations, nobody would justly criticize any present reluctance on my part to share the financial burden of any other movement with or without a related objective.

You are in a position to accelerate the acceptance by the country at large for the guidance you are offering through the leadership of your organization. In addition to this, you have several other affiliations, judging from what you told me, which serve to amplify your principal and primary effort through the National Economic Council. It is kind of you indeed to offer to make mention of the subject matter of the talk the other evening in one of your bulletins and I am sure it will prove productive of the results which you are seeking through your own organization.

Please believe me to be, as ever,

Cordially and sincerely,

BEN H. FREEDMAN.

JULY 23, 1947.

Mr. BEN H. FREEDMAN,
300 Central Park West, New York.

DEAR MR. FREEDMAN: Thanks for your note of yesterday. You better 'phone me early Thursday, if you can, as I will not be available later in the day.

Of course I understand what you tell me about the impossibility of your making a contribution to our foundation at this time. I know you will when you can.

As for the difficulty of doing even partial justice to your subject in 2,500 or 3,000 words, I have learned, through rather considerable writing, it is astonishing how much can be said in a few words.

Do you remember the remark that old Clemenceau made when he heard that Wilson had 14 points, namely: "The good Lord himself had only ten."

If you will write what you wish in 4,000 or 5,000 words, or even more, we will undertake to boil it down to 3,000 words, and will guarantee it will meet your approval.

It seems to me that to publish this story in one of our council letters, which later no doubt will be put in the Congressional Record, will be a first-class way to get publicity. I am very anxious to have the Council publish this story rather than any other organization.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JULY 24, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. HART: You may rest assured that the encouraging words in your letter of July 23 will result in the production of an outline which will be of use to you and also render good service in a most vital situation.

If the disposition of your time Thursday makes it impossible for us to get together, our next meeting will take place upon your return to the city.

The last paragraph of your letter indicates that you understand how to use material effectively. The result of your sincere interest in the welfare and security of the people of this country is a contribution towards the effort

which must be made to preserve those things which right thinking Americans regard as their most precious possessions.

Please believe me to be, as ever

Cordially and sincerely,

BEN H. FREEDMAN.

JULY 23, 1917.

Memo to Mr. Harding from Mr. Hart.

As I leave, we have a regular bank balance as of today of \$1,007.00.

Our ITO fund (on which we can draw while I am away to the extent of \$500 or \$1,000) is \$2,222.30.

All our bills are fairly well paid except rent, and I have a special arrangement with General Drum whereby they will let our rent run unpaid until late September if that is necessary. I hope it will not be necessary.

We will have to pay the printer about \$1,000, while I am away.

To help get over this period, we will have the usual receipts in small sums that will probably average \$40 or \$50 a day between now and mid-September.

In addition to that, our prospects are as follows:

Sears, Roebuck & Co.: General Wood told me yesterday they would send us a check promptly, but he was not sure it would be as much as the \$1,000 I asked for. Probably it will be \$500.

Phil Liebmann told me yesterday he would send us his annual \$300 this week.

J. Howard Pew: I wrote him at his California address 2 days ago, asking him to contribute toward our attack on the Tarshis book and for our general purposes; and Rose Wilder Lane, for whom he has great respect, agreed to write him the same day. I would say some subscription, perhaps \$1,000 or \$2,000 will be forthcoming.

H. B. Barhart, Ann Arbor: I wrote him similarly the same day, and Mrs. Lane also wrote him.

Russell Maguire has agreed to come on our executive committee. He will make a very substantial contribution in September (quite possibly \$5,000 or \$10,000 from his foundation), and upon my pressing the matter a little he said he might, just after 1st of August, send us a moderate amount. This might be \$1,000 or \$2,000.

Dr. Griffiths saw one of the Bernuths of Bernuth & Co., and they will probably promptly renew their \$200 if they do not give more.

Gulf Oil Co.: Yesterday I talked on the phone with Col. J. F. Drake, and he said it would be 2 or 3 weeks before his executive committee would meet, but he would take it up with them. They have contributed two or three times in the past. We may reasonably expect \$1,000 from them.

S. H. Kress & Co.: I have signed a letter to C. M. Funk, treasurer (who was greatly impressed by our dinner the other night), asking for the usual second \$500.

Acme Steel Corp., Chicago: I saw R. H. Norton, chairman, when I was in Chicago recently, and yesterday talked with him on the phone. I am not so optimistic about a subscription from there, but one of \$500 or \$1,000 may come in.

George A. Krug has given us \$200 a year for many years. Griffiths saw him the other day and believes a renewal will be forthcoming.

I have signed a letter to go day after tomorrow to Mr. Rand, asking him for a substantial contribution.

I wish very much an occasion would present itself when you could ask him for this.

The Foundation has about \$1,000 in the bank.

Mr. O. A. Taylor has seen James H. Pipkin, assistant to the president of The Texas Co., and presented our request for a substantial contribution. I think Ora has a feeling we will probably get something. Pipkin is to put it up to his committee very promptly.

William H. Regnery of Chicago, whom I saw there recently, has agreed to buy 10,000 copies of our publications and pay \$1,000 for them at the present time.

There are other sources from which we may get some money.

JULY 22, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your very welcome letter was indeed encouraging to a man who was commencing to feel that no purpose could be served by trying to tell the truth against such great odds.

The facts which were presented to your guests the other evening hardly scratched the surface of the subject matter which brought them together.

The full implication of the future impact of the Zionist world-wide program upon the welfare and security of the people of this country requires more time to fully appreciate than one realizes.

It will be a great pleasure to call on you before you leave the city, and Thursday will probably be the day from the present outlook.

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Thanks a million for what you did in getting together those wonderful men the other evening. You made a contribution toward the preservation of the decent things in life which we all are seeking to preserve if we act quickly enough and effectively enough.

You will surely be kind enough to understand and make allowances for the fact that it is not possible for me to favor your request in connection with the contribution we discussed. Between the admonitions from my wife to maintain my usual equilibrium in dealing with matters which can prove dangerous to normal existence and the necessity on the other hand to deal with the obligations which I have attracted to myself and which are supported exclusively from my own capital accumulations, nobody would justly criticize any present reluctance on my part to share the financial burden of any other movement with or without a related objective.

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Cordially and sincerely,

BEN H. FREEDMAN.

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MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

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*National Economic Council, Inc.,
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The last paragraph of your letter indicates that you understand how to use material effectively. The result of your sincere interest in the welfare and security of the people of this country is a contribution toward the effort which must be made to preserve those things which right-thinking Americans regard as their most precious possessions.

Please believe me to be, as ever

Cordially and sincerely,

BEN. H. FREEDMAN.

JULY 28, 1947.

DEAR MR. HART: I was so glad to get your cable. Thank you very much. And also your postcard.

We received Mr. Regnery's check for \$1,000 for the foundation this morning. I will mail this to Greaves.

We received \$500 from General Wood as a supplementary contribution—letter signed by E. J. Condon. Also \$40 from Miss Clark for four more subscriptions.

Letter from Mr. Earhart saying he was sorry—he could make no more contributions during the current year.

Congressman Schwabe wrote, enclosing about 15 letters he had received as a result of Federal aid to education insertion. He says he has had a number of letters from all over the country, all of them favorable. He retained a few letters written to him personally and forwarded the others. We will acknowledge his letter and, of course, the above contributions.

We deposited altogether, including the above and some other small amounts received, \$637 to the council account.

Mrs. Redding is back from her vacation.

The review and the council letter are both at the printers. So everything is going along smoothly.

I hate to bother you but Dorothy wants you to please write a letter to Mr. Barbarito, telling him that she will have an income of about \$112 a month, as she says he does not believe her. She says he is very worried about finances, etc., ad nauseam. I am trying to get Mr. Sewell now on the phone to give her the latest dope. Just got Mr. Sewell, nothing new. I confirmed D's \$112 per month in my letter to her, which she can show to B. if she wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL.

Enclosures: Letter from Dr. Forell, marked "Please forward"; letter addressed to Stephen; Times News Summary, July 25 through 28.

CHRISTIAN BEACON,

Haddon and Frazer Avenues, Collingswood, N. J.

Enclosed herewith \$..... for which please send the Christian Beacon for 1 year to:

Name
Address

Name
Address

Name
Address

(Signed)

\$1 per subscription.

FAIR ENOUGH

(By Westbrook Pegler)

The term "un-American" has come to mean treason in the minds of many of our people.

"Un-American" is a wide and versatile term. Some organizations interpret it to mean even legitimate and dignified pride of race and lineage which is arbitrarily construed as racial hatred. Mostly, I think, the true feeling of those who hiss "race hatred" as a political catchword is not noble "democracy" of spirit, but envy and the hatefulness of him who feels somehow inferior. We hear the accusation made against stately and aloof Americans by persons who reveal their own shame of race or envy by adopting English, Irish or Scotch names.

Even the preaching and propagation of racial hatred is not un-American. It is characteristic, a confirmed, notorious fault of ours.

If it were un-American and if it were treason, the editors and owners of several of the most influential Negro newspapers in our country should have been hanged for persistent fomentation of antiwhite sentiment during the war.

Treason consists of levying war against the United States, adhering to our enemies and giving them aid and comfort.

By a stretch, the fomentation of racial hatred might be called treason to the extent that an enemy should profit by disunity among us, but that certainly was not in the minds of the founding fathers.

Political rivalry and religious disagreement also constitute dissension and disunity. Carried to extremes, as in the campaign of 1940 when members of the Roosevelt adherence threw wastebaskets at Wendell Willkie and in 1944 when some of them threatened citizens in New York for wearing Dewey campaign buttons, this disunity could give great comfort to the enemy.

Yet if we should make the existence of a state of war with a foreign enemy a pretext for suppressing freedom of political and religious dissent, then we certainly would be un-American.

Some of the pressures and regulations that are imposed by professional political exploiters of the difference between white men and Negroes are actually grievously insulting to the Negroes themselves, though apparently few Negroes detect the supercilious idea.

For instance, these professionals have harassed editors so persistently that nowadays some metropolitan papers will not say that the stick-up man was a Negro when he was.

It is so silly. If the police were that silly, the cops in prowl cars would go looking for a white fellow. This is just trying to pretend that there is no difference, no outward distinction between white and black or pink and brown.

But when a great Negro comes along, nobody has to guess. Nobody is in any doubt about the color of Marian Anderson or Joe Louis. It is not hateful racism to call them Negroes.

This propaganda seems to me to mean that those politicians think the Negroes have no racial dignity or pride in their race and would like to be white. That certainly is no compliment to the Negroes.

It would be equally intelligent to say that white people want to be regarded as Negroes. They certainly do not and the fact that Negroes suffer from discrimination is not the only reason either.

The greatest reason is race. White people like to be white. It is reasonable to suppose that most Negroes are equally pleased to be Negroes.

I was following the treason trial in Boston of Douglas Chandler, a broken-down newspaperman from Baltimore, who got life for broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Germany during the war. He said he just dared to speak the truth as he saw it, but the Department of Justice wanted his life's blood because his acts showed the black, wicked heart of a traitor.

I didn't hear all the evidence so I have no conviction and just accept the verdict of the jury. But it was no treason to live in Germany, to be friendly with the Nazis, even to Hitler himself, to write pro-Nazi material and to broadcast for the Nazis right down to the hour when war became a legal fact.

All during Roosevelt's illegal war an American had a legal right to tear him apart, to argue the German side of the Russo-German case, and to warn our people that if Germany should go down the horrible bloody tide of bolshevism would drown the Balkans and probably all the rest of Christian Europe.

That was the Nazi line, and in view of the situation that exists today, wouldn't you agree that they were right?

If this Chandler warned us that Roosevelt was letting us in for an eventual war against bolshevism in which we would stand as the last defenders of Christianity and western civilization, he might have been trying to do us a great patriotic service.

The fact that we didn't hear him, and wouldn't have heeded him anyway, makes no difference. And now that Roosevelt has had his headstrong way and we have let Russia run wild in the Balkans and make another puppet state of Poland, more millions will curse his name in years to come than tremble and roll their eyes in pitiable reverence today because he disposed of Hitler.

He could have confined and shut off Stalin, too, while he was disposing of Hitler but he wouldn't. It was Roosevelt who gave Stalin diplomatic recognition and made Russia a great world power.

It was no treason then and it would be no treason now to preach and extol Nazi-Fascism in the United States. I am not discussing the desirability of such propaganda or the merits of Nazi-Fascism. But mere unpopularity does not constitute illegality.

Congress has forbidden all persons to advocate the overthrow of the Government by violence, but the Supreme Court has held that anyone, even a foreigner, may advocate every other phase of communism except that final scene of insurrection. So, of course, the Nazi-Fascist enjoys the same right.

Actually, Roosevelt, his wife, Harry Hopkins, and others of their party did advocate many phases of Nazi-Fascism. She and Hopkins went almost all the way when they proposed that the "Government," meaning her old man, should have the power to enslave all civilians to the state, to be sent wherever any bulldozing Leon Henderson or Harold Ickes should order us individually, and for whatever spiteful motive.

Hitlerism was not much worse until the war came. And of course, our condition would have got much worse and never better once we had accepted his terribly un-American proposal.

GEO. E. DEATHERAGE,

2903 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore Md., December 8, 1947.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

(Attention: Mrs. C. G. Dall.)

DEAR MRS. DALL: I wish to thank you for the sample copy of the report and particularly that on the "sedition" trial. I ought to be interested in it and continue to be, as I was one of the original "30."

Having gone broke in a 10 years' fight and only now sticking my ears out again, I can't pay the \$10 subscription. However I will make a bargain that will help us all.

If the council will send me the publication, and about 400 envelope "fillers" for soliciting subscriptions, I will see that they go out where you will get more business, being in touch with the gang that can see that they are used. That is I will mail them at my expense to leaders in this fight, all of whom I know.

With every best wish, I am,

GEO. E. DEATHERAGE.

WORLD EMPIRE

(By Geo. W. Armstrong)

Hon. John E. Rankin says of it:

DEAR MR. ARMSTRONG: I wish every red-blooded American could read your book, *World Empire*, and realize the terrific drive that is now being made by certain communistic elements against the white gentiles of this country.

I am still carrying on the fight as best I can but the load is very heavy. But, I am determined to do everything I can to see that the white man's civilization does not perish from American soil.

Sincerely, your friend,

(Signed) J. E. RANKIN.

That is my ambition.

	Each
World Empire, single copy.....	\$1.00
10 to 25 copies.....	.75
50 copies or more.....	.50
Other publications available:	
The March of Bolshevism.....	.75
The Corruption of America.....	.50
The Reign of the Elders.....	.50
The Rothschild Money Trust.....	1.50
The Crime of '20.....	1.00
Calamity of '30.....	.50
Truth.....	.50
A State Currency System, to Hell With Wall Street.....	.50
The Iniquitous Dawes Scheme.....	.25

Address: Geo. W. Armstrong, Fort Worth 9, Tex.

[Baltimore News-Post, August 18, 1947]

NAZI JUSTICE FAILS IN UNITED STATES

(By George E. Sokolsky)

On July 31 the mass sedition cases which started in 1941 ended. It ended because the Government had no case.

No matter how hard the Department of Justice tried to do something about it, it never succeeded in establishing facts, provable in an American court by American rules of evidence, that a number of individuals, jointly or individually, had committed acts of sedition.

O. John Rogge, who built something of a career on this case, never was able to establish the guilt of the defendants.

In fact, he was dismissed by Attorney General Tom Clark and the case was turned over to Irving Shapiro, who treated it apparently like a dead cat that nobody wanted to touch.

DISMISSED CASE

Finally, in November 1946, counsel for the Government and defendants met with Justice Bolitha J. Laws, who dismissed the indictments, saying:

"* * * Where it appears, as here, there is serious doubt as to the success of the case, and that the defendants, because of long delays granted over their objections, cannot obtain a fair trial, the court should exercise its discretion to deny prosecution. It would be both unjust and un-American to do otherwise."

The Attorney General might have taken the case to the Supreme Court, but he did not because, obviously, there was no case. So now it is all over and those

who were once under the cloud of sedition are cleared by the courts of the United States, which alone can declare a man guilty of a crime.

The sedition trial was planned to be a mass trial in imitation of the German and Russian mass trials. Thrown together were incongruous personalities. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said:

"Sovereignty is a form of power, and the will of the sovereign is law because he has power to compel obedience or punish disobedience and for no other reason. The limits within which his will is law, then, are those within which he has, or is believed to have, power to compel or punish."

A MORAL LAW

According to this doctrine, the law possesses no moral character. If those who possess power wish to use the law as an instrument for the suppression of opposition, it is sound for them so to use the law, provided that they can get away with it.

Under this instrumentalist theory the law becomes a bandit. Holmes made his amoral position clear in this sentence:

"Just as far as the aid of the public force is given a man he has a legal right, and this right is the same whether his claim is founded in righteousness or iniquity."

The theory then behind the sedition trials was that if this conglomeration of unrelated persons, many of whom did not even know each other, could be convicted, a precedent would be established that the law could be used in this country as an instrument of political force and coercion.

On that basis any member of any opposition party could be indicted and convicted. It would be easier and less expensive than holding an election.

This is Nazi justice; this is concentration-camp justice. It has no place in American life whether the defendants are popular or distasteful.

2003 KIRK AVENUE, BALTIMORE, Md.,
November 21, 1947.

GENTLEMEN: Would appreciate a sample copy of your publications and advice as to subscription rates.

Yours very truly,

GEO. E. DEATHERAGE.

NOVEMBER 24, 1947.

Mr. GEORGE E. DEATHERAGE,
2003 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

DEAR Mr. DEATHERAGE: Complying with your request, we are enclosing sample copies of our publications, also a green slip stating the subscription rates.

As you seem to be interested in the mass sedition trials, we are enclosing some literature of our own on the subject, which we think might interest you.

The Council Letter is published semi-monthly; the Review of Books on the list of each month. The Action Report is also published monthly.

Won't you become a subscriber and receive this material regularly?

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

[Daily News, Thursday, August 14, 1947]

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 13.—With peculiar, but understandable, reticence, the Truman administration has disclaimed all responsibility for one of the nastiest of all the idiot children left on its doorstep by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

This particular brain child of F. D. R. and his White House intimates was the Department of Justice prosecution of some twenty-odd defendants in the notorious mass sedition trial which developed into an obscene travesty of justice.

The defendants haled into court back in 1942 had one thing in common. They didn't like Roosevelt's foreign policy. Most of them distrusted Pal Joey in Moscow. By and large, the group was made up of small people of no important note, noisy all of them, crackpots a few.

Last July 31 the Department of Justice formally decided that they could produce no evidence of lawbreaking worthy of a jury's consideration and dropped the case. But very quietly.

Five years and ten days ago when the defendants were hauled here charged with conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed services, the Department of Justice press agents, under former Attorney General Francis Biddle, broke their fingernails hammering out reams of copy, whooping up the prosecution of the defendants. The mimeograph machines whirled. Government press releases showered on every Washington correspondent.

The Justice Department's publicity machinery, during the 8 months' shocking performance in the trial court of the late Judge Edward E. Blechler, poured out thousands of words for the pink press. The shrill screams of the self-appointed world-savers over radio and in leftist periodicals howled to the Nation for the blood of the victims.

TALKS WITH TRUMAN, ORDERS CASE DROPPED

Then came the day last July 31, when Department of Justice Special Prosecutor Irving Shapiro, acting under the orders of Attorney General Tom Clark, who had discussed the case with President Truman, ordered the prosecution dropped.

The twenty-odd surviving defendants now go free, cleared by the Department of Justice of ever being guilty of any crime. But note this: On this occasion the Department of Justice press department never issued a statement or a press release on the momentous decision.

The first break of the final chapter of the all-important story came when one of the defendants called up Walter Trohan, of the Washington bureau of the Chicago Tribune, and gave him the tip.

Explains Justice Department's press chief, Leo Cadison, when asked about the surprising silence of his department:

"We never issue press releases on those developments. We haven't got the budget to provide for it. But if you'd called up, we'd have told you."

The gimmick in this is that the mass sedition trial had been the most publicized activity in the Department of Justice for 5 years, and that trivia such as the personal histories of new appointees or a department judicial victory in an unimportant legal battle, regularly is excuse for oiling up the mimeograph machines and coming through with several hundred words.

Some of the defendants are telling us that they now intend to roll up their sleeves and go into the courts to seek damages for the verbal assaults made on them over the radio, on lecture platforms, and in some of the literature distributed by operators of sucker traps who have made a lush living collecting dough from the weak-brained to "battle for democracy"—on a percentage basis.

But that isn't the most important fact in the decision by the Department of Justice.

What is important is the political origin of the trial and what the prosecution really meant. It was, in fact, the closest call this Republic has had in its history to becoming a police state, with a dictator in the White House using his Department of Justice as a club to silence all criticism of his acts and motives under the plea of "national emergency," or "war powers."

The mass sedition trial, ordered by the late President Roosevelt, was a part of the "smear terror"—so well analyzed by author John T. Flynn—and had a single objective: To drive to cover all criticism of his intent to involve the Republic in Europe's wars and Europe's dying civilization.

THE NUB OF THE STRATEGY OF TERROR

Roosevelt ordered Biddle to proceed with criminal prosecution of the little-known but noisy group who made up for the most part the defendants of the "mass sedition trial." The heart of this White House strategy of terror was this:

We don't dare to indict and put on trial the big fellows who oppose us. We can't touch such persons as Senators Bert Wheeler or Eli Johnson, or Colonel Lindbergh, or such publishers as Patterson or McCormick, or Hearst, but if we indict some small fry, some of whom haven't got good reputations, then we can perhaps scare the big fellows into silence.

And even if we don't scare them into silence we can whittle down their influence. If they continue to attack us, we can go on the air in a fireside chat and keep pounding home to the Nation that these big shots are saying just the same things that caused the little ones to either face jail or go to jail.

That was the White House strategy, 5 years and 10 days ago. Now the victims are finally cleared.

Incidentally, this sinister burlesque on American justice, fair play, and the Federal courts, has cost the United States Treasury between \$1,000,000 and \$1,500,000. What it cost the Nation in wounds to decency, patriotism, and respect for a politically dominated Department of Justice (as it was under F. D. R.) is something for the next generation to figure out.

[Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, 8 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.]

DO NOT BE DECEIVED, THE BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL WAGES WITH EVER-INCREASING FURY

"The subversive, Marxist Moscow plotters against America are oath bound to seize your Government, destroy your Constitution, confiscate your property, close your churches, break up your family relationship, and exterminate you utterly if you resist their power and their godless program of regimentation, exactly as they have done and are still doing in Russia and in Europe. The strategy now is to silence America's outspoken leadership with the guns of character assassination. The battle is not that of any one man alone. It is the sacred responsibility of every true American who demands his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, under his own Constitution and his own flag and in his own home and his own church and at his own chosen job.

"Do your bit in this crucial struggle for survival by enlisting your friends in this great crusade to save America. Continue to take the Patriotic Research Bulletin and induce your friends also to take it as a weapon of truth."—Jeremiah Stokes, the Salt Lake City attorney who won a \$10,000 libel judgment against smearbunder Derounian, alias Carlson, who keyed the material for "Under Cover."

Bulletin, \$3 per year; 25 cents per copy, 5 for \$1. This 5-page section, 10 cents single copy, 20 for \$1.

DECEMBER 16, 1947.

MR. GEORGE E. DEATHERAGE,
2003 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

DEAR MR. DEATHERAGE: Thank you for your letter and enclosures which are extremely interesting. In this office we are ardent readers of Pegler and Sokolsky.

We are sending you, under separate cover, 400 copies of Council Letter No. 177, Palestine, and also 400 subscription blanks. This particular letter has had four printings, and tens of thousands have been shipped all over the country. If this particular subject does not seem to fit in with your plans in sending out our publications, please advise.

We are enclosing one or two other council letters and our latest letter just off the press, No. 181 which carries an answer to letter No. 177.

We are placing your name on our complimentary mailing list.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1947.

SIR WILLIAM Y. DARLING, M. P.,
The Constitutional Club,
Northumberland Avenue, London, W. C., England.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM: It was a very great pleasure to have the chance the other day to spend an hour with you in our office. We appreciated the honor you did in taking the trouble to come down. It seemed to me that on just about every subject that came up I was in accord with your views, and I feel that our views of life are very close together.

From every side I hear praises of the addresses you have made in a number of places while you were here.

I was greatly pleased when, upon my asking you if you would come back next spring and make a number of addresses in representative moderate-size cities, you said you would be glad to do so. I have talked the matter over with several of our directors, all of whom heard you speak when you were in this country, and all of them are strongly of the opinion that your message to the American people, given in different sections of the country to groups of thoughtful men—and perhaps men and women, would have a profound effect on the thinking of the people. As I told you, this effect might be of very controlling importance.

I wish, therefore, that you would consider this letter the confirmation of my invitation to you to come over during the spring recess of Parliament, and I hope you will feel you can confirm your willingness and ability to accept. I would be glad if you will give me the approximate date when you would arrive in the United States and how long you could stay. We would then go right to work in laying our plans.

In carrying these plans out we would associate with the National Economic Council a number of other organizations of generally similar purposes, and would also, of course, associate with us some of the key citizens of each of the communities in which it is expected that you will speak.

We have put you down, as we said we would do, to receive copies of our publications as they appear from time to time. Any information or suggestions that you may find opportunity to send us will be greatly appreciated.

Please accept my assurances of high esteem.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

SEPTEMBER 22, 1947.

Mr. C. T. REVERE,
Laird, Bissell & Meeds,
120 Broadway, New York 5.

DEAR PAUL: After you phoned today I sent and got your letter of September 19 which had not yet reached my desk.

Of course I like it. It states some undoubted truths about Europe.

I think there are some very grave questions involved in the over-all question of how much help we ought to give Europe. It is hard to justify any wholesale aid by us on the ground that we are fighting communism. If we really wanted to fight communism we would look around Europe and would form an idea of what countries were the most important to us in the fight against communism.

We would undoubtedly decide that Spain, being the only country in the world that has fought and beaten communism (for which the Communists hate her), is without question the most powerful anti-Communist country in Europe. And we would proceed to do those things—which would not be many in number and not much in amount—that would grapple Spain to our soul with hoops of steel.

But what are we doing about Spain? We are ignoring her, and humiliating her in every way we can. Even though President Roosevelt, back in the fall of 1942, sent Franco a letter in which he figuratively put his arm around him and told him what good friends they were, yet when Norman Armour was Ambassador to Spain the State Department sent him copy of a letter in which Roosevelt had said some nasty things about Spain and about Franco, and directed him to give it to the Spanish press. The Spanish press refused to publish it. Then Armour was instructed (very much against his will, I am told) to mail the letter to the Embassy list of some 50,000 or 60,000 names in Spain. Shortly after this Armour resigned, I am told in disgust, and even severed his connection with the diplomatic service.

If our administration were really opposed to communism, it would, I say, begin by answering Spain's request for help in the shape of credits, and in other ways. Spain is probably the best single credit risk in all Europe. The President of the Texas Co. told me during the late days of the Spanish Revolution that he was in Europe when it broke out and got a message from Franco asking him to come down for a conference. He did, and on his own responsibility (not being able to consult with his directors) extended a credit of \$5,000,000 to Franco for oil. Spain never used all of this, and presently paid off the whole of it. Spain has also repaid all of her exterior war debts as well as the exterior debt of the Republic that she defeated in war.

Yet our State Department, solely, I believe, because of the importunings of the Daily Worker, PM, and other left-wing publications, continues to treat Spain as an outlaw nation.

Similarly, if we had been opposed to communism in this country, we would never have ratified the Italian treaty, for the ratification of that treaty (and I am reliably told that both the President and Secretary of State had cooled on it when the Senate actually ratified it) practically assures the turning over presently of the Italian Peninsula to the Communists.

So my opinion is that one of the greatest reasons against doing anything in Europe is that we have no general policy that is in the slightest sense of the word adequate.

I am glad you telephoned me about your letter, and I read it with great interest.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

LAIRD, BISSELL & MEEDS,
120 Broadway, New York City 6, September 24, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

MY DEAR MERWIN: I feel much indebted to you for your letter of September 22.

What I am most interested in right now is the position of Spain which I think has been meanly treated. Of course, there are many who will put it down to the attitude of PM, the Daily Worker, and other journalistic disturbers, but you and I know, whether we care to say it or not, that the real influence behind this is Hebraic Marxism which has rather sadly infected our policies, domestic and particularly foreign. I think you will get a pretty fair idea of the Marxian virus in American thought if you have a chance to read that article in the spring number of American Affairs by Towner Phelan. I think you must have seen that issue because you quoted Garrett in that wonderful letter of yours.

As to Spain, she has been of help to us and could be of still more service. One-third of the amount given to Greece would provide great assistance to Spain and would do a lot more good. We think of aid to Greece as if we were giving it to Pericles and Aristotle instead of a lot of Balkan Mongols. Spain is still the land of Cervantes.

You may not know it, but I am an honorary member of the Royal Golf Club of Madrid in recognition of golf clubs, golf balls, etc., which I sent them a number of years ago.

I feel strongly on the subject, so much so, in fact, that I am going to come out in favor of aid to Spain if we have anything more to pass around to devastated Europe.

Yours as ever,

C. T. REVERE.

FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM, INC.
1638 Connecticut Avenue NW.

WASHINGTON 9, D. C., October 3, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
7501 Empire State Building,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of the 1st arrived this morning and the copies of the statement this afternoon. I am spending most of my time now trying to get a girl, and have drafted a rough outline of the things that I expect to weave into a speech draft for Representative (Swinn). As soon as I can get stenographic help, I will get that out of the way and give my time to the press study.

Your letter, concerning the accounts, is satisfactory to me, as a transfer should await until I have a satisfactory assistant here as we do not want to burden our treasurer with detail. However, in settling affairs for August, we used up the petty cash sum, and I would appreciate it if the amount of \$300 was again established, as I am having numerous petty expenses.

I am looking forward to your visit, and would appreciate word as to when you expect to be here. I do not know what the hotel situation is in New York, but possibly you had better arrange to get me a room for October 20, as I presume it will be advisable for me to stay over a night.

With kind regards,
Sincerely,

PERCY.

OCTOBER 9, 1947.

Mrs. PHILIP JESSUP,
119 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y.

DEAR LOIS: I was delighted to run across you and Phil at the Arab party last evening at the Waldorf. Nothing is more fun than running into friends one has not seen for some time.

I told you I would send you some of our publications, and here are a few samples. Perhaps you will like them—and perhaps you won't.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

OCTOBER 17, 1947.

Mr. ALFRED KOHLBERG,
1 West 37 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KOHLBERG: I was sorry when you spoke to me at the club the other day after luncheon that I had not had a chance to read your letter of October 9. You make some very interesting suggestions and I would like to talk them over with you at an early time. I think your thoughts are particularly good.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF ALABAMA,
COMER BUILDING,
Birmingham 3, Ala., October 16, 1947.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have just read with much interest your Council Letter No. 177, dated October 15, 1947. I think this letter should have a broad distribution.

Our association has built up a mailing list of around 2,500 people, located in every section of the State, and representing all types of business, as well as a cross-section of the people in Alabama. From time to time we mail literature to this list. I would like to see this council letter go to this list, but doubt very seriously that our board would approve its going out under the association's name.

Would it be possible for you to mail this from your office, in your envelopes, and what would the cost be for around 2,500 mailings? You would have to send us your envelopes and we would address them and ship them back to you for mailing from your office. We use permit mail rate on this list.

If you will give me this information at your earliest convenience, I will appreciate it.

Very truly yours,

D. TROTTER JONES,
Executive Vice President.

OCTOBER 18, 1947.

Mr. D. TROTTER JONES,
Executive Vice President, Associated Industries of Alabama,
Comer Building, Birmingham, Ala.

DEAR MR. JONES: Your letter of October 16 is received today. I happen to be the only one in the office and am hastening to write you as follows:

We would be glad to mail about 2,500 copies of this letter as you suggest. We would ship you our envelopes, you would address them, and return them to us for mailing from here.

DECEMBER 15, 1947.

DEAR MR. —: You gained insight into some—by no means all—phases of the public service of Merwin Hart at the November 18 dinner in his honor. Since then some of us asked some questions, and the answers led us to volunteer this letter to those who were present, as well as to those who, though invited, were unable to attend.

In the last few years, under his direction, the National Economic Council has gone to the very front rank among those few courageous, capable and effective Nation-wide organizations that are fighting to maintain the American system.

I am writing to you personally and on behalf of several who attended that dinner who are convinced that this work should not only be better supported, but expanded—as it can be only if more adequately financed.

Those of us close to the council feel that it should be given time and expenses for more appearances before congressional hearings, additional competent personnel, time for Mr. Hart to make more public addresses such as the one you heard, time for more writing; more time, indeed, to think.

We are writing you at this time, therefore, to bring these needs and this opportunity for public service to your attention. If you personally have not used up your 15 percent deduction for charitable, religious and educational corporations, you may be willing to allot a part to the National Economic Council. This can be done through purchase of any number of \$10 annual subscriptions to the council's publications to be sent by the council in your name (or without disclosing your name, if you prefer) to colleges, public libraries, to selected lists of clergymen, educators and others who need the answers to left wing propaganda, for lack of which many remain mute.

And possibly your firm will join the very considerable list of corporations, if it is not already among those who contribute regularly and substantially to the work of the council. Check should be made payable to the National Economic Council, Inc., and sent to the council at 7501 Empire State Building, New York 1.

For your information, we attach supplementary facts and excerpts from letters received by the council in the past 6 months.

Very sincerely,

DINNER IN HONOR OF MERWIN K. HART, UNION LEAGUE CLUB, NOVEMBER 18, 1947

Allen, Harold L., lawyer, former deputy commissioner of police, New York, 30, Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

Anderson, Ira L., lawyer, Anderson & Wemett, 60 Beaver Street, New York 4.

Bergen, Commander John J., chairman of the board of directors, Gar Wood Industries, Inc., 40 Wall Street, New York 5.

Budinger, John M., president, Commercial National Bank & Trust Co., 46 Wall Street, New York 5.

Burch, Lowell R., president, New York Air Brake Co.; chairman, Glens Falls Portland Cement Co., 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.

Chapman, Edgar H. A., lawyer, DeWitt, Van Alen, Nast & Chapman, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.

Christenberry, Robert K., president, Hotel Astor, Inc.; president, Broadway Association, Hotel Astor, Broadway and Forty-fourth Streets, New York 10.

del Valle, M. D., Carlos M., 20 East Fifty-third Street, New York 22.

del Valle, Gen. P. A., commandant, United States Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.

Dowling, Eddie, actor, producer, and director, St. James Theater, 240 West Forty-fourth Street, New York 18.

Fox, Frank, president, Realty Associates Association, Inc., 102 Remsen Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Freedman, Benjamin H., retired industrialist, 300 Central Park West, New York 24.

Freeman, Admiral Charles S., vice president, Intelligence Publishing Co.; president, Foreign Trade Corp., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.

Funk, C. M., treasurer, S. H. Kress & Co., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York 11.

Garay, Eugene L., lawyer, Garay & Garay, 63 Wall Street, New York 5.

Gilbert, Benjamin D., 8 East Seventy-ninth Street, New York 21.

Goodwin, Fred H., Brown, Wheelock, Harris, Stevens, Inc. (real estate), 67 Wall Street, New York 5.

Gray, Col. Edward D., president, Electronic Tube Corp., 1200 East Mormald Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia 18, Pa.

- Griffin, William, editor and publisher, New York Enquirer, 47 Walker Street, New York 13.
- Griffiths, Dr. H. McAllister, staff, National Economic Council, Inc., 7501 Empire State Building, New York 1.
- Griffiths, Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H., chancellor, Military Ordinariate, United States of America, 402 Madison Avenue, New York 22.
- Harding, Earl, public relations, 31 West Twelfth Street, New York 11.
- Harriss, Robert M., Harriss & Vose (cotton brokers), 60 Beaver Street, New York 4.
- Hart, Harry G., Brailsin, Porter & Baldwin, Inc. (real estate), 545 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.
- Hummel, R. A., president, Lone Star Cement Corp., 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17.
- Hutton, Edward F., special partner, E. F. Hutton & Co. (member New York Stock Exchange), 61 Broadway, New York 6.
- Keeler, Alton S., vice president, United States Trust Co. of New York, 45 Wall Street, New York 5.
- Kelly, Orle R., president, Lawyers Trust Co., 111 Broadway, New York 6.
- Kracke, Edward A., Certified public accountant, 67 Broad Street, New York 4.
- Krug, George A., President, George A. Krug & Co., 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22.
- Larkin, John Adrian, Second vice chairman of the board, Celanese Corp. of America, 180 Madison Avenue, New York 16.
- Larsen, Nicolas F., Davies, Auerbach, Cornell & Hardy (lawyers), 1 Wall Street, New York 5.
- Link, George, Jr., McKercher & Link (attorneys and counsellors at law), 17 John Street, New York 7.
- Maguire, Russell, president, Maguire Industries, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 18.
- Makaroff, Vadim S., industrialist, president of Makaroff & Co., 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.
- Mann, Walter H., president, Wilbur-Suchard Chocolate Co., Inc., 41 East Forty Second Street, New York 17.
- McKenna, Norbert, partner of Reynolds & Co. (member New York Stock Exchange, etc) 120 Broadway, New York 5.
- McDonald, Miles F., district attorney of the county of Kings, Municipal Building, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
- Moukad, George, manufacturer, George Moukad Co., Inc., 44 East Thirty-second Street, New York 16.
- Munn, Glenn G., Patne, Webber, Jackson & Curtis (members principal stock and commodity exchanges), 25, Broad Street, New York 4.
- Paul, Floyd W., president, McCrory Stores Corp., 1107 Broadway, New York 10.
- Pearson, John A., retired, 5 Circle Road, Scarsdale, New York.
- Pennypacker, Isaac A., lawyer, Pepper, Bodine & Stokes, 2225-42 Land Title Building, Philadelphia 10, Pa.
- Revere, C. T., Laird, Bissell & Meeds (members New York Stock Exchange, etc.), 120 Broadway, New York 5.
- Richardson, Frank W., retired, 1 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York 19.
- Richardson, H. Smith, chairman of the executive committee and director, Vick Chemical Co., 122 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17.
- Richardson, H. Smith, Jr., care of Vick Chemical Co., 122 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17.
- Robertson, Clark, Robertson & Johnson of Milwaukee, general counsel J. I. Rice & Co., etc., care of James Selvage.
- Schoeffer, Fred Otto, president, Davis Engineering Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.
- Selvage, James P., Selvage & Lee (public relations), 16 East Forty-Eighth Street, New York 17.
- Shelarc, Alphonse A., president, Butte Copper & Zinc Co., 25 Broad Street, New York 4.
- Stallforth, Federico, 4 Park Avenue, New York 10 (mining).
- Taylor, Ora A., Bell, Jones & Taylor (public relations) 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.
- Tompkins, E. F., editor, New York Journal American, 210 South Street, New York 2.
- Twombly, McKay, Reynolds & Co., 120 Broadway, New York 5.

DECEMBER 15, 1947.

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Christenberry, Robert K., president, Hotel Astor, Inc.; president, Broadway Association, Hotel Astor, Broadway and Forty-fourth Streets, New York 19.

del Valle, M. D., Carlos M., 20 East Fifty-third Street, New York 22.

del Valle, Gen. P. A., commandant, United States Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.

Dowling, Eddie, actor, producer, and director, St. James Theater, 246 West Forty-fourth Street, New York 18.

Fox, Frank, president, Realty Associates Association, Inc., 162 Remsen Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Freedman, Benjamin H., retired industrialist, 300 Central Park West, New York 24.

Freeman, Admiral Charles S., vice president, Intelligence Publishing Co.; president, Foreign Trade Corp., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.

Funk, C. M., treasurer, S. H. Kress & Co., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York 11.

Garey, Eugene L., lawyer, Garey & Garey, 63 Wall Street, New York 5.

Gilbert, Benjamin D., 8 East Seventy-ninth Street, New York 21.

Goodwin, Fred H., Brown, Wheelock, Harris, Stevens, Inc. (real estate), 67 Wall Street, New York 5.

Gray, Col. Edward D., president, Electronic Tube Corp., 1200 East Mermald Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia 18, Pa.

- Griffin, William, editor and publisher, New York Enquirer, 47 Walker Street, New York 13.
- Griffiths, Dr. H. McAllister, staff, National Economic Council, Inc., 7501 Empire State Building, New York 1.
- Griffiths, Rt. Rev. Msgr. James H., chancellor, Military Ordinariate, United States of America, 462 Madison Avenue, New York 22.
- Harding, Earl, public relations, 31 West Twelfth Street, New York 11.
- Harriss, Robert M., Harriss & Vose (cotton brokers), 60 Beaver Street, New York 4.
- Hart, Harry G., Bralslin, Porter & Baldwin, Inc. (real estate), 545 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.
- Hummel, R. A., president, Lone Star Cement Corp., 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17.
- Hutton, Edward F., special partner, E. F. Hutton & Co. (member New York Stock Exchange), 61 Broadway, New York 6.
- Keeler, Alton S., vice president, United States Trust Co. of New York, 45 Wall Street, New York 5.
- Kelly, Orle R., president, Lawyers Trust Co., 111 Broadway, New York 6.
- Kracke, Edward A., Certified public accountant, 67 Broad Street, New York 4.
- Krug, George A., President, George A. Krug & Co., 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22.
- Larkin, John Adrian, Second vice chairman of the board, Celanese Corp. of America, 180 Madison Avenue, New York 16.
- Lessen, Nicolas F., Davies, Auerbach, Cornell & Hardy (lawyers), 1 Wall Street, New York 5.
- Link, George, Jr., McKercher & Link (attorneys and counsellors at law), 17 John Street, New York 7.
- Maguire, Russell, president, Maguire Industries, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 18.
- Makaroff, Vadim S., industrialist, president of Makaroff & Co., 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.
- Mann, Walter H., president, Wilbur-Suchard Chocolate Co., Inc., 41 East Forty Second Street, New York 17.
- McKenna, Norbert, partner of Reynolds & Co. (member New York Stock Exchange, etc) 120 Broadway, New York 5.
- McDonald, Miles F., district attorney of the county of Kings, Municipal Building, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
- Mouakad, George, manufacturer, George Mouakad Co., Inc., 44 East Thirty-second Street, New York 16.
- Munn, Glenn G., Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis (members principal stock and commodity exchanges), 25, Broad Street, New York 4.
- Paul, Floyd W., president, McCrory Stores Corp., 1107 Broadway, New York 10.
- Pearson, John A., retired, 5 Circle Road, Scarsdale, New York.
- Pennypacker, Isaac A., lawyer, Pepper, Bodine & Stokes, 2225-42 Land Title Building, Philadelphia 10, Pa.
- Revere, C. T., Laird, Bissell & Meeds (members New York Stock Exchange, etc.), 120 Broadway, New York 5.
- Richardson, Frank W., retired, 1 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York 19.
- Richardson, H. Smith, chairman of the executive committee and director, Vick Chemical Co., 122 East Forty-Second Street., New York 17.
- Richardson, H. Smith, Jr., care of Vick Chemical Co., 122 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17.
- Robertson, Clark, Robertson & Johnson of Milwaukee, general counsel J. I. Itace & Co., etc., care of James Selva.
- Schoeffer, Fred Otto, president, Davis Engineering Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.
- Selva, James P., Selva & Lee (public relations), 16 East Forty-Eighth Street, New York 17.
- Shelare, Alphonse A., president, Butte Copper & Zinc Co., 25 Broad Street, New York 4.
- Stallforth, Federico, 4 Park Avenue, New York 16 (mining).
- Taylor, Ora A., Bell, Jones & Taylor (public relations) 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.
- Tompkins, E. F., editor, New York Journal American, 210 South Street, New York 2.
- Twombly, McKay, Reynolds & Co., 120 Broadway, New York 5.

Wason, Robert R., president, Manning, Maxwell & Moore, Inc. (former NAM president), 405 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.
 Washburn, M. D., Arthur L., 1112 Park Avenue, New York 28.
 Weidon, Samuel A., chairman of the board, the First National Bank of the City of New York, 2 Wall Street, New York 5.
 Westerman, Samuel L., president, County Distillers Products of Kentucky, partner of Foster & Co.
 Williams, Frederic A., president and treasurer, Cannon Mills, Inc., 70 Worth Street, New York 13.
 Wilson, Charles T., president, Charles T. Wilson Co., Inc., 120 Wall Street, New York 5.
 Woodward, Richard H., Jr., registered investment adviser, 115 Broadway, New York 6.

ALFRED KOHLBERG, INC.,
1 West Thirty-seventh Street, just off Fifth Avenue,
New York 18, N. Y., October 30, 1947.

MY DEAR MR. HART: I thought this might interest you and you might have missed it.

A. K.

OCTOBER 31, 1947.

Mr. ALFRED KOHLBERG,
1 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KOHLBERG: Thank you for that clipping from the Daily Worker. I am glad to have it. I had not seen it.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NOVEMBER 10, 1947.

Mr. CHARLES W. HAWKINS,
President, First National Bank of Spring Valley,
Spring Valley, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: Our mutual friend, Miss Sara Birchall, has suggested I write you regarding the work of the National Economic Council. She has intimated you would like some comment on the statements sometimes made by certain interests to the effect that the Economic Council is anti-Semitic.

I am enclosing herewith our last six council letters, and the last six council reviews of books, together with the first copy of our action report which appeared last month and will appear monthly hereafter.

I am enclosing, too, copy reproduced from the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of a statement which I made last year before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency in opposition to the Bretton Woods proposals.

I could send you many more publications, but these will suffice to indicate the nature of our work.

The enclosed leaflet sets forth our principles, lists the officers, directors, etc.

Now, in regard to the anti-Semitic comment, I would say this: The term "Semite" includes not only the Jews, of which there are relatively few, but also the Arabs of which there are relatively a great many. What the people who use the slogan "anti-Semitic" mean is that the person or group to whom they apply it is anti-Jew.

As a matter of fact, we have a good many Jewish members, and always have had. We have never been without one or more Jews on our board of directors. We never have any complaint from them because they are not the kind of Jew that applies the anti-Semitic slogan.

On the other hand, there are certain Jews, many of whom are outright Communists, or who cooperate with communism, or who are duped by the Communists, who do fall for this slogan. This kind are generally sympathetic with communism, and members of this group habitually apply certain slogans to all persons who show the slightest evidence of being opposed to communism. These slogans are "Fascist," "anti-Semitic," "pro-Nazi," etc., etc. Whenever you hear a person using any of these slogans you can be sure that that person to a greater or less degree is sympathetic with communism.

The source of all this is the Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, and the weekly newspaper, the New Masses. Close behind these are the left-wing and extremely liberal publications such as the Nation, New Republic, and others that will come to your mind.

We who have been at work in this field for many years are quite used to the drivel of name calling that comes from this source. People not familiar with it frequently fall for it—are impressed with it—sometimes, indeed, are intimidated by it. We are a long way past this stage, as you may imagine.

If you have any questions you would care to ask about the National Economic Council and its policies, I shall try to answer them.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Enclosures.

P. S.—The extent to which some of the left-wingers, especially certain of the Jews, will go in attacking all those opposed to communism, is well illustrated by a man named William Gallmor, who in July 1944 attacked me at a meeting held in the Catskills. The attack was so false and phony that one or more Jews protested on the spot (whereupon they were hailed by cries of "Fascist" and "anti-Semite"), and one of these Jews, though I did not then know him, later communicated the story to me.

John T. Flynn, one of the most distinguished American writers, author of many books, and a member of the staff of the Reader's Digest, wrote the thing up in the enclosed leaflet called Smeat, which was widely circulated throughout the United States.

It is my considered opinion that there is less anti-Semitism in the United States than in any country on the continent of Europe (and I have been in most of them—some of them very lately); though the natural effect of all of this anti-Gentile attacks by certain Jews is, of course, to increase anti-Semitism in the United States.

One of my closest friends since he came back from China 16 years ago is George Sokolsky. We have conferred together on many subjects formally and informally. He has defended me in his column on one or more occasions, and also on the platform. He knows what this anti-Semitism slogan amounts to.

NOVEMBER 18, 1947.

Mr. McKAY TWOMBLY,
Care of Reynolds & Co.,
120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

DEAR TWOMBLY: The House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures has published a 248-page report entitled "Money Makes the Mare Go," in which there are long quotations from Economic Council publications.

I am asking Congressman Gwinn if he will kindly send a copy of this report to you.

Will you please note that you will find the quotations on pages 117-122, 156-162, and 168-173.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NOVEMBER 18, 1947.

Mr. RUSSELL MAGUIRE,
500 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR RUSSELL: The House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures has published a 248-page report entitled "Money Makes the Mare Go," in which there are long quotations from Economic Council publications.

I am asking Congressman Gwinn if he will kindly send a copy of this report to you.

Will you please note that you will find the quotations on pages 117-122, 156-162, and 168-173.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

E. F. HUTTON & Co.,
61 Broadway,
New York, N. Y., November 7, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: The enclosed letter is one of a great many I have received. This was sent to me because of the enclosed statement to Mr. Vishinsky. There may be something in this article that you would care to refer to on the night of your speech.

As always,
Sincerely yours,

E. F. HUTTON.

NOVEMBER 12, 1947.

Mr. E. F. HUTTON,
61 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

DEAR ED: Thanks tremendously for sending me that letter from Athenson. I will bear it in mind in preparation for my little talk next Tuesday night.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

NOVEMBER 14, 1947.

Mr. E. F. HUTTON,
61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

DEAR ED: I suppose you saw Luigi Criscuolo's effusion on you, copy enclosed. You might return this after you have looked at it, unless your particularly want to keep it.

Kindest regards.
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

NOVEMBER 17.

DEAR MERWIN: I am returning herewith your copy of *The Rubicon*. I will tell you all about this guy tomorrow night.

Sincerely,

E. F. H.

Can the American people have faith in the asserted motive behind the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan?—Wake up, America!

A. A. ATHENSON,
355 West Fifty-third Street,
New York, N. Y., October 5, 1947.

His Excellency GEORGE MARSHALL,
United States Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: From the time the F. D. Roosevelt New Deal administration came to power, a group of Americans of Greek descent, affiliated with officials of the Federal Government, imposing their self-appointed leadership upon the Greeks of America, subjected them to a most unscrupulous exploitation.

Subsequently, in 1940, becoming subservients to the sinister plan, devised by the New Deal internationalists to have Greece—as in the case of the rest of the Balkan countries—become a satellite state of Soviet Russia, they organized the Greek War Relief Association, Inc., under the sponsorship of the United States Department of State.

The records of the officials of that organization, known to the authorities of the Federal Government, and to President Roosevelt himself, commensurating with the enormity of their atrocious undertaking, involved respectively: The \$25,000,000 National Bank of Greece "drachmatization" swindle; an indictment for bribing a Federal Judge; fraudulent stock manipulations; the "hot" oil scandals of the State of Louisiana, defrauding the State and the Federal Gov-

ernments out of many millions of dollars of severance taxes; the violation of the constitution of the Greek-American National Organization AHEPA; the infringement upon the constitutional rights of the Greek-American communities, etc.

In 1943, the national president of the Greek War Relief Association, Inc., Mr. Spyros P. Skouras, warned the Greeks of America that any discussions pertaining to the Greek political situation could not be tolerated by the American Government.

The sinister purpose of that declaration in the name of the United States Government is indicated by the fact that the people of Greece fighting at that time heroically against the Axis invaders of their country, there was no Greek "political situation" involved. But following that declaration, and despite its assumed meaning, the Greek War Relief Association carried on a most vigorous propaganda in favor of the Communist EAM—"partisans," using Hollywood leftist actors, pink radio commentators and newspaper columnists, and editorial writers, even importing a bogus "Greek princess." In violation of the immigration laws, that "Greek princess" being a Russian-born streetwalker of Paris, France, who was brought to this country to praise the "heroic" Greek Communist EAM "partisans," while defaming the Greek royal family.

Also, a seditious newsreel entitled "Report on Greece," exalting the Communist EAM murderous invasion of Athens, after the liberation of Greece in 1944, produced by Mr. Skouras, was shown in every moving-picture theater in the United States, and other countries.

The falsehoods dispensed by the Greek War Relief propagandists supplied to them by the Washington Office of War Information, emanated from the Politburo of Moscow. The same falsehoods are now used by the Bolshevik criminals, Vishinsky, Manulsky, and Gromyko, and their Balkan cronies, the filthy Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, and Albanians, before the circus dubbed as "The United Nations Organization," sponsored by the American advocates of the camouflaged one-world Communist creed, and their collaborating continental internationalists, to serve the very purpose of the gruesome drama Mourning Becomes Greece, played at Lake Success at the expense of the American people, and to the peril confronting the sovereignty of the American Nation by its implication in this perpetrated vicious entanglement.

My protest against the un-American political implications of the Greek War Relief Association made in my summary of facts, submitted on January 5, 1945, to the then President Franklin D. Roosevelt (copy of which am sure can be found in the files of the State Department) most significantly, had no effect upon the late President.

Last January (1947) in compliance with the protests of the Athenian press, the Greek Government issued a report submitted by the Greek Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Basil Dendramis, stating that "after a stormy session of the executive council of the Greek War Relief Association, the council announced to the Greek Ambassador that complying with the public demand (in Greece) would put an end to the anti-Nationalist activities, and various financial irregularities of the EAMist gang of its Athens branch office."

On January 8, 1947, the New York Greek daily Atlantis published the following dispatch from its Athens correspondent, stating in part "The turmoil over the faulty Greek War Relief Association is continuing in Athens. The leading newspaper Estin criticizing the appointment of the aviator Vilos, who is related to Mr. William Hellis, as the director of the Greek War Relief in the Greek Capitol, doubts whether Mr. Vilos, who is intimately associated with Mr. Tsoderos, would be willing to expose and testify against the persons implicated in the scandal involving the EAMists of Athens and New York."

Subsequently, on May 20, 1947, the following dispatch from Athens, also published in the New York Greek daily Atlantis stated "The Secretary of War, Mr. George Stratos, submitted to the inquiry of members of the Parliament, a reply concerning the activities of the Greek War Relief Association in Greece. The written reply contained the following: The personnel of the Greek War Relief Association in Greece consists mostly of Communists. Last year its local director, Haracas, surrendered to the notorious EAMist Loulis great quantities of food and clothing to be given to the Communist organizations. He is also negotiating for the exchange of great quantities of olive oil, with seed oil, cement, soda, and flour, in a way inconsistent with the philanthropic purposes of the Greek War Relief."

Finally, after the Greek Government was compelled by the outraged members of the Greek Parliament, who possessed their own evidence, demanding that the

Government submit to the Parliament the until then withheld official substantiating evidence acquired by the Greek Military Council, Foreign Minister Constantine Isakidis, responding to the Parliament's demand for action, ordered the liquidation of the Greek War Relief Association.

Confronted with that resolution, the executive council of the Greek War Relief Association, Inc., brazenly declined to comply, asserting that operating under the sponsorship and jurisdiction of the United States Department of State, the Greek Government had no authority over the administration of their organization.

Although the Greek War Relief and the UNRRA agents, in view of previous reports concerning that outfit, were condemned by the Greek people and the Greek Government, according to reports published in the Athens press, the Director of the American Aid to Greece, Mr. Dwight Griswold, employed as his interpreters and aides, former members of the administrative personnel of the UNRRA, who have notoriously cooperated with the Communist EAM faction, in affiliation with the personnel of the Greek War Relief.

In view of these facts the immunity granted to the unscrupulous officials of the Greek War Relief Association concerning their law violations can be comprehended considering the Roosevelt administration's obviously planned utilization of their subservience to the New Deal administration's foreign policy.

Unless therefore the Truman doctrine is devised by the same New Deal internationalists to mislead the American people, the sanction of the illicit status of the Greek-American racketeers and the perpetuation of the function of their un-American organization, contrary to the Truman doctrine, constitutes a sabotage against that very doctrine, and casts a shadow of doubt upon the motive behind the Marshall plan.

Anticipating your consideration of the situation, and assuming that you will take the proper action, in justice to the Truman doctrine, to your proposed project, and to the integrity of President Truman's administration, I am, sir,

Respectfully yours,

A. A. ATHENSON.

Your cooperation is solicited.

[Advertisement from the New York Daily Mirror, Friday, November 7, 1947]

Mr. VISHINSKY—

**WHEN YOU GO HOME YOU CAN TELL YOUR PEOPLE THESE TRUTHS ABOUT
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

You could do it in Pravda, which means truth. You could use Radio Moscow to tell them. You could tell it to your people who are not members of your Communist Party but who are owned, body and soul, by your party.

You could tell your people that we Americans are not seeking war and are not warmongers. We hate war. We want peace. We want the whole world to have the opportunities and freedom upon which lasting peace can be brought to all nations. You know that.

You could explain that we are not a capitalistic monopoly. Tell your people that our railroads, telephones, radios, airlines, shipping lines, factories, stores, mines, and forests are not owned by government but that they are owned by the people as private citizens. You could tell them that millions—and many more millions—of the people's dollars are invested in our railroads, automobile and our steel industries—and all other industries—all of which came out of the savings of the people.

You could tell your people that we are not a capitalistic nation—but that your Russia today is the only complete capitalistic nation on earth. It owns everything, including the people and the profits the people could make on their own labor.

In America, the people own everything—including the Government. In the U. S. S. R. the Government owns everything—including the people.

Tell the Russian people that in America, through industrial know-how, we have turned luxuries into mass production within the reach of everybody. Explain that telephones, bathtubs, gas stoves, radios, refrigerators, electric light, vacuum cleaners, and automobiles are not luxuries in America. Tell them we have over 80 percent of all the automobiles in the world—and they are owned—not by the rich—they are owned by the people. They are the capitalists. Every bit of property our people own is owned because they have saved money out of the greatest earnings ever earned by any people. All because of the free competitive system, made possible by liberty.

Tell your people about our courts of justice. Explain our jury system by which 12 of our equals decide on the guilt or innocence of anyone charged and brought to the bar. We do not have judges who decide on guilt or innocence. We, the people, decide. The judge pronounces sentence. We elect the judges.

Also tell your people that we sent to your country \$11,500,000,000 of lend-lease war material to win your war over Nazi Germany, your former ally, who turned on you. Marshal Stalin said that the war would have been lost without the productivity of America. You might tell your people that all the material and food sent to you was produced by America in addition to what we needed to win our own war and help England win hers.

Tell your people how much greater American production is than that of Russia. Why? The secret is that United States of America production is free and every producer is free. Explain how every family in America is self-regulated and runs itself better than you of the inner circle run all of the Russians from the Kremlin.

Explain, Mr. Vishinsky, that in the United States of America every man, woman, and child has the right to progress—is automatically given liberty and freedom—can pick out any educational opportunity they want, the job they want, and decide, personally, what they want to be.

Tell them about our Constitution and how—if some people want something which is not constitutional, there must be submitted a proposed amendment so that all may vote—and only by two-thirds vote of the legislatures of the State can such amendment become law. No person, in or out of Government, can issue an order in defiance of the Constitution. Tell them America believes in the rights of man and that we make the state a servant of the people. That is just the opposite of the Russian communistic system where man is nothing and the state is everything, the sole possessor of liberty and freedom.

Tell your people the United States of America is a republic. That the same legal rules which enable us to continue as a republic also enable our businesses to continue with constant change and modification. Would you tell them that America has achieved the highest living standard—the greatest tolerance, the truest charity—all because of giving liberty and freedom to all people, and that we in America regard the police state as a horror, as a crime against the body and soul of man.

Tell your people that we resent the charges that we are a warmongering people. It is not only unkind and uncalled for—but a malicious statement.

Mr. Vishinsky, if you were a citizen of the United States of America and returned from visiting Russia, you could state publicly what you discovered. You could say it in print, by radio—even in moving pictures. You would have that right as an American citizen. You are one of the big men of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic. Can you go home and tell the truth?

As an American citizen of the United States of America, I have freedom to make this statement in public print as often as I please. Recently I was invited to make a radio broadcast. I will be glad to send it to you. It is something about our country and the freedom of every individual in it. Would you like to read it? I can send it through the United States mail. Any citizen can have it.

That is freedom, Mr. Vishinsky. That is the byproduct—just one of the by-products—of the most priceless secret that you could carry back to Russia. The secret is the system by which the United States of America has made progress. A system of liberty and freedom for the individual. If you would see your own country move fast into a great, productive nation of happy people, set your people free. Take capitalism out of the hands of your Government and put it in the hands of your people—where it belongs. Capitalism then ceases to be what you have called it, and becomes the secret by which common wealth is created for all the people.

Not a single word of this message has a double meaning. We owe a debt of gratitude to those who established our way of life and only by preserving and spreading the dignity of man—the rights of freedom—can we pay that debt.

You can answer this message, Mr. Vishinsky, in this same newspaper for the same price I pay for it. You have unlimited funds at your command. Why, you are the agent of the greatest capitalistic power on earth! I am just an American citizen, one of the millions you have referred to as capitalists.

We want to continue to own our own country and our Government and to hold inviolate liberty and freedom and preserve the dignity of mankind.

We in America believe in the spiritual as well as the material side of life. They must go hand-in-hand. We realize we cannot abolish nature, the hand-

maiden of God. Nor can we or any other country control nature—the flood—and ebb tides—or the changes of seasons. Only God controls that and makes the seed that creates your harvest. Nature insists that man be free in order that he may reach his highest possible position and be of service to his fellowman—not to any state.

When you return to your country, Mr. Vishinsky, why don't you tell your people about our way of life in America? "When peace shall once more be acclaimed, the work of the world will have begun."

E. F. HUTTON,
Westbury, Long Island.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.

305 LONG ROAD,
Wilkesburg, Pa., November 15, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: We believe the enclosed copy of our letter to President Truman will be of interest to you.

Respectfully yours,

W. O. H. GARMAN, *President.*

305 LONG ROAD,
Wilkesburg, Pa., November 15, 1947.

Mr. HARRY S. TRUMAN,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This past summer the writer together with 13 other clergymen at the invitation of the Secretary of War made a tour of Europe. For some time we have been desirous of calling to your attention certain conditions we observed in Germany, which we partially investigated on the field and concerning which we have gathered further information since returning home. These conditions cause us great concern and all the more so since we believe they have been somewhat responsible for the fact that Germany's recovery has not been more rapid, and that it has become increasingly necessary for the United States to flood Europe with relief.

Before describing these conditions we would like to state that the above tour made us fairly cognizant of the many problems involved in occupying and restoring Germany. We were not surprised that mistakes had been made and plans had to be altered to meet conditions that had not been anticipated. It was our impression that the Army is doing a magnificent job in its attempt to feed Europe. We had several frank interviews and conferences with General Clay and believe him to be most capable, sincere, and earnest. However, it is our opinion that General Clay would be free to do much more toward restoring Germany if it were not for certain weaknesses in our present plan.

With feelings and resentment running so high, and with so many having at that time pro-Russian sympathies it isn't hard to understand why at the close of the war unduly severe and even unwise measures were proposed to punish and control the guilty Nazis. We are also aware that unless Germany had been severely punished many would have criticized our Government. However, we feel that the Morgenthau plan and the present modification of it which is in force, is too severe, unwise, and if we continue to follow it that Germany never will be restored, and the United States will have to feed that land indefinitely. In attempting to enforce this plan we are hindering Germany's recovery and playing right into the hands of our Communist foes who do not want peace and prosperity in Germany, who thrive on confusion, and are doing all in their power to frustrate the effort of the United States to bring about peace in Europe. We declared in our report to the Secretary of War that it was our opinion that Russia was most responsible for the continued distress and misery in Europe. We don't want to see the United States held accountable in the least for retarding recovery in Europe as has Britain because of her policy in the Ruhr.

While on the above-mentioned tour we heard no little about the dismantling of German industries and the shipping of this equipment to Russia. It seems this is another one of those concessions we have made to the Russians. We also were informed that Russia to the contrary was reopening plants in her zone, and operating them with German labor and technicians, all of which meant food for the Germans and more goods for Russia. We have had a similar report from Czechoslovakia concerning Russian occupation there.

Only too obviously our present plan is more to Russia's advantage than our own. The shocking thing is that under our present plan we propose to further dismantle German industries another 35 percent. This means that the German people will be deprived to just that extent of their chief source of income. So long as we pursue such a policy as this Germany can never get back on her feet. The effect of such an unwise plan will be to make Germany eternally a pauper nation, eternally dependent on the United States for support, and eternally resentful. This being true the Marshall plan will never bring about recovery in Europe and the billions of dollars spent will be wasted. As long as such a plan is in effect Germany will be confronted by the Communist menace. So likewise will Europe.

Personally we feel that our present plan should be revised so that all crippling restrictions are removed. German industry simply can't be revived so long as the United States forbids the manufacture and use of such essentials as aluminum, vanadium, magnesium, ball bearings, synthetic rubber, gasoline, and oil, etc.

Under our present plan, the United States to hold off the Communists is pouring billions of dollars in relief into Europe. If Germany were permitted to get back on her feet this effort on our part would not be necessary for the Germans and others whose recovery would simultaneously take place with hers would themselves hold off the Russian Communists.

Another matter which caused us great concern while abroad and since, was the use by the Russians of plates given them by this country to print occupational money, all of which had to be redeemed by the United States. We went into this matter with the military and although not responsible they admitted that such conditions existed. They were unable however to estimate how much of this money Russia had already printed or intended to print. One estimate then made by the press was that the Russians had already printed \$700,000,000 of such currency. A Congressman is reported to have recently declared that this figure has now reached the \$2,000,000,000 mark. We recommended while abroad and do so again, that our Government request the Russians to return these plates and refuse to redeem any more of this currency.

We also believe that the unfortunate secret agreements which were made at Yalta and other places and never ratified by Congress or the American people ought to be repudiated. As long as they are recognized Russia will continue to hold the whip hand. We saw the evil effects of this in Europe and the decided disadvantage our Government labored under because of these secret agreements. We see no relief for the present situation until these agreements are repudiated.

Upon our return from Europe we made our report to the Secretary of War, our constituent groups, the press, and the Nation at large. Now, Mr. President, we report to you matters beyond the control of our military and not incorporated in our first report. We received perfect cooperation from our military while on the tour and they welcomed the constructive criticisms we made.

You should know that we in the American Council of Christian Churches are cooperating with our Army in feeding and clothing Europe and doing all in our power to bring to pass a spiritual revival on that distressed Continent. Next summer we are planning to hold an international council of Christian churches meeting in Amsterdam, Holland. We will only be too happy to do everything in our power to help you bring to pass a real recovery in Europe or to cope with problems here at home. May God give you strength and wisdom for the arduous task that is yours.

Most respectfully,

W. O. H. GARMAN, *President.*

P. S.—We are sure that you will want to know that our constituents continue to write in expressing their approval of a system of universal military training similar to the Swiss system. So far all have been opposed to teen-age boys being placed in Army camps where intoxicants are made available by our Government and where moral conditions are often not what they might be. These parents are anxious to see universal military training undertaken in connection with high-school and college training.

HARRISS & VOSE,
NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING,
New York 4, N. Y., November 14, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

DEAR MERWIN: In reference to relief and loans to foreign countries:
I thought you might be interested in the enclosed copy of letter I am today writing all Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

With best wishes,
Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. HARRISS.

NOVEMBER 17, 1947.

Mr. ROBERT M. HARRISS,
60 Beaver Street, New York 4.

DEAR BOB: I received copy of your letter of November 14 addressed to the Members of both Houses of Congress.

I think you have made some very constructive suggestions.

The only difficulty is that the present administration is shot through with collectivism. I doubt, with the present make-up of the staff of the State Department, it would be possible for them to see the advisability of following some of these suggestions of yours.

I am looking forward to seeing you Tuesday night.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

HARRISS & VOSE,
NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING,
New York City, March 11, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Mr. Harriss asked that I send you the enclosed copy of letter he wrote Hon. Joseph W. Martin, the Speaker. Mr. Harriss wrote a similar letter to the other Senators and Representatives.

With best wishes,
Yours very truly,

E. C. REILLY, *Secretary.*

HARRISS & VOSE,
NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING,
New York City, March 7, 1947.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
The Speaker, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN: May I submit the following for your consideration:

With a national debt of more than \$250,000,000,000 and our people being taxed more than \$1 out of every \$3 of the national income, it will be necessary for self-protection and preservation to adopt the following program:

(a) A more nationalistic policy or face financial and economic disaster. It is Christianity and a duty to feed the starving and clothe the naked out of what we can spare. However, we no longer have the financial and economic resources to lend or give to other nations, except in a limited way. We should not lend or give to Communist nations.

(b) Economy in Government, but we must maintain a high wage and commodity price level and a high national income. If the interest and principal on the national debt are to be paid and the budget ever balanced. A sound but liberal policy on gold currency and credit is essential to maintain a high wage and commodity price level and high national income. Any reactionary or "hard" money and credit policy will bring disaster to the Nation.

(c) American labor, industry, and agriculture must be protected by adequate tariffs, otherwise our country will go into deflation and economic ruin and chaos. Our American standard of living cannot be maintained with our labor and farmers competing with cheap foreign or slave labor. Furthermore, many of these foreign countries are not burdened with such crushing debts and taxes. Again a sound but liberal handling of the gold, money, and credit will be essential in connection with maintaining adequate tariff protection.

(d) Tax reduction is necessary to increase purchasing power among the masses and give capital an incentive for risk and production. A suggested reduction of 20 percent on incomes of \$4,000 and below to help the masses and 10 percent reduction on larger incomes.

(e) The prompt removal of all remaining Government controls, and the protection of constitutional and State rights.

(f) Prompt steps for the punishment and deportation of Communist and other un-Americans who are working for the destruction of our form of free and constitutional government.

A number of practical and successful economists, businessmen, bankers, and farmers have told me they agree the foregoing program was essential to our national welfare and protection. If you agree I hope you will give it your active and full support.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. HARRISS.

MARCH 13, 1947.

Mr. ROBERT M. HARRISS,
*Harriss and Vose, New York Cotton Exchange Building,
60 Beaver, New York 4, N. Y.*

DEAR BOB: Thank you for sending me copy of your letter of March 7 to Joe Martin and other Members of Congress.

You have got some excellent points in this and it is a strong statement.

But what do you think of the proposed new commitments with respect to Greece and Turkey?

I shall look forward to seeing you next week.

I hope you are coming to our dinner on March 25 for Ambassador Ciechanowski at the University Club.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

2358 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE,
November 23, 1947.

MY DEAR MERWIN: Congratulations on your No. 179. I am delighted that you gave our bishops a richly deserved spanking. I have protested to four of them directly.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE B. HEWES.

MERWIN: The administration seems to be bamboozling the Jews. Amusing; isn't it?

C. B. H.

NOVEMBER 28, 1947.

[The Sunday Star, Washington, D. C., Sunday, November 23, 1947]

UNITED STATES DOLLARS HELD UNABLE TO HALT RUSSIA'S MARCH—WESTERN EUROPE DESCRIBED MORE INTERESTED IN AMERICA'S MILITARY POTENTIAL THAN IN OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

(By Constantino Brown)

At the turn of the century a prospector in Idaho by the name of Norton discovered a rich gold mine near the Custer Mountain in the Yankee Fork mining district. He named it the Charles Dickens.

Norton struck it rich. His ore assayed \$10,000 a ton. Norton's great passion was poker, and when he could not find players he staked some and played against his own money. The \$500,000 Norton had amassed vanished in thin air. He died in poverty.

A number of Members of Congress who know this true story wonder whether what happened to Norton may not happen on a much larger scale to Uncle Sam under the long-range program of the Marshall plan of aid to Europe.

LAWMAKERS SKEPTICAL

That we must leave no stone unturned to save western Europe from the Moscow octopus is admitted by everybody who considers the security of this Nation and the Western Hemisphere. But there is still a good deal of skepticism in the minds of our lawmakers over whether expenditure of 20 or 30 billion dollars will be sufficient in itself to prevent Russia's onward march into western Europe and China.

A miniature "Marshall plan" already has been applied by the administration in Greece. Last March President Truman enunciated his doctrine of helping nations which want to remain free and whose sovereignty is threatened by communism. The sequel of the Truman doctrine was Congress' appropriation of \$300,000,000 for economic and military support to Greece and \$100,000,000 to Turkey. Military support was given Greece because she was being attacked by Communist units organized and equipped in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania.

Had it not been for that fact, the sums appropriated for Greece would have been earmarked exclusively for economic recovery. President Truman and his advisers proceeded on the theory that communism is fostered by hunger and poverty. Hence, in order to combat it, the American Government must support legitimate governments chosen in free and unfettered elections.

President Truman may not have thought last March of the possibility that the millions appropriated for Greece might have to be followed not only by more millions of dollars but also by an American armed force if the Greek Army is to be supported against the more powerful enemies from across the border.

COMMUNISM NOW A TOOL

President Truman and his advisers were firmly convinced that dollars in the form of food and raw and manufactured materials would be more than sufficient to combat communism. This might have been a correct theory before World War II. But, today, communism is no longer the dogma of Karl Marx and Lenin. It is used as a tool by which Russia's dictators hope to reach their goal of world domination.

The slogan of communism in the day of Lenin and Trotsky was "Workers of the world unite." This has been discarded by the Politburo in the Kremlin. The aims of the new communism differ in no way from those of Hitlerism—world conquest and domination, not for the sake of the underdog but for the greater power and glory of Mother Russia and its dictator, Joseph Stalin.

In the Balkans, as in western Europe, we no longer oppose an ideology which is unwelcome to the peoples of these lands, as was the case after World War I. We, the Europeans, and the Chinese face the militant power of a dictatorship which possesses less military skill but far greater natural and manpower resources than did the Axis. To imagine that this militant drive for world conquest can be halted by billions of dollars is like believing that the Atlantic can be bailed out with a soup ladle.

THE GREEK SITUATION

Our policy framers caused President Truman to embark on the plan for Greece and Turkey on the assumption that improvement of economic conditions would stem Communist encroachments. If they had been correct, the Greek situation would have improved in the last 6 months. As it is, the money dispensed by Dwight Griswold in Greece has almost exhausted the \$300,000,000 appropriation and the situation has deteriorated rather than improved. The Greek armies are exhausted; the funds are practically exhausted; some improvement in Greece's national economy is noticeable, but the danger of a Greek collapse is greater than it was a year ago.

The members of the Greek Government in private and off-the-record conversations say that an American force of at least 30,000 men, using the latest war equipment would prevent a debacle soon, and this point of view is shared by worried American military men who have so little available to do such big jobs.

All the elements of the long-range Marshall plan for western Europe can be found in the support-for-Greece program, and the lessons we are learning in Greece must not be overlooked when we discuss the salvation of western Europe through economic means alone.

EUROPEANS MORE REALISTIC

That France, Italy, and the other western European states wish that assistance is undeniable. But the Senators and Representatives who crossed the Atlantic during the recess frequently heard the same desperate cry from the people they talked to during their extensive trips; "We must feel that the United States stands behind us with her potential military force to back us in case of a Russian aggression."

The most enthusiastic spokesmen for Russia must admit that there is nothing Moscow wishes more than economic disintegration of western Europe. Her attitude toward the Marshall plan at the Paris Conference last summer, the political strikes and riots touched off by Moscow's stooges in France and Italy, the venomous campaign conducted from Moscow and all her satellites against proposed plans for world economic recovery—all these show clearly that Russia is bent on preventing any such occurrence, regardless of the cost.

European peoples are more realistic than we are. They are fully aware that within a few days' march of France, and a few hours of Italy, vast Red armies are poised to strike. No less than 100 Red divisions, supported by some 5,000 planes, are stationed between the Soviet-Polish borders and western Europe.

The peoples of Russia do not have to be consulted by their dictator. All that is necessary to set that mass of men and machines in motion is an order from Moscow. And the people of France and Italy fear that such an order may be issued in the Moscow stooges—the Communist organizations in France and Italy—are overwhelmed by peoples who don't want any part of Red totalitarianism.

Hence, the question which Americans abroad hear so frequently: "Are you people willing to come to our rescue militarily if such a tragedy should happen?" It is no secret in Paris that we are not ready to intervene in force. But, as Gen. Charles de Gaulle is reported to have told a highly placed American, the French people, at least, can put up some show of force, provided the Americans are willing to come quickly to France's rescue.

LIKE OLD MAN NORTON?

This is the crux of the situation in Europe. To siphon billions of dollars to the Old World in the belief that money can prevent the spread of Russia's imperialism is to act like old man Norton, the owner of the Charles Dickens mine. The main aspect of assistance to Europe is America's physical strength, which, if our leaders deem it necessary, should be made ready to help those nations which are so anxious to lend a free life. But unless there is that determination on the part of the American people, the long-range Marshall plan unquestionably will suffer the fate of the Truman doctrine in Greece.

Wealth can win a war, but cannot prevent it when dictators like Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin make up their minds to fight. Germany was poor compared with France and Britain. Yet this did not deter Hitler from precipitating World War II. Britain and France were rich and could not be convinced that desperadoes would strike against those more richly endowed with worldly goods.

The same thing cannot be said about Russia, which has more potential wealth than any country in the world. But the Soviet leaders are not bent on making the U. S. S. R. a partner in world reconstruction. They want power, and that, they believe, can be obtained only by subjecting the rest of the world to the Kremlin.

We think in terms of sound economics to benefit all people; Russia thinks in terms of world conquest. The Soviet economy, so vastly strengthened by American lend lease, is geared for war. Russian factories work 24 hours a day, just like Hitler's did after 1934. But they are not producing consumers' goods. Everything is stockpiled for the use of the Soviet's vast armed forces.

This is known to Europeans much better than here. They all hope that the United States Congress will be liberal when help to Europe is discussed. But they hope even more that American armed forces will be prepared to intervene when the colossus from the East unleashes its forces. Without that last support, no amount of money can save them.

[From the Washington Post, Friday, November 28, 1947]

HOLY SHENANIGANS

An ancient and fishlike smell comes out of Lake Success on the eve of the vote on Palestine. It is the smell of chicanery. The majority report of the UN Commission favoring the partition of Palestine is about to be presented to the Assembly. It is the same old recommendation that has been forthcoming out of every commission since Britain's Peel's Commission of 1937. Supporting the recommendation are the United States and the Soviet Union. It is the only issue of any moment so far considered at Lake Success on which the two greatest powers on earth have been united. When Marshall and Vishinsky stood side by side on Palestine, a breath of hope seemed to pervade the Assembly—and the outside world. The man in the street felt that, in spite of everything, there might be something in the United Nations besides a soundingboard of irreconcilable dissension. Now he is left wondering. There is danger that with the defection of Greece, the Philippines, and Liberia, the two-thirds vote necessary for partition will not be mustered. If the United Nations refuses to accept the majority report of its own commission when its two dominant leaders are backing it, what is he to think? He can think only that there is something amiss which he will call back-room politics.

What else can one call the latest report out of Lake Success that Greece, the Philippines, and Liberia will vote against partition? All three of them owe their independence to the United States. All of them are still leaning on us. It is incredible that they have reached their decision on Palestine without taking account of the American stand. Yet our American stand is for partition. The mystery of the deviation of Greece, the Philippines, and Liberia is fathomable only in terms of the attitude of the State Department officials that Secretary Marshall left behind when he went to London. We refuse to think that Marshall, the straightest man in our public life, says one thing in public and another in the UN anterooms. The motto of his life has been "Don't fight a problem: meet it." It looks to us as if Greece, the Philippines, and Liberia have had, a high sign to take no notice of the propartition stand that was American policy on the departure of Marshall. No other explanation of the position of Greece, the Philippines, and Liberia makes any sense.

The bad effect of a headline that "The Assembly votes against the United States and the Soviet Union," cannot be exaggerated. The finger will be pointed at the puissant United States for playing politics in world councils—of getting the best out of all possible worlds, of being all things to all men. The issue lies

with our delegation. If they don't keep the faith tomorrow, partition will be defeated, and the name of the United States will be smeared. To be sure, an affirmative decision involves risks, great risks—but only thanks to the record of procrastination and pusillanimity with which the problem of Palestine has been handled since 1937. But a negative decision involves equally great risks, especially now that the British are determined to get out of Palestine by August 1. And the risk that would attach to our name in the event of defeat overshadows all else. It has been the absence of that priceless ingredient of statesmanship—to wit, courage—that has made a mess out of what hitherto has been a soluble problem. Is the lack of honor to be put with it at the bar of history?

ERNEST T. WEIR,
Pittsburgh 10, Pa.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed notes which were dictated on my recent return from a trip to Europe. They contain not only my impressions of the countries visited, but also some conclusions which were arrived at only after careful thought and study.

Sincerely,

E. T. WEIR.

NOVEMBER 20, 1947.

Mr. ERNEST T. WEIR,
Grant Building, Pittsburgh 10, Pa.

DEAR MR. WEIR: I was not able immediately to read your Comments on a Trip to Europe, which you very kindly sent me a week or 10 days ago.

Your statement seems to me to be one of the very best that I have read, I think it is so good that I am wondering if you would be willing to send a copy to each member of our executive committee whose names and addresses I am appending at the end of this letter? Each of them would, I am sure, be delighted to read it carefully.

I think there is only one thing that I do not quite agree with, and that is your feeling that there is no chance whatever that communism can come in the United States.

It seems to me there is very real danger of it, in spite of the relatively high standard of living of practically all classes of people. It is only natural for us to think that this relatively high standard of living ought to be appreciated by the people of all classes. But we have in the United States a veritable army of Communist members, plus Communist sympathizers. Soviet Russia has seen to it that they should come to this country, or, if already here, that they should attend Soviet schools where the technique of riot and sabotage as taught, in Russia, or Toulouse, France, or in other countries—or, indeed, right here in the United States.

The Communists, having gone as far as they have, will not, I believe, willingly give up the fight without first making a show of violence. And they will put on a pretty good show, too. My notion is that they will select some one of the long holidays we have—such, for instance, as the 3-day holiday from Thursday night to Monday morning which included Memorial Day of this year, or the similar period which included July 4. On these occasions probably a third of the population of New York City leaves town, and they include generally the most resourceful third. Taking such an occasion as that, they would be able, with relatively few men, to break all means of communication such as tunnels, bridges, water supply, gas, and electricity. They could have the town for at least a day or two—or three.

Presumably they would pull off a similar stunt in other cities. They would hope, of course, to do it in enough cities to paralyze the country, or a large section of it. In the end they would lose in spite of the fact that a wolf is not afraid of any number of sheep.

Several years ago a gang of a few Negro boys boarded a subway train at the Wall Street station, just before it dips down under the East River for the stretch of 4 or 5 minutes before it reaches the Borough Hall station in Brooklyn. They proceeded to go through the train, striking men right and left, and insulting women. Not a passenger ventured to intervene until one man, just before they entered the Borough Hall station, protested. He was promptly shot through the body, though I believe not fatally.

This holiday effort of the Communists to seize the city of New York would go through in precisely that way. I think I can see just how it would happen. People have to be aware of the danger before they can summon the resolution, or even the presence of mind, to resist.

I think our Communist friends will give this at least one good try before they desist. They will never try it again, unless by some possibility they are successful.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President,*

Members of the Executive Committee:

Earl Harding, 81 West Twelfth Street, New York 11.

Russell Maguire, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 18.

Glenn G. Munn, 25 Broad Street, New York 4.

Ora A. Taylor, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.

McKay Twombly, care Reynolds & Co., 120 Broadway, New York 5.

ERNEST T. WEIR,

Pittsburgh 10, Pa., November 24, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your letter of November 20 which was received in the absence of Mr. E. T. Weir.

As you request, we are today sending a copy of Mr. Weir's memorandum on his trip abroad to each member of your executive committee, whose names and addresses you appended at the end of your communication.

Very truly yours,

W. J. MILLINGTON, *Secretary.*

ERNEST T. WEIR,

Pittsburgh 10, Pa., November 20, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Avenue,**New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: I have read with interest your letter of November 20, and while we have a comparatively small number of Communists in this country yet, of course, a vicious group might at any time try to stir up trouble in some localized district, and which disturbance would really mean nothing. In fact, I think it might be a good thing if they would undertake this because it would antagonize the great majority of our people to point of where communism would be practically eliminated from the country. I think the disturbances taking place in France and Italy will have this effect on the majority of the people—and I believe the Communists only inaugurated this activity because they were definitely losing out, politically. Communism offers nothing to the type of people we have in this country and who have high standards of living and freedom of action, and I can never imagine people of this type submitting to Russian communistic control. I very definitely believe the same thing about England and France.

Very sincerely,

E. T. WEIR.

NOVEMBER 20, 1947.

Miss ELLA MABEL CLARK,

831 Madison Avenue, New York 21.

DEAR MISS CLARK: You may remember that 2 or 3 years ago you and I helped Lawrence Dennis and his wife get started publishing his letter, *The Appeal to Reason*, which is now well along in its second year. You will remember, I think, that Dennis had been one of the 30 Americans who had been persecuted by the New Deal, and had been reduced practically to poverty.

As the result of the loan of a few hundred dollars that you and I joined in making them, and through the help of other friends, they have got themselves on their feet, and are doing an outstanding piece of work.

I am enclosing letter 81, which is one of the best recent ones.

Few men are talking as clearly and emphatically and soundly as Lawrence Dennis. I know that what he writes is read by many men in Congress, and by other important men throughout the country.

The Dennises paid off their loans just as they said they would. Recently Mrs. Dennis came to see me and said that this is a time of the year that is very difficult for them, and that she would greatly like to secure a loan of \$500 which they could repay in the spring. She explains that most of their subscriptions come due in the spring (I think about \$3,000 worth), and that only a few come due any month for the next 3 or 4 months. I told her I was not in funds myself and could not do anything about it, but that I would see if I could find someone who could. I am wondering if you would be willing to lend Mrs. Dennis \$500 or a part of it?

I realize it is a nuisance to you to bother with so small a matter, but it is something of great importance to these people, who are among the relatively few who are giving their lives to fighting for the American system.

If, on reflection, you feel that you are willing to do this, and will send me a check made out to Eleanor Dennis, I will forward it to her at Becket, Mass., and will send her a promissory note for the amount, made out to you.

Mrs. Dennis tells me that they have been able to purchase an addressograph, which has cut down the amount of her manual labor. For awhile she did all the mimeographing by hand (until they got an electrically operated machine), all of the addressing, stamping, etc., and in addition to that ran her farm and took care of their two little girls. She was at one time on the verge of a breakdown.

They are doing a swell job, and I shall be glad if you feel you can help them.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

NOVEMBER 21, 1947.

Hon. HENRY L. STIMSON,
32 Liberty Street, New York.

MY DEAR MR. STIMSON: I read with interest the page advertisement of your Committee for the Marshall Plan, and several people have inquired of us since then how the Committee is financed. Where do the funds come from to pay for these advertisements? Is it Government money, or is it privately raised?

I shall be glad if you can put us in position to answer these questions.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

COMMITTEE FOR THE MARSHALL PLAN TO AID EUROPEAN RECOVERY,

December 6, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter to Mr. Stimson of November 21, 1947, has been received. I am glad to answer the question you raise as to the manner in which the committee is financed.

All of the funds of the committee are received in the form of private contributions. The committee is a citizens' committee and derives no financial support of any kind from the Government.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN H. FERGUSON,
Executive Director.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Washington, D. C., December 11, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN HART,
*National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City 1.*

DEAR MR. HART: I have just purchased 300,000 copies of the attached statement by Ralph W. Gwinn, "The Implications of Federal Aid to and Control of Education."

If you care to send out 1,000 or 2,000 copies and will supply addresses on gummed labels, we will attach them and distribute from here, without cost to you.

We should like to reach individuals who, stimulated by this, will express themselves, and you probably have that many on your list.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

DECEMBER 12, 1947.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York, 17.

DEAR ED: Thanks for the offer of copies of Ralph Gwinn's speech on education. Just now we cannot take advantage of this.

Warmest regards.

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 16, 1947.

Mr. GEORGE E. DEATHERAGE,
2903 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

DEAR MR. DEATHERAGE: Thank you for your letter and enclosures which are extremely interesting. In this office we are ardent readers of Pegler and Sokolsky.

We are sending you, under separate cover, 400 copies of council letter No. 177, Palestine, and also 400 subscription blanks. This particular letter has had 4 printings, and tens of thousands have been shipped all over the country. If

this particular subject does not seem to fit in with your plans in sending out our publications, please advise.

We are enclosing one or two other council letters and our latest letter just off the press, No. 181, which carries an answer to letter No. 177.

We are placing your name on our complimentary mailing list.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

DECEMBER 16, 1947.

Hon. JOSEPH R. GRUNDY,
Bristol, Pa.

DEAR SENATOR GRUNDY: Your interest, expressed from time to time in the National Economic Council, prompts me to write frankly and ask if you would be in position at this year end to make a further contribution, and, if possible, a fairly substantial one, to the work of the council.

May I say that while under a ruling of the Treasury Department our non-New Deal National Economic Council is not able to offer the deductibility privilege to its contributors, yet we are able to get substantial benefit from the fact that a contribution made to us of money to purchase subscriptions at \$10 each to our council publications to go to educational and religious corporations (namely, public libraries, colleges, and incorporated churches) is deductible under the income-tax law.

This was called to our attention by one of our Michigan friends last winter when he set us a check for \$3,000 for the purchase of 300 sets of our publications, and these have since been regularly going to libraries, colleges, and Protestant churches in Michigan and vicinity. Indeed, we have had some 20 or 30 additional subscriptions of the same kind, and we are not going to be satisfied until we have a substantial part of all of the roughly 60,000 colleges, public libraries, and Protestant churches in the United States included in this plan.

The National Economic Council is generally familiar to you, I think. We have always gone on the theory that it does no good to mince matters; but that to tell the truth forthrightly, and, without fear or hope of favor, to place straight-thinking comments before our readers, is appreciated by thoughtful persons.

As a result we get hundreds of letters of which the enclosed excerpts are fair samples. We have incurred the enmity, or have failed to secure the support, of considerable numbers of people many of whom would rather skirt around a difficult subject than go to the heart of it. But we have made innumerable friends in all States of the Union and in our island dependencies.

We are now eager to increase our program. Last year we raised and spent about \$85,000 on our regular work, aside from the roughly \$60,000 that we spent on a special radio program. We are hoping that for 1948 we can secure roughly \$250,000. The year 1948 will be a most crucial year for the American people, it seems to us. We hope to serve them substantially.

We receive contributions from both individuals and corporations—contributions, I may say, of all sizes. Some 20 corporations and individuals give us subscriptions ranging from \$1,000 to \$5,000. From there on down our subscriptions run through the whole gamut of amounts down to the \$10 subscriber who gets in return our council publications and, if he desires it, membership in the council.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 SECOND STREET, SEVENTH FLOOR,
WASHINGTON 3, D. C., December 19, 1947.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Enclosed is copy of my November 22 letter in which I commented on your memorandum.

As I write to you, Congress is waiting for the conference report on appropriations, and will probably go home tonight.

The House passed the Senate anti-inflation bill with the trick clause in it which allows the President to name the individuals and firms who will do the export business.

I think the Republicans are getting so far out on the limb that their position is definitely precarious. Because of this, I want to call your attention to that part of my November 22 letter in which I suggest the New Deal Republicans should be court-martialed and eliminated. What do you think of the idea?

Again, my best wishes for a jolly holiday season!

Sincerely,

CATHRINE CURTIS, *President.*

NOVEMBER 22, 1947.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: For some time I have intended to drop you a note of appreciation for sending me the memorandum of your European trip. I read it with interest and think you did a worth-while job. How wide has been your distribution?

There have been a number of these documents come across my desk, all excellent, straight-from-the-shoulder information which the public is entitled to have, for the true situation of the European problems are not clearly understood by the man on the street.

I am perfectly amazed at the difference of opinion expressed by men on the Hill who have taken the European trip at taxpayers' expense. I honestly think some of them almost believe we should give up the very air we breathe in order to provide Europe with "air-conditioning!"

Of course as long as there is no organized opposition to the new-deal program, and as long as the Republican party refuses to be the party of opposition, and as long as the Republicans insist upon undermining any individual who speaks out in frank and honest opposition to new-deal policies, I presume we will have to continue to slide on down the toboggan to totalitarianism, gaining greater momentum the closer we come to work war II and 1948.

If military authorities had court-martialed General Myers and eliminated him from our Military Establishment we would not have had the disgraceful exhibition on Capitol Hill which we have just witnessed.

I often wonder if the time isn't past due when Republican New Dealers, or New Deal Republicans, should not be properly court-martialed and eliminated from the Republican party and deprived of the right to use the Republican label or forum.

Enclosed is copy of a recent address I made in New York before the New England women. It was my first in a number of years and I wasn't quite sure whether the old prima donna could play a return engagement. I made an attempt and now I am anxious to get it distributed as widely as possible. Sent Rose Wilder Lane a copy the other day but she probably gets a voluminous mail. I am so glad she is calling attention to the pamphlets.

We have had a terrific several weeks at headquarters with office problems. Capable office workers just "aren't" any more in Washington. About the only available workers are ex-Government workers who don't want to work except to get enough to supply the meals which they are not able to sponge for. They are just drifting along, awaiting 1948 and a return of the Democratic party to power, following which they all expect to have their old jobs back again.

I was told last night a great many of them expect a call for the new price-control operation rat hole.

We have had everything at headquarters from illness to absenteeism, including carpenters, electricians, and sewer gas! Several times each day I resign only I can't find anybody to give my resignation to.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

CATHERINE CURTIS, *President.*

DECEMBER 10, 1947.

MISS CATHRINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street SE., Washington, D. C.

DEAR CATHRINE: I was glad to have a little visit with you yesterday in Washington.

I discovered a copy of your address before the New England Women in the bottom of my brief case, and read it carefully on the way back. I congratulate you on the excellence of this talk. What you gave them is really a mine of information. Few besides yourself know enough about the thing and have the right viewpoint that enables them to put down on paper and utter what your address contains.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JULY 17, 1947.

MR. JOHN J. RASKOB,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RASKOB: I am returning herewith the report of Mr. Vorys' subcommittee which you so kindly let me see. I have read it with great interest, and have written Mr. Vorys asking for a copy.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 23, 1947.

MR. JOHN J. RASKOB,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RASKOB: I want to thank you very warmly for coming so promptly to my assistance yesterday on the telephone, and by the subsequent advancing of \$1,000, to be repaid January 22.

With all Christmas wishes to you and yours,

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 26, 1947.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: It was not until today that I had opportunity to read in the Congressional Record your speech of December 18, on the subject of Palestine and the threat of the Palestine situation to the welfare of the American people.

I want to compliment you on the excellence of your address, and on your courage in making this address.

The National Economic Council, in its letters 177 and 181, has dealt forthrightly with this problem. Doubtlessly you have read these letters, copies of which I enclose, and doubtlessly you have met one of our directors, Benjamin H. Freedman, who has been in Washington two or three times lately, and has met and talked with many Members of both Houses on the Palestine question.

We propose to continue discussion of this matter. We refuse to be intimidated by this silly slogan of antisemitism. Certain Jews in our opinion have got this country pretty well buffaloed. They have, of course, even tried to pass laws forbidding anyone to refer to "Jews." Our purpose in treating the matter so forthrightly (and we shall continue to do it) is that we believe we will have a more wholesome situation in the land when Jews can be spoken of, just as other people are spoken of. Some of the radical Jews have been getting away with murder recently, and it is time that any problem that they, or any group of them has, were brought down to the common level of open, fair, discussion—always on the merits.

The National Economic Council never has been without Jewish members on its board of directors. We have quite a few Jewish financial supporters among the several thousand people who contribute to our work. They seem fully satisfied with what we have been writing, and the course that we have been pursuing. I mention this not in any sense as a defense, for we think our attitude needs no defense, but purely as a matter of interest to you.

I am wondering if it would not be a good thing for us to secure reprints of your address, together with the newspaper quotations that you may have, for general distribution around the United States.

We could order these, I take it, from the Public Printer, and pay for them just as we might order copies of any single speech, and distribute them. Any comments you wish to make on this will be appreciated.

I am at Washington every few weeks, and shall hope to have a chance to meet you in the near future.

Wishing you a happy New Year, I remain

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 30, 1947.

Mr. JOHN B. WHITE,
*The University of Nebraska Library,
Lincoln, Nebr.*

DEAR MR. WHITE: We received your postal requesting that you be placed on our mailing list. Your library is already on our complimentary mailing list. Publications have been going to the order department, attention of Maude E. Wisherd.

Please advise if you have ready access to the files in that department of the library or if we should transfer our publications to your attention?

You may write on the bottom of this letter and return in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

JANUARY 2, 1948.

Mr. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: When in Wilmington Wednesday, I phoned your office from Mr. Lamot du Pont's office, hoping I might possibly see you. Owing to the shortness of the notice, I was not surprised that it was not convenient.

A letter was mailed you from our office here that same day. I did not know that your name was on the list of certain of our January expirations to receive this particular letter.

What I wanted most to tell you, however, was not contained in that letter. This is that the work of the council has become more and more widely recognized and that fortunately, new and additional friends are coming to our assistance all the time.

One such friend told me last week that he would himself put in \$5,000 and would secure at least four other persons to give \$5,000 if five of the present friends of the council would themselves contribute \$5,000 each for the coming year.

Mr. Lamot du Pont is today sending his check for \$5,000, and I am writing to ask if you would be willing to send us \$5,000 also. Your subscription in each of the last few years has been \$3,000. Let me point out to you that it will be possible for \$2,000 of the \$5,000 that we would like you to give to be deducted before taxes. This could be accomplished by your purchasing 200 sets of our publications, each set to be sent to some educational or religious corporation, that is to say, any public library, college, university or Protestant church.

Our legal counsel and that of quite a number of persons who have purchased our publications to be given in the way stated, to educational and religious corporations, have given their opinions that such subscription is deductible under that provision of the income-tax law that allows deduction of 15 percent of anybody's income to charitable, educational, and religious corporations.

We have definite evidence in a number of instances that our work with respect to measures before Congress has been decisive in the disposition of these measures. All we need, in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures, is the funds to get additional personnel and to meet other necessary costs. It is this opportunity for more extended usefulness that has prompted our new friends to make the offer referred to above.

The steps that we propose to take to effectuate this objective are the following:

1. We desire to engage a competent man whose business will be to form

in each of a number of centers a small committee of 5 men, each impressed by the need for real educational work in the community and willing to give an amount of time, with a view to watching for and overcoming left-wing tendencies in educational institutions, in churches, and in any fields in their community. We have discussed such a committee with two prominent men of one certain upstate city in New York and they are willing to serve.

These committees will work quietly; will aim to see that opinion-formers, like members of boards of trustees, vestries, school boards, and so forth, receive certain brief literature that will better enable them to counteract the left-wing tendencies. Each committee will serve as a nucleus around which perhaps a score or two of men can presently be gathered to fight for things that are American.

2. We shall issue a weekly sheet containing a five- or six-hundred-word article of current interest and importance which will be sent to as many of the country's newspapers as possible. Very possibly we could put such an article in mat form. I got this idea in England a few months ago from the British Society of Individualists which has been carrying on work of this kind for 2 or 3 years, and finds many of the country's rural newspapers anxious to receive the series.

Incidentally, this thought was stimulated in our minds by Frank C. Rand, Jr., who owns a string of newspapers in New Mexico, when he wrote us recently that he thought our stuff was so good that his papers, and he believed other papers, would like it. Properly handled, this method can achieve excellent results.

We shall need a competent, additional man to handle this work.

3. Another idea that I got in England and which is being used there with a high degree of success by one or two organizations like ours is to furnish assistance to people in all parts of the country who desire to write letters to the newspapers on public subjects. Most anywhere in the country we find leftist letters appearing in newspapers. These we are advised are largely the work of organized effort by our Communist friends. So far as we know, there is no agency in the country that furnishes similar help to people who think as we do. There is a field here for great usefulness.

4. We are building up a speakers' bureau. We can get many speaking engagements, a number of which will pay nothing, not even expenses, though many of which will yield a modest fee. And we already have several competent speakers and can get many more, some of whom will work for nothing in their vicinities, others will require a modest fee. We will need to have some person to take charge of this speakers' bureau if it is to be adequately developed, and the speakers properly coached and directed.

5. We desire to appear more often in Washington through proper representatives before our committees of Congress on widely important matters. We think our experience will enable us to do this job on a scale several times larger than in the past—if we have the means to accomplish it.

Hence, I hope very much that you will look favorably on subscribing \$5,000 to this work, which \$5,000 will be one of several that we are asking some of our present friends to give and which will be matched by the subscriptions of others of the new friends of whom I speak.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year,

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 3, 1948.

Mr. JASPER E. CRANE,
Nemours Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. CRANE: It was a pleasure, after corresponding with you and hearing so much about you over recent years, to be able to meet you personally and talk with you last Wednesday when I was in Wilmington. I appreciate your arranging for me to see you promptly, even though I had given you no notice that I was to be in town.

As we begin the new year, we are more conscious than ever of the vastness of the work that is to be done if this country is to be saved from what may be generally included in the term "the Communist menace"—the threat of collectivism.

One of the most encouraging things is that our publications in recent weeks have attained a circulation greater than ever before—as high in some instances

as 50,000. We get an increasing number of letters from men in Congress and outside commending our work; we hear increasingly from the rank and file of people (most decidedly not common men) with favorable comments; and there are Congressmen willing to stand up and testify, as, for instance, Congressman Ralph Gwinn of New York recently did, to the effectiveness of our work before congressional committees.

But the fact is that the whole of what may be called the American front is by no means covered. Many sectors are going by default. I mean by that, that with respect to a number of issues there has been little or no adequate opposition. I have always felt, from some 15 years spent in appearing before legislatures and congressional committees (as well as during my own service in the New York Legislature 40 years ago), that legislators are rarely stronger than their constituents back home help them to be.

So we have several plans for improving our work, making it more effective, and extending its influence. Some of the steps we propose to take to effectuate our objective are the following:

1. We desire to engage a competent man whose business will be to form in each of a number of centers a small committee of five men, each impressed with the need for real educational work in the community and willing to give an amount of time, with a view to watching for and overcoming left-wing tendencies in educational institutions, in churches and in any fields in their community. We have discussed such a committee with two prominent men of one certain up-State city in New York, and they are willing to serve.

These committees will work quietly; will aim to see that opinion-formers, like members of boards of trustees, vestries, school boards, etc., etc., receive certain brief literature that will better enable them to counteract the left-wing tendencies. Each committee will serve as a nucleus around which perhaps a score or two of men can presently be gathered to fight for things that are American.

2. We shall issue a weekly sheet containing a five- or six-hundred-word article of current interest and importance which will be sent to as many of the country's newspapers as possible. Very possibly we could put such an article in that form. I got this idea in England a few months ago from the British Society of Individualists, which has been carrying on work of this kind for 2 or 3 years and finds many of the country's rural newspapers anxious to receive the series.

Incidentally, this thought was stimulated in our minds by Frank C. Rand, Jr., who owns a string of newspapers in New Mexico, when he wrote us recently that he thought our stuff was so good that his papers, and he believed other papers, would like it. Properly handled, this method can achieve excellent results.

We shall need a competent additional man to handle this work.

3. Another idea that I got in England and which is being used there with a high degree of success by one or two organizations like ours is to furnish assistance to people in all parts of the country who desire to write letters to the newspapers on public subjects. Most anywhere in the country we find leftist letters appearing in newspapers. These, we are advised, are largely the work of organized effort by our communistic friends. So far as we know, there is no agency in the country that furnishes similar help to people who think as we do. There is a field here for great usefulness.

4. We are building up a speakers' bureau. We can get many speaking engagements, a number of which will pay nothing, not even expenses, though many of which will yield a modest fee. And we already have several competent speakers and can get many more, some of whom will work for nothing in their vicinities, others will require a modest fee. We will need to have some person to take charge of this speakers' bureau if it is to be adequately developed and the speakers properly coached and directed.

5. We desire to appear more often in Washington through proper representatives before committees of Congress on widely important matters. We think our experience will enable us to do this on a scale several times larger than in the past, if we have the means to accomplish it.

One of the most encouraging things at the present time is that new men are coming forward and offering help. One man, who has never contributed to the council before, has stated that he himself would contribute \$5,000 and would get four of his friends to do so, and would, in fact, try to get nine of his friends to do it, provided similar amounts were raised by some of the old friends of the council.

When I was in Wilmington Wednesday I secured \$5,000 from Mr. Lamot du Pont. I was able to talk only on the telephone with Mr. Irénée du Pont, but I have written him, and am inclined to think that he will be another one to sub-

scribe \$5,000. From several other individuals and corporations I am hoping that I can complete the five necessary subscriptions of \$5,000 each.

It is entirely likely that the second \$25,000 to be obtained from our old friends will have to be obtained, at least in part, in subscriptions smaller than \$5,000, perhaps \$3,000, \$2,000, or \$1,000 each.

However, I hope very much that this program, which will net us \$100,000 of new money, can go through. Of course, this is all in addition to the substantial sum fairly close to \$100,000 which came to us last year from about 2,000 different persons and corporations. They, we expect, will give as they gave last year.

In addition to this, we have several special mail and personal campaigns that are about to be put on in the next 30 or 60 days, from which we hope to get \$50,000 or \$75,000 additional. It will take about \$250,000 to cover our year's work.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to contribute as generously as you can toward this fund.

Let me say that while we have never received from the United States Treasury Department a ruling making contributions to the Economic Council deductible before taxes, yet a way has been evolved whereby most of the benefits can be obtained by us and all of them by a donor. This is by the donor making a subscription of, say, 100 (or any number) sets of our publications at \$10 each, to be sent to colleges, public libraries, and Protestant churches. We, and several of our larger subscribers, have had uniform rulings from legal counsel that such gifts are deductible as contributions to charitable, educational, and religious corporations.

Hence, whatever you feel able to give in this manner would be deductible before taxes.

With all good wishes, and hoping to hear from you at your early convenience, I am

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 5, 1948.

Mr. GARNER A. BECKETT,

*Claremont Men's College,
621 South Hope Street, Los Angeles, Calif.*

DEAR MR. BECKETT: Complying with your request, we are send you, under separate cover, 50 copies of the August Review of Books. Thank you for your check for \$3 to cover this order.

A public-spirited citizen has offered to subscribe in behalf of institutions who have shown interest in the publications of the council. We believe you have shown such interest; and we are therefore listing your institution to receive our publications for 1 year, commencing immediately.

We are enclosing current issues of the Economic Council Letter and Economic Council Review of Books.

Council Letters are published semimonthly; the Review of Books and Action Report monthly.

These publications go regularly to many thousands of people throughout the United States. You will, I think, find that they deal realistically with some of the great issues of the day.

We will be glad of any comments you care to make about our publications at any time.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

JANUARY 7, 1948.

Mr. DOUGLAS REED,

*London Tidings, 7 Montpellier Street,
London, S. W. 7, England.*

DEAR MR. REED: I have seen one or more copies of your weekly sheet, London Tidings, and would like to receive it regularly.

I do not know whether you are familiar with the Economic Council publications, but I am enclosing herewith Council Letters 177, 181, and 182. This Letter appears semimonthly, and our Review of Books (copy enclosed) monthly. The Review is edited by Rose Wilder Lane, one of the best-known American authors and a great student of economic affairs.

We will be glad to subscribe for *London Tidings* at your regular rate, or, if you would like to do so, we will be glad to exchange with you on an even basis.

We also publish an *Action Report* once a month which we could send you or not, as you wish.

I am very glad to have located you. I read several of your books some years ago, and wish very much I had known where I could find you when I was in London for a couple of weeks last August and September.

As you will see from Council Letters 177 and 181, we are dealing rather realistically and directly with certain Jewish elements. On the whole, the reaction from the public is excellent—even better than I had expected. I think that you English people have been more forthright in speaking of the Jews than we have here. Great pressure from more or less left-wing Jews has intimidated tremendous numbers of Americans into silence.

You will know that we are not against all Jews by any means when I tell you that we have never been without Jewish members on our board of directors; we now having two Jews on the board—both of them thoroughly in agreement with what we have been saying.

I am slipping into this letter a little leaflet telling the purposes of the National Economic Council, listing its officers, directors, etc., and I shall be pleased to hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 7, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
*William Volker & Co., Main, Second, and Third Streets,
Kansas City, Mo.*

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Mr. Hart has asked me to acknowledge your order for 12,000 copies of Council Letter 206 entitled "Political Medicine."

This order will be shipped to you Tuesday, January 11, parcel post, special delivery.

Thank you for this order.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

JANUARY 12, 1949.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
*William Volker & Co., Main, Second, and Third Streets,
Kansas City, Mo.*

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Your order for 12,000 copies of Council Letter No. 206, was shipped to you yesterday, January 11, parcel post, special delivery.

We enclose bill for same.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

MARCH 3, 1949.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
*William Volker & Co., 230 Main Street,
Kansas City, Mo.*

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: We think you might be interested in the enclosed copy of letter from Mr. Gilbert H. Glasow of Glendale, Calif.

We believe you were instrumental in sending him copy of Council Letter No. 207, "On the State of the Citizens."

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co. OF MISSOURI, INC.,
 Kansas City, Mo., January 6, 1940.

MERWIN K. HART,
 President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Please send us 12,000 copies of Economic Council Letter No. 200, dated January 1, 1940, entitled "Political Medicine." Also send your invoice to cover.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co.,
 By H. W. LUHNOW.

JANUARY 8, 1948.

Mr. ROBERT R. YOUNG,
 405 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: I wrote you at the Chrysler Building yesterday asking if I could see you briefly, but Mr. Macmillan called up today and said you had already left for the South. He suggested that I could write you at your New York office and he would take it with him to Florida on Saturday.

I write about the National Economic Council.

You perhaps have followed our council publications, notably letters Nos. 177 and 181, copies of which are enclosed.

We now have members in every State and in some foreign countries and in our island dependencies. The men in Congress use our publications a good deal, quote from them, put them in the Record. There is every indication that our work is along right lines and is a factor in helping Congress to make sound decisions.

Congressman Ralph Gwinn, of New York, whom you doubtless know, said in a speech a few weeks ago that there are not enough organizations doing the kind of work that we are doing. He pointed out that the administrative departments in Washington are illegally spending the taxpayers' money trying to jam anti-business and other unsound legislation through Congress; and he says that more people are needed on our side to show Congress the other side of the various great questions coming up.

Last year we spent about \$85,000 in addition to about \$90,000 spent on radio work.

Our program this year calls for \$250,000 in place of the \$85,000.

Our executive committee, after consultation with a number of friends, have reached the conclusion that the main thing to do with our work is, while holding its general standard of effectiveness, to increase its volume.

The steps that we propose to take to accomplish this objective are the following:

1. We desire to engage a competent man whose business will be to form in each of a number of centers a small committee of five men, each impressed by the need for real educational work in the community and willing to give an amount of time, with a view to watching for and overcoming left-wing tendencies in educational institutions, in churches, and in any field in their community. We have discussed such a committee with two prominent men of one certain up-State city in New York and they are willing to serve.

These committees will work quietly; will aim to see that opinion formers, like members of boards of trustees, vestries, school boards, etc., etc., receive certain brief literature that will better enable them to counteract the left-wing tendencies. Each committee will serve as a nucleus around which perhaps a score or two of men can presently be gathered to fight for things that are American.

2. We shall issue a weekly sheet containing a five- or six-hundred-word article of current interest and importance which will be sent to as many of the country's newspapers as possible. Very possibly we could put such an article in that form. I got this idea in England a few months ago from the British Society of Individualists, which has been carrying on work of this kind for 2 or 3 years and finds many of the country's rural newspapers anxious to receive the series.

Incidentally, this thought was stimulated in our minds by Frank C. Rand, Jr., who owns a string of newspapers in New Mexico, when he wrote us recently that he thought our stuff was so good that his papers and he believes other papers, would like it. Properly handled, this method can achieve excellent results.

We shall need a competent, additional man to handle this work.

3. Another idea that I got in England and which is being used there with a high degree of success by one or two organizations like ours, is to furnish assistance

to people in all parts of the country who desire to write letters to the newspapers on public subjects. Most anywhere in the country we find leftist letters appearing in newspapers. These we are advised are largely the work of organized effort by our communistic friends. So far as we know, there is no agency in the country that furnishes similar help to people who think as we do. There is a field here for great usefulness.

4. We are building up a speakers' bureau. We can get many speaking engagements, a number of which will pay nothing, not even expenses, though many of which will yield a modest fee. And we already have several competent speakers and can get many more, some of whom will work for nothing in their vicinities, others will require a modest fee. We will need to have some person to take charge of this speakers' bureau if it is to be adequately developed, and the speakers properly coached and directed.

5. We desire to appear more often in Washington through proper representatives before committees of Congress on widely important matters. We think our experience will enable us to do this job on a scale several times larger than in the past—if we have the means to accomplish it.

The money we have obtained in the past year has come from something over 2,000 individuals and corporations. We have many small subscribers of \$10 or even less. From there they have run all the way up to \$10,000.

Recently some men who have been outsiders in the sense they have never contributed to the council, came to me and one of them said that he would himself put in \$5,000 and would secure at least four persons who would give \$5,000 each, provided that we could ourselves get five subscriptions of \$5,000 each.

I think it is going to be easily possible to do this, and I write to ask if you would be willing to subscribe \$5,000 for our work in 1948. You could make this either an outright gift, which would not be deductible, or you could subscribe for 500 sets of our publications at \$10 a set, to be sent to charitable, educational, and religious corporations in different parts of the country. If done in this way, it is a deductible item in your income tax, as a contribution to charitable, educational, and religious corporations.

We have a plan drawn up which we think will net some \$50,000 to \$75,000 from the Middle West, and I hope to go to Texas next week and see some friends down there, and hope to get from \$25,000 to \$50,000 there.

We would be glad to have either you or the Chesapeake & Ohio make this subscription. Various railroads have contributed to us at various times, the principal one today being the Santa Fe.

We have definite evidence in a number of instances that our work with respect to measures before Congress has been decisive in the disposition of these measures. All we need, in order to be of a conclusive influence on a substantial number of measures, is the funds to get additional personnel and to meet other necessary costs. It is this opportunity for more extended usefulness that has prompted our new friends to make the offer referred to above.

A good illustration of what we have been able to do in Congress happened when President Roosevelt proposed his so-called third war powers bill, which would have given him power to suspend any and all immigration legislation, and any and all tariff legislation. Only two persons appeared against that bill, of whom I was one. I was about 2 hours on the witness stand and apparently gave the committee what they wanted, irrespective of party, for the next day they voted unanimously to put the bill over to the following Congress, which is what I asked them to do. A few days later I received a letter from H. V. Kaltenborn, the radio commentator, whom I never have met, who said that if it was of any interest to me, he wanted me to know that he thought that my appearance before the committee, together with a council letter issued a few days before on the same subject, had been the main factors in persuading the committee to do what they did.

There have been two other instances in the past 2 years. I have observed that most witnesses who appear before congressional committees tend to generalize and, in their efforts to be absolutely polite and respectful, they often fail to make a very forceful impression.

I have observed, too, that there is nothing an honest Congressman likes more than to get some witness who seems to know what he is talking about, can express himself with a reasonable degree of clarity, and is not lacking in force.

I hope this matter will commend itself to you.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 12, 1948.

Mrs. FREDERIC KRUMPECK,
*Secretary, Brooklyn Women's Republican Club,
 38 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.*

DEAR MRS. KRUMPECK: It was a pleasure to meet you Friday at the meeting of the Brooklyn Women's Republican Club. I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to speak there.

I suggest that it would be advisable for members of the club, whose Congressmen they feel would not be responsive to letters on public questions, to communicate with one or more of the following:

Senator Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey.

Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire.

Congressman Ralph Gwinn, of the Twenty-seventh New York (home address: Bronxville, N. Y.).

Congressman Frederick R. Condoert, Jr., of Manhattan; and

Congressman Ellsworth B. Buck, of Staten Island.

Of our two Senators, Senator Irving M. Ives is an able man; is, generally speaking, more intelligent and sympathetic with American ideals than his predecessor, Senator Mead, of Buffalo. Senator Ives is, of course, a liberal in many respects, he having taken the lead in New York State in forcing through the so-called anti-discrimination law. He will probably try to force through an FEPC law in Washington. Aside from this, he is a pretty capable man.

I am sending you enclosed our publications of the last 3 months, including Council Letters, Review of Books, and Action Reports; also, leaflet describing the work of the council and listing its officers and directors.

Perhaps some of the members of the club would like to subscribe for these publications. In any event, we will be glad to send them to you if you would like us to do so.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Senators should be addressed at Senate Office Building; Representatives at House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

JANUARY 13, 1948.

On Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, a general strike, stirred up with the help of a Soviet mission, broke out in Switzerland, jeopardizing the very existence of that country. Maitre Theodore Aubert, prominent Swiss lawyer, of Geneva, issued a call to his fellow citizens to resist it.

Five years later, on May 10, 1923, Vorovsky, Soviet observer at the Near East International Conference at Lausanne, was shot by Maurice Conrad. He and his accomplice, Poloumine, who chose Maitre Aubert as counsel, had suffered greatly through bolshevism in Soviet Russia and by his deed sought to rouse the waning attention of the world on to the danger of bolshevism. Bolshevist tyranny was exposed before the Swiss jury by numerous moving witnesses and by the pleading of Maitre Aubert. The jury acquitted the accused persons. The trial thus showed how efficient against communism is the exposure of its aims and fallacies.

Ten thousand copies of Maitre Aubert's pleading were distributed in Great Britain at the time of general elections, and it was also translated into other languages—German, Serbian, Bulgarian, Chinese, and Russian.

Starting from these experiences, Maitre Aubert and a few of his friends in March 1924 founded the International Anticommunist Entente (IAE).

The main aim was to spread the truth about communism, to denounce its organizations and activities, with the help in each country of patriotic-minded citizens.

The method followed has been carefully to collect information and through national branches to get it into the hands of every kind of civic, professional, or ethical association, which could spread that information and counterattack the Communist parties and their auxiliaries.

Fifteen years later, on the verge of the war, at the thirteenth meeting of the International Council of the IAE, the movement had become a world-wide institution. Millions of people in the five continents were enlightened by the information collected by the headquarters at Geneva and disseminated as above described.

The IAE possessed affiliated organizations or correspondents in every country of Europe (with the exception of Soviet Russia), in the United States, in Canada,

Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, India, and East Indies, Indochina, North and South Africa.

Already by 1926 the mail of a single day, December 26, had brought to the IAE letters from Wellington, Bendoeng, Batavia, China, Palestine, Sofia, Berlin, Oslo, Helsingfors, Paris, and Los Angeles.

During 1930, special assistance was given, on request by the headquarters to its correspondents in French West Africa, Algeria, England, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, the city of Vatican, the Belgian Congo, Scotland, Spain, United States of America, France, Hungary, Indochina, Japan, Madagascar, Morocco, Mount Athos, Norway, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Tunisia, Switzerland.

Itinerant exhibitions of the IAE's documents on Soviet Russia and communism had taken place in Switzerland, France, England, Rio de Janeiro, and Caracas and had received more than 200,000 visitors.

The information collected by the IAE was utilized in 10 languages for articles, booklets, conferences and meetings, speeches and questions in parliaments, study-groups of anti-Communist organizations. It was carefully studied in many governmental offices. The IAE had been asked by 20 governments and embassies for special documentation. Its leaders, during their 200 journeys in Europe, in the United States, in South America, and in the Far East have had everywhere innumerable enlightening conversations or have made speeches in big meetings or conferences, at London, New York, Detroit, Brussels, Vienna, etc., etc.

Already in 1925 and 1926 the IAE urged governments by several memorandums to pay close attention to Soviet-Communist activities outside Russia, as being the most important problem of the time, and begged them to unite against this dangerous menace.

Indeed, what the IAE said more than 20 years ago, is common knowledge among enlightened men today.

The efficiency of IAE's activity is not only proved by its extension, by the very wide utilization of its information, advice, and suggestion, but also by the violent attacks published in the Communist papers from the "Izvestia" and the "Pravda" to the "Humanité" (Paris) and many others.

Why is the IAE's activity so efficient?

Because it is a permanent institution which since 1926 has daily assembled information coming from all parts of the world, and which has acquired the experience and knowledge necessary to cull out and put into simple form the really important facts coming to its attention, and to make it available in all countries.

Because IAE possesses in most countries faithful friends and correspondents who profit from its information and its experience, knowledge and advice in the struggle against communism.

Meanwhile, Hitler and the war have brought on the devastation of Europe, thus contributing to the expansion of communism. The war has left the IAE standing amid a ruined Europe. Hence its task is more important and more urgent than ever.

Starvation and want promote communism. Therefore Soviet Russia and the Communist Parties are violently opposed to the generous United States aid to Europe which is a dangerous blow falling upon them. Governments are beginning to unite against Soviet communism as the IAE begged them to do more than 20 years ago.

What is the task of the IAE today?

Governments alone cannot crush communism. Governments must be supported by a strongly enlightened public opinion in their own countries. In order to enlighten public opinion, to destroy among all classes the myth of the social success of Soviet Russia, truth must be opposed to falsehood. The real and frightful situation in U. S. S. R. and her satellite states must be put constantly before the public. That has been and remains the task of the IAE, chiefly in the most menaced countries, France and Italy.

In those two countries the recent first big offensive of the Communists has been only a partial failure because the strikes have impoverished both nations and disorganized to some extent their economic systems.

Collaborators of the IAE in both countries are convinced of two things:

1. New Communist offensives will be launched.
 2. A powerful and persistent effort must be made in order to fight the Communists and crush them.
- These facts are of capital importance to the United States as well as to the world.

IAE's help is asked for by its French and Italian friends. But means are lacking for this help. Switzerland has done its part ever since the setting up of the IAE. But nearly all Europe is ruined or subjected to Moscow's yoke.

Here is the ground of the IAE's appeal for funds in the United States. Private means and organization are indispensable because national opinion cannot be enlightened by a foreign government.

The efficiency of the United States' generous aid to Europe would be considerably increased by a constant enlightenment of public opinion in western Europe. Governments' determination to reconstruct their countries would be strengthened by such an action against their home foes. In the United States public opinion has been enlightened by innumerable articles in the newspapers, reviews, and magazines, by several famous books and booklets. There is nothing of this kind or on such a scale in France and Italy. Yet the state of things and the strategic position of those countries are of vital importance to the United States and to mankind.

The Communists proclaim in western Europe that United States' aid to Europe is purely a capitalist and imperialist expansion. The truth must be repeated that this aid is inspired by generous feelings; that the United States is united with western Europe against the dreadful and common menace of Soviet communism and that the United States is the most powerful champion of liberty against totalitarianism, slave labor, and against the unrelenting cruelty of the ultrareactionary police states of east Europe.

JANUARY 14, 1948.

Hon. HOWARD BUFFETT,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thanks for your letter of January 13 describing the book, *The Rape of the Masses*.

We will certainly try to get hold of this and read it. Those in charge of propaganda for the New Deal and all its related activities have a very fine propaganda technique. I am quite inclined to believe that they got it, as you say, from Hitler. But they have improved on it—the Communists are smoother than the Nazis were.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

JANUARY 10, 1948.

Mr. BILL JONES.

DEAR BILL: I am writing you about the National Economic Council whose president, Merwin K. Hart, and several of its officers I have known well for a long time, and whose work I have had an opportunity to appraise.

Recently one of the best men in Congress said there are too few citizens' organizations which are capable of sending competent men before congressional committees in Washington to assist the Congress by pointing out the American side of some of the great questions on which the Congress is to pass. This same Congressman also pointed out that, contrary to law which forbids the administrative departments of the Government to spend a dollar of the taxpayers' money in trying to force legislation through Congress, all, or practically all, of the departments violate this law outrageously—in fact, that these departments are as most vicious lobby in Washington.

The National Economic Council spends only a part of the time on lobbying. But the appearances of its representative before congressional committees on several occasions has turned the tide in favor or, against, a pending measure.

Most of the council's work is devoted to its publications, its Economic Council Letter now in its fourteenth year, its Review of Books edited by Rose Wilder Lane, and its Action Report, a copy of each of which I am sending you under separate cover.

There is a growing realization in the minds of those of us who have been supporting the economic council, that we Americans have in this organization one of the ablest agencies in the country for the bolstering of American private enterprise.

The council spent on its regular work last year about \$95,000 (exclusive of its radio fund). Since it has been successful in a few things, its friends and supporters believe that it would be equally successful in more. A number of outside men have the same opinion.

It will be quite a task to increase the budget from \$95,000, which it was last year, to the \$252,000 set for 1948. But one friend, heretofore an outsider, has come forward with the offer of \$5,000, and with the statement that he can get four of his friends to give \$5,000, provided five of the older friends of the council will contribute \$5,000 each. These may be either individuals or corporations. Already two of the council's older friends have each contributed \$5,000. It is now seeking the three additional contributions of the same amount.

I want to ask you to contribute \$5,000 to this work. By so doing you can help make available an additional \$50,000 to the council. In view of what I know of its plans, I can assure you that the council will probably be able to get the additional sums necessary to make its budget of \$252,000. With this sum the council can do a real job—can multiply its effectiveness several fold.

You can give this \$5,000 outright, if you are willing to do so, but you cannot deduct the sum before taxes. If you wish to deduct the same before taxes, you can purchase 500 sets of its publications to be sent for a year to 500 charitable, educational, and religious corporations, a gift of this kind being (according to the opinion of legal counsel of several persons who have already made large contributions in this way) deductible. Or you can, as some have, give \$3,000 outright, thereby coming within the limit of the gift tax, and \$2,000 can be used to purchase 200 sets of publications, this \$2,000 being then deductible before taxes, while the \$3,000 would not be.

It would not be necessary for the entire \$5,000 to be paid at this time. Half of it could be contributed at this time, and the other half during the second half of the year.

I earnestly urge you to cooperate with the Economic Council by making a gift of \$5,000.

If you want any further information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

CIVIL SERVICE CLERK,

9 Church Square, Cape Town, January 20, 1948.

MERWIN K. HART, Esquire,
New York.

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your letter of January 7, which has been forwarded to me here.

I am afraid, however, that I gave up all connection with London Tidings many months ago, and announced this at the time.

I am most interested in what you say about your attitude towards certain Jewish elements. It did appear to me that (as you say) "great pressure from more or less left-wing Jews had intimidated tremendous numbers of Americans into silence," and I was very much hoping that some organization would arise to enlighten these Americans, to liberate them from their apparent fear, and to enlist the support of those Jews who are on the side of humanity and against Zionist fascism. If you are doing that, it seems to me you are doing a most valuable work.

Yours sincerely,

DOUGLAS REED.

CAPRONI ASSOCIATES,
1221 CHAPEL STREET, NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
January 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I just read with interest your council letter No. 188, which deals quite extensively with possible Communists difficulty that we could encounter if we were to go to war with Russia.

You suggest on the last page that citizens arm themselves. I am wondering if this isn't a rather dangerous suggestion because a gun is a bad thing to have around. It would seem to me that the police and the FBI as well as the military

organizations could handle the situation. The FBI does a beautiful job, and you know as well as I do that they have every important Communist spotted. During the last war there were many people in this country of German and Italian extraction while we were making materials for the Allies before we got into the war and there was a minimum amount of sabotage. There was much more in the First World War, when the Secret Service was not well organized.

I agree with you that we should be continually alert to New Deal Communist pink propaganda on every avenue of activity. We should take steps to offset this. I certainly feel that the Army has been well cleaned of such influence and that they are doing a pretty good job in the State Department now. If we can get the Republicans in in 1948 we can probably do a better job.

There are about 15,000,000 workers organized in the labor unions out of 50,000,000 workers. Probably 2,000,000 of these are liberal men. As you state, the maritime activities, electrical, coal, and steel should be watched very carefully.

Yours very truly,

LEO F. CAPRONI.

JANUARY 19, 1948.

Mr. LEO F. CAPRONI,
1221 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.

DEAR MR. CAPRONI: Thank you for your letter of January 17 commenting on council letter 183.

I do not think that the suggestion made, to which you refer, is dangerous. It merely is in keeping with the spirit of article II of the Bill of Rights amendment to the Constitution, which says that—

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Anyone who has been, as I have been, in a country where the Communists really came into power (though happily not permanently) and is familiar with what they were able to wreak on the helpless people in their houses, will hardly feel that it is dangerous to have a gun.

Of course, it is up to the authorities in the several States, as clearly set forth in our letter, to pass on the qualifications of the persons who desire to have guns in their homes.

Does this not seem reasonable to you?

Thanks very much for your comment, and with kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CAPRONI ASSOCIATES,
1221 Chapel Street, New Haven 11, Conn., January 22, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I wrote you last week about the idea of citizens arming to the teeth and received your very nice reply. I was just wondering if you happen to notice the article by Sokolsky, an old friend of yours, copy of which is enclosed.

Yours very truly,

LEO F. CAPRONI.

REBUFF DIRECTED AT HART DEMONSTRATES WEAKNESS OF LIBERAL MIND

(By George E. Sokolsky)

It goes to show what's wrong with the liberal mind. The Brooklyn Women's Republican Club had invited Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, to deliver an address. Hart is called a Fascist by Communists and others because he is favorably disposed to Franco and because he supports capitalism for the United States, as does the Republican Party. And because he is called a Fascist, by association he is made out to be an anti-Semitic. Also, he is anti-Zionist.

So whenever Hart wants to make a speech, or whenever he advocates some idea, sound or stupid, wise or foolish—and it is an American right to advocate ideas—the Communists, progressives, liberals, and their innocent dupes shiver

and shake in rage. They resort to intimidation. They threaten the sponsors of such meetings. They threaten boycotts and all sorts of evil happenings.

Therefore, John R. Crews, the Republican leader of Brooklyn, ordered the good ladies of the aforesaid club not to permit Hart to speak. Now Hart happens to be a Republican, had been a member of the State legislature. I know him, we having been born in the same town, Utica, N. Y. Hart is not a Fascist nor is he an anti-Semite. He only prefers Franco to Stalin. I do not prefer either nor do I believe that it is any of my business who governs any foreign country. If the Spaniards stand for Franco and the Russians like Stalin, that is their affair. I prefer either Taft or Dewey for President and do not want either Eisenhower or MacArthur. That is as far as I am willing to go.

Crews makes the point: "I have stopped Communist speakers in the past and I will continue to oppose Fascist, Communist, and other subversive speakers in the future."

DIFFERENT STORY

This is not altogether true. But Crews means well. He has, on several occasions, formed political alliances with the American Labor Party, which is probably a Communist political arm. I suppose his defense is that he wants to elect his candidates in a fuzzy district. Crews also said:

"I don't know much about him (Hart) but from what I've heard, he is of the extreme right and we are highly unsympathetic toward him."

Anyhow, that is Crews' story. It appears also that a Judge Benjamin became furious that Hart was to speak to his ladies, so he jumped all over the sweet lady who runs this show. She and I discussed it and I told her that in my opinion she would be smart to have Hart and Benjamin speak at the same time. According to her, the judge would not speak unless he was the only speaker, which is a judicial prerogative, some judges speaking only to themselves.

So Hart was told on the morning of the meeting not to come. He came. The meeting was adjourned. The ladies remained in their seats. Hart was informally introduced and he made a speech, criticizing the Democrats and Palestine partition. The whole business amounted to nothing except as an example of prevention of free speech by intimidation.

WHY THE FEAR?

Hart issues a newsletter and in the most recent one he suggested that the people arm against revolution. Personally, I prefer the FBI, the police, the Army, and the Navy. Private citizens with guns sometimes let them go off at the wrong time.

The suggestion struck me as hysterical, but I still think that the hysterical fellow has a right to state his hysteria if he stays within the law.

However, the great liberals felt differently. To them, Hart was organizing a citizen's army to murder them. I fear that they must have been up to something dreadful if they are so afraid of Hart. Honest and healthy people do not scare so easily.

The upshot of it all is that one member resigned from Hart's board and Brooklyn has some excitement in an off season. It is no more possible to kill off Hart than it is to kill off Marcantonio by this type of intimidation. The glory of this country is that anybody can hurl ideas at the American people—good ones and foul ones. As, for instance, Henry Wallace. Nobody minds.

January 23, 1948.

MR. LEO F. CAPRONI,
1221 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.

DEAR MR. CAPRONI: Thanks very much for your letter of January 22. I appreciate your sending me Sokolsky's column. I had seen this in one of the papers that he writes for.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

WILMINGTON, DEL., January 16, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Referring to your letter of January 15, there is returned herewith one copy of the list of libraries of colleges and churches, which I have approved.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

JANUARY 21, 1948.

Suggested list of colleges, universities, and libraries to receive gift subscriptions to Council publications for 1 year.

(Irénee du Pont 4.)

Institutions	Location	Governing official
American International College.....	Springfield, Mass.....	J. H. Miller, president.
Connecticut State Department of Education.	Hartford, Conn.....	Attention: Librarian.
Morgan State College.....	Baltimore 12, Md.....	M. D. Jenkins, president.
Muhlenberg College.....	Allentown, Pa.....	Lovering Tyson, president.
Ohio State University.....	Columbus 10, Ohio.....	Howard L. Bevis, president.
Ohio University.....	Athens, Ohio.....	John C. Baker, president.
Sacred Heart Institute alumni library.....	274 Vanderbilt Ave., Brooklyn 5, N. Y.	John T. Griffin, librarian.
Finch Junior College library.....	52 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.	Dorothy H. Staples, librarian.
Institute of Life Insurance.....	60 East 42d St., New York 17, N. Y.	Elizabeth Ferguson, librarian.
Federal Reserve Bank of New York library.	Federal Reserve Post Office, New York, N. Y.	Attention: Librarian.
Mechanics Institute library.....	18 West 44th St., New York 18, N. Y.	H. W. Parker, librarian.
New York State Department of Labor, division of research and statistics.	80 Centre St., New York 13, N. Y.	Attention: Librarian.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	700 Jackson Pl., Washing- ton 6, D. C.	Helen L. Scanlon, librarian.
Library of Congress, Exchange and Gift Division, Acquisitions Depart- ment.	Washington 25, D. C.....	Attention: Chief.
Library of Congress reference depart- ment.do.....	Attention: Chief, Serials Division.
Federal Reserve System research library.do.....	A. H. Sutherland, librarian.
Historical library, Veterans' Adminis- tration.	Veterans' Administration Bldg., Room 991, Wash- ington 25, D. C.	H. P. Johnson, librarian.
U. S. Department of Labor, the library..	Washington 25, D. C.....	Laura A. Thompson, librarian.
National Labor Relations Board library..	Washington 6, D. C., 815 Connecticut Ave.	Amy R. Jennings, librarian.
Social Security Board library.....	1825 H St. NW., Wash- ington 25, D. C.	Ellen Commons, librarian.
Department of State.....	Washington 25, D. C.....	M. L. Gerleke, librarian.
Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland.....	Cleveland 1, Ohio.....	Ethel S. Klahre, librarian.
Dallas Athenaeum.....	3512 Haynie (General Del- ivery) Dallas, Tex.	Mrs. Charles M. Powell, librarian.
Agricultural research library.....	1220 Santa Monica, San Antonio, Tex.	Attention: Librarian.
Radford School.....	El Paso, Tex.....	Do.

CHURCHES

Advent Episcopal Church.....	Kennett Square, Pa.....	J. W. Rennie.
All Saints' Episcopal Church.....	Reisterstown, Md.....	E. M. Dart.
Ascension and Prince of Peace Episcopal Church.	Walbrook and Eilamont Aves., Baltimore 16, Md.	J. C. Wood.
Avondale Presbyterian Church.....	Avondale, Pa.....	R. C. Diebert.
Balnew Methodist Church.....	Balnew, Md.....	S. W. Fields.
Bel Air Methodist Church.....	Bel Air, Md.....	Attention: The minister.
Bethel Methodist Church.....	Bethel, Del.....	Do.
Bethel Presbyterian Church.....	White Hall, Md.....	Do.
Black Lick Presbyterian Church.....	Black Lick, Pa.....	W. H. Nicholson.
Boys Presbyterian Church.....	Boys, Md.....	J. P. Kerr.
Bridgeville Methodist Church.....	Bridgeville, Del.....	L. F. Wimbrow.

CHURCHES—Continued

Institution	Location	Minister or rector
Brookeville Methodist Church.....	Brookeville, Md.....	E. E. Arter.
Buckingham Presbyterian Church.....	Berlin, Md.....	E. W. Klein.
Callensburg Presbyterian Church.....	Callensburg, Pa.....	E. D. Crawford.
Camden Methodist Church.....	Camden, Del.....	Attention: The minister.
Camp Hill Presbyterian Church.....	111 North 23d St., Camp Hill, Pa.....	Spencer B. Smith.
Cheswold Methodist Church.....	Cheswold, Del.....	O. W. Spry.
Christ Church.....	Bellport, N. Y.....	Howard G. Clark.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	Media, Pa.....	William J. Alberts.
Do.....	West River, Md.....	L. S. Barnett.
Christ Methodist Church.....	Chestertown, Md.....	M. H. Keene.
Christiana Methodist Church.....	Christiana, Del.....	W. D. Geoghegan.
Churchton Methodist Church.....	Churchton, Md.....	A. T. Middleton.
Churchville Presbyterian Church.....	Churchville, Md.....	J. E. Grant.
Concord Methodist Church.....	Concord, via Federalburg, Md.....	Molvin Kay.
Cornwall Methodist Church.....	Cornwall, Pa.....	W. S. Fox.
Duncannon Presbyterian Church.....	Duncannon, Pa.....	R. B. Snyder.
East Brady Presbyterian Church.....	East Brady, Pa.....	H. B. Taylor.
Ebensburg Presbyterian Church.....	Ebensburg, Pa.....	Ellis W. Roberts.
Edenburg Presbyterian Church.....	Knox, Pa.....	John O. Talbot.
Ellendale Methodist Church.....	Ellendale, Del.....	W. B. Bundick.
Elwell Methodist Church.....	Claton, Del.....	Attention: The minister.
Epworth Methodist Church.....	Centreville, Md.....	Do.
Fairview Presbyterian Church.....	Glenmoore, Pa.....	D. R. Stewart.
Falls Creek Presbyterian Church.....	Falls Creek, Pa.....	J. M. Jenkins.
Fallston Methodist Church.....	Fallston, Md.....	I. H. Davis.
Felton Methodist Church.....	Felton, Del.....	J. R. Diehl.
First Methodist Church.....	Denton, Md.....	J. E. French.
First Presbyterian Church.....	809 Lincoln Pl., Beaver Falls, Pa.....	R. H. Stephens.
Do.....	Finleyville, Pa.....	Arthur L. South.
Do.....	Freedom, Pa.....	Attention: The minister.
Do.....	116 Alexander Ave., Greensburg, Pa.....	Harold F. Post.
Do.....	999 Indiana Ave., Monaca, Pa.....	R. D. Walter.
Do.....	1218 Penn Ave., New Brighton, Pa.....	L. E. Fisher.
Do.....	310 Jefferson St., Rochester, Pa.....	M. W. Castrodale.
Do.....	West Bridgewater, Pa.....	J. W. St. Clair.
Fourth Street Presbyterian Church.....	208 Hathaway Park, Lebanon, Pa.....	Attention: The minister.
Gano Reformed Church.....	119 West 107th St., Chicago 28, Ill.....	Do.
Goldsboro Methodist Church.....	Goldsboro, Md.....	G. S. Ross.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	Hulmeville, Pa.....	O. E. Newton.
Grace Methodist Church.....	Denton, Md.....	T. J. Turkington.
Do.....	Greenwood, Del.....	E. C. Graham.
Granite Presbyterian Church.....	Randallstown, Md.....	J. M. Rittler.
Greensboro Methodist Church.....	Greensboro, Md.....	O. E. Davis.
Greenwood Methodist Church.....	Greenwood, Del.....	J. O'Neill.
Hawley Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.....	O. P. Muyskens.
Hereford Methodist Church.....	Hereford, Md.....	R. E. Burnett.
Highland Presbyterian Church.....	Street, Md.....	J. M. Croup.
Hockessin Methodist Church.....	Hockessin, Del.....	J. H. Link.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.....	Lansdale, Pa.....	M. M. Garcia.
Do.....	19th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia 3, Pa.....	E. F. Salmon.
Honey Brook Episcopal Church.....	Honey Brook, Pa.....	A. E. Wilcox.
Hopewell Baptist Church.....	Winters, Calif.....	Elder J. Pruden.
Huntingtown Methodist Church.....	Huntingtown, Md.....	O. A. Randall.
Hurlock Methodist Church.....	Hurlock, Md.....	Attention: The minister.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church.....	16th and Liberty Sts., Harrisburg, Pa.....	R. H. Heinze.
Ingleside Methodist Church.....	Ingleside, Md.....	D. O. Harnung.
International Catholic Truth Society.....	405 Bergen St., Brooklyn 17, N. Y.....	Edward L. Curran, President.
Irwin Presbyterian Church.....	Irwin, Pa.....	Attention: The minister.
Lakeland Presbyterian Church.....	3216 Howard Park Ave., Baltimore 7, Md.....	Do.
La Plata Methodist Church.....	La Plata, Md.....	J. W. Ford.
Laytonville Methodist Church.....	Laytonville, Md.....	W. H. Tyler.
Leola Methodist Church.....	Leola, Pa.....	Attention: The minister.
Lutheran Research Society.....	Box 3381, Jefferson Station, Detroit 14, Mich.....	Lawrence Reilly, director.
Magyar Presbyterian Church.....	10123d Ave., Beaver Falls, Pa.....	Julius Kish.
Matamoras Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	Snow Hill, Md.....	Herman Dam.
Middletown Methodist Church.....	Middletown, Pa.....	Attention: The minister.
Millersburg Methodist Church.....	Millersburg, Pa.....	H. W. Marsland.
Millersburg Presbyterian Church.....	Newport, Pa.....	G. B. Gensemer.

CHURCHES—Continued

Institutions	Location	Governing official
Mount Winans Methodist Church.....	Mount Winans, via Westport, Md.	C. G. Coleman.
Newburg Methodist Church.....	Newburg, Md.	B. W. Johnson.
New London Presbyterian Church.....	New London, Pa.	J. H. Thompson, Jr.
New Salem Presbyterian Church.....	Delmont, Pa.	Oakley E. Washburn.
Nieklerville Presbyterian Church.....	Nieklerville, Pa.	B. W. Kossock.
Norwood Methodist Church.....	311 Chester Pike, Norwood, Pa.	G. P. Beck.
Oxford Methodist Church.....	Oxford, Pa.	R. D. Bell.
Poolesville Methodist Church.....	Poolesville, Md.	C. W. Awkward.
Provincial Xavarian Brothers.....	4409 Frederick Ave., Baltimore 29, Md.	Brother Oswald, O. F. X.
Ridley Park Methodist Church.....	Ridley Park, Pa.	Attention: The minister.
Riverdale Presbyterian Church.....	Riverdale, Md.	W. Keith Custis.
St. Alban's Episcopal Church.....	Glen Burnie, Md.	C. G. Hill.
St. Ann's Episcopal Church.....	Smithburg, Md.	O. F. R. Freder.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	Langhalk, Md.	B. R. Madge.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	Dunthorne, Pa.	N. H. Caley.
Do.....	Monkton, Md.	L. O. Heck.
St. John's Church.....	Massena, N. Y.	Norman B. Godfrey.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	South Ave., Mount Washington, Baltimore, Md.	Attention: The rector.
Do.....	Glyndon, Md.	C. E. Buck.
Do.....	Lansdowne, Pa.	C. E. Tukey.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church.....	5411 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia 44, Pa.	S. T. Steele, Jr.
St. Margaret's Episcopal Church.....	Reisterstown Rd. and Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore, Md.	P. C. Adams.
St. Matthal's Episcopal Church.....	Belair Rd. and Cedonia Ave., Haspeburg, Baltimore, Md.	C. L. Hein.
St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church.....	St. Paul and 20th Sts., Baltimore 18, Md.	D. F. Fenn.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	14 West Saratoga St., Baltimore 1, Md.	H. L. Doll.
Do.....	Pine and East Oakland Sts., Doylestown, Pa.	Frank Damrosch, Jr.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	Solomons, Md.	H. L. Pass.
St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.....	3115 The Alameda, Baltimore 18, Md.	F. F. Lynch.
Do.....	Hancock, Md.	H. K. Jones.
Do.....	Owings Mills, Md.	P. J. Jensen.
Second Presbyterian Church.....	4231 Charlotte Rd., Baltimore 18, Md.	Paul C. Warren.
Do.....	Johnstown, Pa.	Gurdon T. Seoville.
Sherwood Episcopal Church.....	Cockeysville, Md.	C. R. Sutton.
Shiloh Presbyterian Church.....	Miolo, Pa.	H. W. Logan.
Shippensburg Presbyterian Church.....	12 South Prince St., Shippensburg, Pa.	W. H. Gubbreath.
Sykesville Methodist Church.....	Sykesville, Md.	H. E. Dixon, Jr.
Transfiguration Episcopal Church.....	Groveland and Granada Aves, West Arlington, Baltimore 18, Md.	N. H. Cochrane.
Trinity Presbyterian Church.....	Berwyn, Pa.	E. H. Ross.
Walbrook Presbyterian Church.....	2221 Elsinor Ave., Baltimore 16, Md.	A. Brown Caldwell.
Warwick Methodist Church.....	Warwick, Md.	I. L. Thetford.
Waynesboro Presbyterian Church.....	Waynesboro, Pa.	H. T. Smith.
West Grove Methodist Church.....	West Grove, Pa.	C. G. Thompson.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	1802 Green St., Harrisburg, Pa.	N. O. Grimes.
Do.....	339 West Union St., West Chester, Pa.	Robert B. Boell.
Woodlawn Presbyterian Church.....	104 King St., Alliquippa, Pa.	J. M. Priester.
Loyola University.....	Los Angeles 45, Calif.	Attention: The president.

Approved: Irénée du Pont.
Dated: April 20.

FEBRUARY 1, 1949.

Suggested list of colleges, universities, and libraries to receive gift subscriptions to Council publications for 1 year.

(Irénée du Pont 4.)

Institution	Location	Governing official
Natrona County library	Casper, Wyo.	Margaret Burke, librarian.
Albany County Carnegie public library	Laramie, Wyo.	Hazel Duer, librarian.
Public library	Sheridan, Wyo.	M. G. McClintock, librarian.
Williams free library	Beaver Dam, Wis.	Ruby Roeder, librarian.
Gilbert M. Simmons library	Kenosha, Wis.	Dorothy Huth, librarian.
Free public library	Kaukauna, Wis.	Gertrude Buehler, librarian.
State Teachers College library	LaCrosse, Wis.	Florence S. Wing, librarian.
Milwaukee-Downer College Chapman Memorial library	Milwaukee, Wis.	Mrs. J. P. Pavloff, librarian.
Milwaukee-Downer College	do	Luela R. Briggs, president.
State Teachers College library	do	Donald A. Woods, librarian.
Public library	Neenah, Wis.	Mary Hart, librarian.
Do	Oconomowoc, Wis.	Anna R. Jones, librarian.
Winnebago County library	Oshkosh, Wis.	Natalie Huhn, librarian.
Portage free public library	Portage, Wis.	Mrs. R. P. Swenson, librarian.
Free public library	Rhineland, Wis.	Mrs. D. B. Whittaker, librarian.
Central State Teachers College	Stevens Point, Wis.	N. R. Kampenga, librarian.
T. B. Scott free public library	Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.	Jessie Sanford, librarian.
Concord College	Athens, W. Va.	V. H. Stewart, president.
Public library	Clarksburg, W. Va.	Ethel Green, librarian.
Do	South Charleston, W. Va.	Mrs. F. Miller, librarian.
West Liberty State College	West Liberty, W. Va.	P. N. Elbirt, president.
Public library	Aberdeen, Wash.	Florence K. Lewis, librarian.
Eastern Washington College of Education	Cheney, Wash.	W. W. Isle, president.
Eastern Washington College of Education, Hargreaves library	do	Hugh M. Blair, librarian.
Public library	Everett, Wash.	Fred M. Stephen, librarian.
Do	Longview, Wash.	Mrs. M. K. Horn, librarian.
Seattle Pacific College	Seattle, Wash.	C. H. Watson, president.
Seattle Pacific College library	do	Margaret Bursell, librarian.
Gonzaga University	Spokane, Wash.	F. E. Corkery, president.
College of Puget Sound	Tacoma, Wash.	R. F. Thompson, president.
Public library	Vancouver, Wash.	Eva Santee, librarian.
Do	Yakima, Wash.	Heleen Homberg, librarian.
Emory and Henry College	Emory, Va.	Rev. Faye G. Gibson, A. B., D.D.
Virginia State College	Petersburg, Va.	L. H. Foster, president.
Virginia State College, Johnston Memorial library	do	Mrs. M. Campbell, reference librarian.
Norwich University	Norfield, Vt.	Homar L. Dodge, director of the cadet programs in Aviation.
Brigham Young University	Provo, Utah	H. S. McDonald, president.
Brigham Young University library	do	Anna Ollerton, librarian.
Westminster College library	Salt Lake City, Utah	Mrs. O. Orinwood, librarian.
Public library	Amarillo, Tex.	Alice Green, librarian.
Texas Library and Historical Commission	Austin, Tex.	Adele Mitchell, reference librarian.
Tillotson College	do	W. H. Jones, president.
Tyrell public library	Benmont, Tex.	Pearle Burr, librarian.
Mary Hardin-Baylor College	Belton, Tex.	O. G. Singleton, president.
Public library	Brownsville, Tex.	Mrs. G. C. Wagner, librarian.
La Retama public library	Corpus Christi, Tex.	Mrs. A. C. Hardy, librarian.
Public library	El Paso, Tex.	Erin Humphrey, reference librarian.
University of Texas	Austin, Tex.	T. S. Painter, president.
University of Texas, College of Mines and Metallurgy	El Paso, Tex.	E. M. Thomas, President.
Texas State College for Women library	Denton, Tex.	Ivan L. Schulze, librarian.
Public library	Fort Worth, Tex.	J. S. Ibbotson, librarian.
Cooke County free library	Galveston, Tex.	Carrie Hudspeth, librarian.
Rosenberg public library	Galveston, Tex.	Mildred Stevenson, reference librarian.
Baylor University	Houston, Tex.	W. R. White, president.
Public library	Houston, Tex., Z 2	Martha Schmitzer, librarian.
Do	do	Louise Franklin, reference librarian.
Rice Institute	Houston, Tex.	W. B. Houston, president.
University of Houston library	Houston, Tex., Z 4, Holman and Austin Sts.	Mrs. R. B. Wikoff, librarian.
Lubbock County library	Lubbock, Tex.	Mrs. J. A. Humphries, librarian.
Gates Memorial library	Port Arthur, Tex.	Lucy Stiefel, librarian.
Trinity University library	315 W. Ashby Pl., San Antonio 1, Tex.	Mary J. Hayward, reference librarian.
Kilgore Public Library	Kilgore, Tex.	Arless Nixon, librarian.
Cumberland University library	Lebanon, Tenn.	Ruth Randle, librarian.
Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.	C. S. Johnson, president.
Fisk University library	do	Mrs. M. R. Bowles, reference librarian.
University of the South	Sewanee, Tenn.	Dr. Boylston Green.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Carnegie public library.....	Mitchell, S. Dak.....	Mrs. B. S. Tjomsland, librarian.
Dakota Wesleyan University.....	do.....	S. M. Hilburn, president.
Carnegie public library.....	Rapid City, S. Dak.....	Marjorie Smith, librarian.
Anderson County library.....	Anderson, S. C.....	Mrs. E. S. Cole, librarian.
Charleston Library Society.....	Charleston, S. C.....	Ellen FitzSimons, librarian.
University of South Carolina.....	Columbia, S. C., Zone 19.....	N. M. Smith, president.
University of South Carolina library.....	Columbia 19, S. C.....	Sallie Anderson, reference librarian.
Moklissok Memorial library.....		Nancy Blair, librarian.
Kennedy public library.....	Spartanburg, S. C.....	Jean Cochran, librarian.
Carnegie library.....	Sumter, S. C.....	Mrs. K. B. Coggeshall, librarian.
Narragansett Pier free library.....	Narragansett, R. I.....	N. E. McClure, president.
Uranus College.....	Collegeville, Pa.....	Katharine H. Rock, librarian.
Public library.....	Greentown, Pa.....	Margaret Spohn, librarian.
Community library.....	Lebanon, Pa.....	Elizabeth Kane, librarian.
Monroe County public library.....	Stroudsburg, Pa.....	Grace W. Estes, librarian.
Osterhout free library.....	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	Katharine Sherry, librarian.
Martin Memorial library.....	York, Pa.....	H. K. Newburn, president.
University of Oregon.....	Eugene, Oreg.....	Elizabeth Findly, librarian (reference).
University of Oregon library.....	do.....	Mabel F. Doty, librarian.
Public library.....	La Grande, Oreg.....	E. B. MacNaughton, president.
Reed College.....	Portland, Oreg.....	Frances Kemp, librarian.
Reed College library.....	Portland, Oreg., Z 2.....	Dan Graves, librarian.
Willamette University library.....	Salem, Oreg.....	Mary F. Gilbert, librarian.
Wasco County library.....	The Dalles, Oreg.....	Ruth W. Brown, librarian.
Free public library.....	Bartlesville, Okla.....	Mrs. L. O'Riley, librarian.
Robert L. Williams public library.....	Durant, Okla.....	E. S. Briggs, president.
Phillips University.....	Enid, Okla.....	Golda Barnett, librarian.
Cleveland County library.....	Norman, Okla.....	G. L. Cross, president.
University of Oklahoma.....	do.....	Jesse L. Rader, librarian.
University of Oklahoma library.....	do.....	Mary Carnahan, traveling librarian.
Oklahoma Library Commission.....	Oklahoma City, Okla.....	Helen Donart, librarian.
Public library.....	Stillwater, Okla.....	Carl Vitz, librarian.
Public library of Cincinnati.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	L. N. Richardson, director.
Western Reserve University libraries.....	1111 Euclid Ave., Z 6, Cleveland, Ohio.....	N. Gates, librarian.
Franklin University library.....	Columbus, Ohio.....	Sarah E. Miller, librarian.
Public library.....	East Cleveland, Ohio.....	Avis I. Lane, librarian.
Euclid library.....	Euclid, Ohio.....	George McAfee, librarian.
Public library.....	Lima, Ohio.....	Lola MacKellar, librarian.
Do.....	Mansfield, Ohio.....	Helen L. Kremer, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Marion, Ohio.....	Mildred Turnbull, librarian.
Carnegie library.....	Steubenville, Ohio.....	Attention: librarian.
Warder public library.....	Springfield, Ohio.....	Samuel McConoughy, reference librarian.
Public library.....	Toledo 2, Ohio.....	Dorothy Wells, branches librarian.
Do.....	do.....	Mary T. Hardy, librarian.
Brumbaek library.....	Van Wert, Ohio.....	Josephine Lytle, librarian.
Public library.....	Warren, Ohio.....	Ruth A. Dennis, librarian.
Green County district library.....	Xenia, Ohio.....	Mary A. Earle, librarian.
John McIntire public library.....	Zanesville, Ohio.....	J. C. West, president.
University of North Dakota.....	Grand Forks, N. Dak.....	Della Mathys, librarian.
University of North Dakota library.....	do.....	Mrs. A. P. Bensch, librarian.
Alfred Dickoy free library.....	Jamestown, N. Dak.....	Mrs. M. Kachelhoffer, librarian.
Leach public library.....	Wahpeton, N. Dak.....	Mrs. E. S. Thompson, librarian.
Public library.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.....	Bettie Stephenson, librarian.
Do.....	Hobbs, N. Mex.....	Evelyn Shuler, librarian.
Carnegie public library.....	Raton, N. Mex.....	Nina Hatfield, librarian.
Free public library.....	Hoboken, N. J.....	Mrs. J. H. Stover, librarian.
Public library.....	North Arlington, N. J.....	A. Edith Kingsland, librarian.
Do.....	Roselle Park, N. J.....	Mary Thomas, librarian.
Free public library.....	Rahway, N. J.....	Kalman Littauer, librarian.
Free library.....	Union City, N. J.....	Annabelle Setcombe, librarian.
Public library.....	Milford, N. H.....	Clara E. Smith, librarian.
Do.....	Nashua, N. H.....	E. Velma Foss, librarian.
Laura Johnson Memorial library.....	Rochester, N. H.....	Mrs. Vine Chapman, librarian.
Mount Cassar Union library.....	Stratford, N. H.....	Mrs. Oliver Baiding, librarian.
Bridge Memorial library.....	Post Office Keene, R. I., N. H. (Swanzy, N. H.).....	G. L. Bellows, librarian.
Nevada State library.....	Walpole, N. H.....	E. C. D. Marriage, librarian.
Elko County library.....	Carson City, Nev.....	Mrs. Mary Comish, librarian.
University of Nevada library.....	Elko, Nev.....	James J. Hill, librarian.
Public library.....	Reno, Nev.....	Mrs. L. Montgomery, librarian.
Do.....	Central City, Nebr.....	Mrs. L. Skiles, librarian.
Do.....	Chadron, Nebr.....	Mrs. E. B. Hardeman, librarian.
Do.....	Crete, Nebr.....	Margaret Olson, librarian.
Lydia Bruun Woods Memorial library.....	Falls City, Nebr.....	Dorothy Dvynager, librarian.
Midland College library.....	Fremont, Nebr.....	Helen M. Gorder, librarian.
Public library.....	Grand Island, Nebr.....	J. C. Settlement, director.
Lincoln City library.....	Lincoln, Nebr.....	Ann Whitmeyer, librarian.
Farmls Billings Memorial library.....	Billings, Mont.....	Mrs. D. H. Shideler, librarian.
Rocky Mountain College library.....	do.....	

Institution	Location	Governing official
Montana State College.....	Bozeman, Mont.....	R. R. Renne, president.
Cascade County library.....	Great Falls, Mont.....	Amy A. Patterson, librarian.
Columbia University.....	Broadway and 116th St., New York 27, N. Y.	Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, president.
Mississippi State College for Women....	Columbus, Miss.....	B. L. Parkinson, president.
Mississippi State College for Women, John Clayton Fant Memorial library.	do.....	Boulah Culbertson, librarian.
Belhaven College library.....	Jackson, Miss.....	Mary A. Anderson, librarian.
University of Mississippi library.....	University, Miss.....	J. S. Hartin, librarian.
Ricks Memorial library.....	Yazoo City, Miss.....	Mrs. M. F. Darden, librarian.

Approved: Irénée du Pont.

Dated: April 20.

JANUARY 26, 1948.

HON. HADWEN C. FULLER,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I made a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the Marshall plan and am enclosing a copy. If you get a chance to look at it I shall be glad to have any comment.

I hope to get before the House committee.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES,
15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y., February 1948.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: Will you not accord this earnest letter the same gracious consideration you would its writer were he with you in a private conference?

If you are one who recognizes the place the Bible has had in the prosperity of our land, you will highly appreciate the enclosed information.

If you are one who appreciates liberty and who is prepared to do all in your power to transmit that freedom to coming generations, then you will read with gratification this literature.

You will recognize that the American council is grappling in a practical and effective manner with the tyrant of collectivism which threatens all the remaining freedoms we possess in this country. Any financial assistance to the American Council of Christian Churches is exempt from income tax, within the 15 percent personal and 5 percent corporation deduction allowed.

We believe that individuals and business enterprises will wish to assist us in "going over the top" in the attainment of the \$203,000 budget. This is the least which must be had to achieve the objectives planned for 1948. Be assured of the depth of our appreciation for whatever assistance you offer.

We pray that it may be the will of God to bring a helpful response from you.

Very cordially yours,

WILLIAM HARLEE BORDEAUX, *General Secretary.*

WHAT SHOULD THE CHURCH SAY ABOUT PACIFISM, FREE ENTERPRISE, THE BIBLE?

The American Council of Christian Churches, Suite 411-412, 15 Park Row,
New York 7, N. Y.

FEDERAL COUNCIL

Pacifism

The United States Navy, through its Intelligence department, made the following declaration in 1935: "The Federal Council of Christ in America: This is a large, radical, pacifist organization. It probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small radical group which dictates its policies. It is always extremely active in any matter against national defense" (Congressional Record, vol. 79, No. 180, p. 15271).

In 1928 the Federal Council lobbied vigorously in Washington against the Navy's program with a high degree of success. The Federal Council boasted of its triumph in cutting the \$1,000,000,000 program to \$274,000,000—from 71 proposed new ships to 16. At that time the executive committee of the Federal Council went on record as protesting rearmament generally. More than any other religious organization in the United States of America the Federal Council is guilty of contributing to our Nation's unpreparedness for World War II, and has a measure of guilt for heavy loss of life by our boys in the earliest days of the conflict.

The Federal Council bitterly repudiated saturation bombings by the United States of America and her allies, but there was no word of protest against the most atrocious deeds perpetrated by Germany or Japan.

Free enterprise

Plank No. 2 of the Social Creed of the Federal Council advocates the following: "Social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good."

The Federal Council has openly advocated repeatedly through her most responsible spokesmen the abolition of the private ownership of property, and has decried as un-Christian the profit motive in business. It is the usual thing for the Federal Council to advocate any legislation which radical labor leaders endorse, and their Socialist and Communist fellow travelers support. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, in his statement before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on March 26, 1947, asserted: "The Communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism."

The Federal Council officially issued a lengthy statement on what should be the Soviet relations of the United States of America, which was clearly pro-Soviet.

David Lawrence, editor of the United States News, writing on the theme, Sniping at Profit-and-Loss System, said: "A drive to abolish private ownership and substitute some form of state socialism appears now and then in democratic countries. But first confidence in the profit system has to be undermined. In America the attack emanates from the 'left,' and the latest example of the subtle efforts to discredit private ownership comes in a bulletin distributed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. Much of the space in the Bulletin (meaning the Federal Council's 'Information Service' Bulletin) is devoted to praise of 'consumer cooperatives' and of systems of public ownership here and abroad. It would have been a much more persuasive document if it had conceded its thesis to be the advocacy of state socialism as a desirable objective" (see issue December 27, 1946).

The Bible

Many of the men whom the Federal Council has delighted for many years to elevate to its principal offices are deniers of the Bible as God's inerrant word:

Dr. George A. Buttrick, president of the Federal Council (1940-42), in his book *The Christian Fact and Modern Doubt* writes: "Literal infallibility of Scripture is a fortress impossible to defend * * *. Probably few people who claim to 'believe every word of the Bible' really mean it. That avowal held to its last logic would risk a trip to the insane asylum. Then, Dr. Buttrick exhorts men to 'set out on the long hard quest for truth,' (p. 162).

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, for many years the Federal Council's most distinguished radio preacher, in his book, *The Modern Use of the Bible* writes: "Biblical miracles will more and more become unreal ghosts lost in antiquity and, gradually becoming dimmer, will disappear in utter incredulity" (p. 157).

AMERICAN COUNCIL

Pacifism

At its annual meeting in October 1945, the American Council unanimously adopted the following statement:

"ON MILITARY SERVICE

"The Christian owes the duty of service and protection to the state as an institution ordained of God and responsible to Him. That duty includes the necessity of bearing arms upon necessary and just occasion. We, therefore, approve the principle of universal peacetime military training. We believe that the sending

of untrained boys into combat is cruelly unjust to them and little short of willful murder. In the event of another conflict we may not be given a providential period of time for improvisation as was given us in both World Wars I and II. The pacifism being spread by the Federal Council of Churches and other agencies will not prevent future conflict, but it might result in the destruction of the United States of America.

"We further urge that in any such program adequate measures be taken to protect the moral and spiritual interest and welfare of the men while in training."

The American Council continues to believe that some form of universal military training is absolutely indispensable to the security not only of the United States of America, but of freedom wherever it is found in the world. Nothing will be more of a deterrent to another world conflict than a strong America. Her military weakness would constitute the strongest encouragement to aggression on the part of a highly militarized hostile power. During the course of World War II, this further resolution was adopted by the American Council:

"(1) The American Council of Christian Churches pledges its undying opposition to all forms of totalitarianism, whether they be Nazi, Fascist, or Communist, and affirms its allegiance to the principles of democratic representative government as expressed in the Constitution of the United States.

"(2) The American Council of Christian Churches repudiates the Federal Council's militant pacifism, holding it to be anti-Biblical, un-Christian and disloyal to the United States in this time of crisis. We charge the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America with being a fountainhead of pacifism for many years, and solemnly declare it must answer at the bar of history for the hurt it has done to our nation."

Free Enterprise

The American Council believes that the eighth commandment "Thou shalt not steal," is God's sanction for private ownership. No exception is made whereby the state may become a thief. The American Council believes there can be no compromise between freedom and the slavery of totalitarian systems.

The American Council denies the allegation of the Federal Council that the profit motive is sinful. Honorable profits are endorsed by the Bible as indicated by the parables of the talents and of the pounds (Matt. 25:14-30; Luke 19:12-20).

The American Council freely concedes the right of collective bargaining for just and righteous ends. It repudiates as contrary to the Bible the trespassing on the part of labor czars into the fields of collective management and control and of collective ownership of such institutions as they in no sense own.

The American Council believes that the present terrible conflict in the industrial field to preserve free enterprise is but one phase of the larger campaign of the enemy which ultimately would destroy not only economic freedom, but political and religious freedom as well.

At all cost must all outposts of freedom be held impregnable against its powerful foes who are assailing it both from without and from within our land.

The Bible

The preamble of the constitution of the American Council, to which all members must subscribe before admission, reads as follows:

"Whereas it is the duty of Christian believers to make common testimony to their glorious faith, especially in darkening days of apostasy, the bodies forming this council do now establish it as an agency unreservedly dedicated without compromise or evasion as a witness to the glory of God and the historic faith of the church universal, including adherence to these truths among others equally precious: the full truthfulness, inerrancy, and authority of the Bible, which is the Word of God; the holiness and love of the one sovereign God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the true Deity and sinless humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, His virgin birth, His atoning death, 'the just for the unjust,' His bodily resurrection, His glorious coming again; salvation by grace through faith alone; the oneness in Christ of those He has redeemed with His own precious blood; and the maintenance in the visible church of purity of life and doctrine."

WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT TODAY'S CRISIS?

Although the Bible upholds the profit motive it teaches Christian stewardship, that is, the faithful discharge of one's duty to God and man by the regular use of a portion of one's gain for that end. As can be clearly seen from the false position and propaganda of the Federal Council, there is a tremendous need today

that a strong voice be lifted up to expose and protest the Federal Council's work and counteract its evil influence upon our Nation. This is exactly what the American Council of Christian Churches is now effectively doing, already having gained notable victories for the cause of Christ and country. People must be shown that State socialism and communism are trains bound for the same destination—destruction of human freedom. The only difference being this: Socialism is a local; communism is a fast express. The American Council is presenting these facts to tens of thousands * * * evidence millions must be shown.

We therefore come to you without hesitancy asking that you exercise your Christian stewardship on behalf of this cause by sending a generous gift now that this work of fundamental importance might be advanced even more effectively. Such gifts, as you realize, are deductible from your income tax. If you desire further information, write the American Council of Christian Churches, Suite 411-412, 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y., for literature or ask for an interview with one of its officers.

The hour is late. Now is the time for action!

Must reading: Three books by Carl McIntire, first president of the American Council of Christian Churches (1941-44):

The Rise of the Tyrant (controlled economy versus free enterprise), 250 pages, \$2.25.

Author of Liberty (The Bible, Freedom's Charter), 283 pages, \$2.25.

Twentieth Century Reformation, 226 pages, \$1.50.

Brochure by the present president of the American Council, Rev. W. O. H. Gorman, *What Is Wrong With the Federal Council?*, 20 pages, 10 cents each; \$1 per dozen; \$7 per hundred.

Orders may be sent to American Council of Christian Churches, 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.

A Question

Christian businessmen of America today are becoming increasingly appalled at the bold and widespread advocacy of plans and ideologies foreign to the Christian faith. Views hostile to America's concept of freedom are heard on every hand. Leading churchmen throughout the land are busy speaking on behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America openly espousing the cause of a controlled economy and cooperative system which they, without any justification whatsoever, designate by the Scripture term of the Kingdom of God on earth. The program of these men is obviously out of harmony with our Nation's historic position on pacifism and free enterprise, and is contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. It is a program which would reject the free economy of our Nation as a repulse in favor of the controlled one of a socialistic order. Yet it is claimed by the leaders of the Federal Council that the weight of American Protestantism is behind their program in that 27,000,000 Protestants are members of the denominations comprising the Federal Council. What the businessmen would like to know is, "Are there any Protestant churches who, in the name and authority of the Church of Christ, are opposing the radical innovations and foreign ideologies of these false prophets? If so, what are they doing?"

The Answer

The answer is that there are Protestant churches in America who are strenuously opposing the perilous program of the Federal Council and who are banded together beneath the banner of the American Council of Christian Churches, 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y. The American Council's straightforward stand for the historic Christian faith and freedom can be seen in its pronouncements on these subjects: Pacifism, free enterprise and the Bible—in contrast to the Federal Council's dictum on the same issues.

**IT'S TIME FOR ACTION!—A STATEMENT—BUDGET FOR 1948—AN OPPORTUNITY;
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, 15 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.**

A STATEMENT

There never was an hour in the history of America when the Bible and the great truths of God's word were more needed than today. We must get back to God's holy word.

The threat to economic and religious freedom in the United States of America is neither delusory nor imaginative, but is ghastly real. Collectivism is working

day and night to destroy economic, political, and religious freedom in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Some of the most brilliant intellects, countless hours of labor, and an incalculable financial treasury are being poured into the arsenals of the collectivists.

The peril is increased by the fact that many religious leaders are rendering distinguished service in favor of tyranny because they are committed to Marxian ideologies. Hosts of responsible national leaders will testify to the truthfulness of this charge. To quote but one, let us cite the statement of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation: "I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism." (Menace of Communism. Mr. Hoover's statement before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 26, 1947.)

Down through the ages the majority of men have reposed confidence in their spiritual leaders. They have not scrutinized nor analyzed their philosophies. Trustfully they have accepted their dictum, and lent their support where their leaders asked.

The American Council of Christian Churches has, therefore, "Come into the kingdom for such a time as this." Since religious leaders threaten to destroy our heritage of freedom, which we rightly are determined to pass on to our children, they must be exposed and resisted by Christian leaders. Such Christian men comprise the membership of the American Council. Men who are committed to the charter of freedom, the Bible. Men who are prepared to withstand all forms of collectivism, the roots of which are traceable to atheistic Marxism. Men who are equally courageous in opposing violations of God's word whether by capitalism or labor. But, men who know that the way to correct the sins of either is not to destroy freedom!

The inter-relationships of life are too close for freedom to perish in one sphere and to thrive in another. Under such conditions, freedom could not even survive. The American Council of Christian Churches is persuaded that should our free-enterprise system in America be destroyed, the tyranny of collectivism would inevitably abolish freedom in both the political and religious realms as well. We do not live in airtight compartments. The lethal death to freedom in one compartment will unquestionably destroy liberty in all other compartments. At all cost, therefore, freedom must be preserved in every realm; however large the sacrifice it entails, however furious the battles which must rage.

We reverence the memory of those who, with the help of God, gave us the rich heritage of freedom. Whether that freedom is to survive the terrific barrage which is being hurled against it is the question. Will our children thank God we had a worthy part in this holy endeavor? Or, will they rather bemoan the fact that we lacked the wisdom, the courage, and the will to battle every adversary of their God-given freedom?

The American Council of Christian Churches more than any other council of churches in America is contending for the verities of the historic Christian faith. It is waging unrelenting warfare against all who are the foes of freedom. Because of certain information and facts which have been recently brought to light by our investigators, we are convinced that we must move effectively—and move now. One or two years later will be too late. Because of this overwhelming conviction based upon facts in our possession, the American Council of Christian Churches in session in Detroit, Mich., in October 1947, unanimously and enthusiastically adopted the following budget for 1948:

Budget for 1948

Administration.....	\$15,000	Student work.....	\$8,000
Promotion.....	45,000	Church relations.....	10,000
Radio.....	35,000	Department for the preservation	
Washington office.....	15,000	of freedom.....	50,000
Department of foreign rela-		Total.....	208,000
tions.....	25,000		

AN OPPORTUNITY

How large is your stake in the present and the future? For your sake and your children's, how much does economic, political and religious freedom mean to you? It will be too late to invest to preserve freedom when, destroyed, its priceless

worth is but a haunting memory. The surest and swiftest way to lose liberty is to do nothing to retain it.

"Such dark disaster could never come to the United States." This is the comforting but paralyzing conviction of millions who really love freedom. They forget, however, that the collectivists, with their rigid controls, thrive on such a philosophy and the apathy it engenders. They forget that millions, crushed now under the heel of dictatorship, thought their freedom forever secure—and that very conviction merely aided their enslavers. Changes have been so gradual, they forget that even in America there is much less freedom today than a generation ago—and, what remains is steadily decreasing. Liberty, like flowers, demands cultivation, attention, protection. Collectivism's tyranny, like weeds, will not uproot itself. But, uprooted it must be, if the flower of freedom is to survive and flourish. With the help of God, this can and must be done! An opportunity is ours today which must be seized. For if not grasped, it could be an opportunity soon to be lost—and with what travail and anguish, only God can measure.

The American Council's ministry is worthy of substantial investment by every congregation committed to the word of God; by every true Christian who places a proper evaluation upon his God-given freedom, and who sees the serious peril of losing it. Donations are, of course, exempt from income tax.

In the great contest in which American Council of Christian Churches is engaged, I enlist not only my prayerful participation, but in a material way I wish to have a part.

Name: (Mr., Mrs., Miss, Rev., Dr.) _____

(Kindly print plainly)

Street address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

(1) I, (We) enclose a donation of \$ _____.

(2) By _____ (Date) it will be my (our) purpose to donate \$ _____.

(3) I, (We) shall endeavor to contribute \$ _____ during the year, payable in _____ installments of \$ _____.

(Monthly or semiannual)

Names of those who should wish to participate in the realization of the 1948 budget will be appreciated. Your name will not be mentioned unless you suggest that it should be.

FORM OF REQUEST

I give (devise) and bequeath to the American Council of Christian Churches, incorporated in the State of New Jersey, the sum of _____ dollars (or otherwise describe the gift) for its corporate purposes.

[First class permit No. 51474 (sec. 510, P. L. & R., New York, N. Y.)]

[Business reply envelope, no stamp necessary if mailed in the United States]

4 cents postage will be paid by—

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

15 PARK ROW

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

FEBRUARY 3, 1948.

MEMORANDUM ON NEW ARGUMENTS IN REGARD TO THE COUNCIL

1. The need for local committees. Each committee to consist of from 5 to 10 men, all of them completely sold on the idea of (a) awakening the people of their neighborhood to the dangers of communism and socialism and the police state; (b) making sure that the trustees of churches and the ministers of their community are advised and awakened; (c) that schools and colleges in their neighborhood are not permitted unchallenged to be left wing in their instruction and in their influence; (d) making sure that letters are written by some of themselves or others in the neighborhood in response to pro-Communist or pro-Socialist letters that appear in the newspapers; etc., etc.

2. Frank Rand's idea of having briefed summaries of our council letters appear in some of the country newspapers.

3. Arranging to have briefed statements, digesting our council letters, put on radio records for use under such circumstances as inquired about by that man in the South.

OCTOBER 22, 1947.

MR. HENRY HOTTINGER,
120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HOTTINGER: Referring to our phone conversation today, you can buy any number of subscriptions to the Council publications at \$10 a set for 1 year, to be sent to educational and religious institutions (colleges, universities, public libraries, and Protestant churches), and the price you pay for them is deductible before taxes, as set forth in the attached photostatic copy of opinion by our legal counsel, Mason H. Bigelow, 1 Wall Street.

This matter was brought to my attention only last year when a friend of ours from Michigan sent us a check for \$3,000 and an order for 300 sets of our publications, to go to religious and educational institutions.

If you will indicate how many sets you would care to purchase, we will make out and send you a suggested list in triplicate of the exact institutions to which they will go. If you will O. K. same and return to us copy of that list, our publications will go every 2 weeks to these institutions. They are in each case sent to the attention of the head of the institution.

You may use the enclosed form which is in duplicate in ordering our publications, retaining copy for your file.

If you could let us have your check for the amount you wish to subscribe for next week, it will be of particular help to us.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

ONE TWENTY BROADWAY,
New York 5, February 5, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
Room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: For some time I have been wanting to answer the letter which you wrote me last fall about the plan of paying for National Economic Council publications, about which you have an opinion from Messrs. Gould & Winkle. I also received a letter suggesting support for the council from Mr. Ora A. Taylor.

The matter of the subscription of Wertheim & Co. has concerned me for some time because, while I know that there is no question of anti-Semitism in your organization, still the Jewish people are prone to stick this label on any mention of any one of their race. As the firm has several Jewish partners whom I respect in the greatest degree, I do not want this question ever to come up. Therefore I have decided to take over their subscription personally, and enclose my check for \$200.

I also enclose Miss Clara L. Macbeth's check for \$200.

This will take care of the embarrassing question and at the same time give you additional support, which I am glad to do.

Both Miss Macbeth and I would like to have these amounts considered as payments for publications, and any acknowledgment you make should be to that effect.

With kind regards,
Sincerely yours,

HENRY HOTTINGER.

FEBRUARY 9, 1948.

Personal

MR. HENRY HOTTINGER,
120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HOTTINGER: Thank you so much for your own personal subscription of \$200 and that of Miss Clara L. Macbeth for the same amount.

We greatly appreciate them and wish you would extend our thanks to Miss Macbeth.

I am enclosing herewith three copies of a list of 20 names of institutions. If you find these in order, will you kindly indicate your approval at the bottom of the original and return for our files as our authority to send our publications to these institutions. Then you will keep the other two copies for your files. I enclose also three copies of a second list for Miss Macbeth and would be glad if you would have her O. K. the original, if satisfactory, and return to us. With kindest regards and renewed thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

FEBRUARY 11, 1948.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart from Dr. Griffiths.

I have considered carefully your memorandum of February 9 about projects on which we should be heard in Washington.

I am clear that it would be good for us to appear on the Marshall plan, Federal aid to education, FEPC, housing, ITO, immigration and civil rights measures.

I am not sure about the amendment to the lobbying law or UMT.

In the first case, there might be some criticism of lobbying agencies working on their own behalf, but the whole matter will bear further consideration.

On UMT I would be 100 percent in favor of our going down and making the welkin ring if we took a stand for UMT. But I am wondering just what effect that would have on our constituency. Maybe we ought to do it anyway but I think that it is a very grave matter to decide—even if we decide not to do it.

Certain other bills have been presented upon which I think we ought either to be heard or to write strong letters. They are as follows:

S. 2107, a bill by Senator Capper to establish a division of cooperatives inside the Agriculture Department which would in effect be a Government bureaucracy, pushing the cooperatives against private enterprise for all that it is worth. I believe that if we got vigorously into this, we might be able to get some support from sources hitherto not associated with us—I mean such people as are supporting Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the Tax Equality League.

House Resolution 5329, by Representative Sundstrom, the bill about which we talked for exchange of currency, is one we might well also support. I went to Sundstrom's press conference on Monday and was much impressed.

Senate Joint Resolution 163, by Senator Bridges, aims to cancel the visas of citizens of the Soviet Union in this country until the number of them here is reduced to be equal to the number of American citizens permitted in Russia. I think we ought to holler for this one as loud as we can.

House Resolution 4693, by Mr. Elsaesser, is a bill to require that employers as well as employees must make non-Communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. I think we ought to be for this for two reasons:

1. It gives a mutuality in the act so that it would be better protected from being declared unconstitutional.

2. There are certain "business" firms which are themselves little better than Communist fronts. Off hand I can think of two particularly, the Latex Corp. and the Electronics Corp. of America, both of which publish pro-Communist advertisements quite often.

House Resolution 5232, by Mr. Cannon—is a bill to add the cost of farm labor in figuring the parity price to be paid farmers for their produce. The practical effect of this is simply to make the parity prices higher. Of course I think that this bill should be considered in light of the whole parity question and that we ought to advocate scrapping of the whole farm subsidy program.

I think that in all of the cases listed, both on your part and the ones now appended, we could do both the country and ourselves a service. In each of these matters there are groups with whom we now have little to do, who would welcome our help and who would be reasonably expected to scratch our backs in return.

H. McALLISTER GRIFFITHS.

[Chicago Daily Tribune, Friday, February 13, 1948]

TAXPAYERS' PETITION PROTESTING UNCONSTITUTIONAL TAXING

People are the paymasters and it is their responsibility to see that Congress adhere rigidly to the master law.

Your State government cannot tax you for aid beyond the jurisdictional boundaries of your State. Likewise Congress has no legal authority to tax for aid

beyond the jurisdictional boundaries of the United States. . . not one inch further than our flag officially flies. It is the opinion of many lawyers that Congress has exceeded its constitutional authority in passing foreign-aid acts.

The Constitution of the United States is a written law, set down by the people and since every Government official receives a wage they have no legal authority to by-pass the law under which they operate as agents.

PETITION

We the people of the United States of America, in the exercise of our Sovereignty, send you our Representatives, in Congress assembled, our greetings and demands.

Because the power to lay a tax is a Sovereign power, and you the Congress as representatives of that power, hold only jurisdiction over domestic taxing powers.

Therefore you have not the authority to burden our sovereign people with a levy for any Foreign purpose.

Your petitioners therefore send you their request that you refrain and desist from this unlawful purpose.

We submit our reasons for this our demand in the outline hereto attached.

Name _____ Street address _____ Zone _____ State _____

You are invited to join in this protest. Send self-addressed stamped envelope for the "outline" to be attached to the petition.

A small group of patriotic businessmen provided the initial cost to open the way for a Nation-wide protest.

Businessmen, organizations, and others are requested to contribute to insure its success.

Cut out and complete this petition with 5 signatures and addresses if possible. Mail promptly to

TAXPAYERS, INC., 111 WEST MONROE STREET, ROOM 1111, CHICAGO 3, ILL.

This is a nonprofit corporation.

We the people of the United States of America, in the exercise of our sovereignty, send you our Representatives, in Congress assembled, our greetings and demands.

Because the power to lay a tax is a sovereign power, and you the Congress, as representatives of that power, hold only jurisdiction over domestic taxing powers.

Therefore you have not the authority to burden our sovereign people with a levy for any Foreign purpose.

Your petitioners therefore send you their request that you refrain and desist from this unlawful purpose.

We submit our reasons for this, our demand, in the outline hereto attached.

Your petitioners therefore submit this, our request.

Name	Street address	Zone	State
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Complete this petition with 20 signatures and addressed and mail promptly to:

TAXPAYERS, INC., 111 WEST MONROE STREET, ROOM 1111, CHICAGO 3, ILL.

PETITION

We who have signed this petition, relate that we are citizens of the United States of America and are of voting age.

We, therefore, send this, our petition, addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled.

As sovereign citizens we wish to remind the Congress that prudence indeed will dictate that government long-established should not be changed for light and transient causes.

That throughout all history, at intervals, distress has come to the peoples, and that these periods were transient.

That the power to tax is a sovereign power and that Congress is not sovereign.

That the Congress derives all its powers from that sovereignty resting at all times in the people of the United States of America.

That the jurisdiction of the Congress to lay a tax is derived from this source and is not inherent in the Congress.

That this vast burden of taxes, now contemplated, in support of alien peoples, does not come within the powers of the Congress to lay upon the peoples.

This because Sheriff Sales for unpaid taxes are already prevalent.

The Congress has not the power to subject our citizens to the dangers of these distraint warrants for any but purely domestic use.

There is already a well-established institution, the Red Cross, which answers all calls for merciful relief.

To be charitable is a noble attribute of the humane desire to be helpful.

It does not involve the Congress nor the people in establishing this dangerous precedent.

This exercise of power, without authority, must not be indulged for the purpose here contemplated.

Therefore it is the desire, of we your petitioners, that you desist and refrain from imposing this heavy and unlawful burden upon us.

That as loyal citizens, of the United States of America, we invoke your loyalty to our master law, the Constitution, from which all your authority over taxes comes.

To our prayer in this behalf, we will simply add, that you as the Congress, are also citizens, and that your tenure in office is for a brief term, and that your property is subjected to this same burden. And that you as sovereign citizens would subject yourselves to the same unwise policy when you too become again private citizens.

We further pray, and with this reminder, that wisdom dictates that burdensome legislation raises a controversy that is among the causes of unrest.

That it is your duty to refrain from fastening upon our people this great and controversial question.

We further pray that, in that brief period you are Congressman, you refrain from partisan politics and give thought to this one great fact, that we are a united people under one form of government.

That we are one nation, under one Congress, that it is your duty to lead us into the path of peace, not to raise controversies that arrange one citizen against another.

That only from the people came your power to lay any tax, and the power was not extended to you to presume an imaginary danger might arise.

The power to lay a tax does not extend to a use, for any purpose, beyond our boundaries.

Not as a grievance your petitioners further recite, and invite your attention to this peculiar fact, that our United States unit dollar is accepted at face value in all parts of the world.

That the currency of other nations are all far below face values.

The reason why our American dollar has stood the test in this period of such unprecedented slump of other standard units, will be set out in the following question and answers.

Why has our dollar stood strong and without question anywhere, of its soundness of real face value?

We answer proudly because of the manner of its creation and the permanent strength behind its value.

Nowhere else in the world has any national currency been placed with a security equal to ours.

Here our entire people, and all they produce, to which must be added all our treasure locked in nature's storehouse, is a further permanent guarantee of its value.

All this without legal excuse to change its nature or value.

Further because our standard dollar is woven into the body of the Constitution, having the sanction of the master law, and is not subjected to the whims of a short-term official body.

Further our standard dollar is set up as a legal entity and is not dependent on the substance on which established authority places its fiat. The value of our dollar is something apart from substance because all the gold and silver bullion, all the copper and nickel values, all the material wealth, and all the labor of our people and the material value of that labor, all the value of our productive soil, and the land itself is behind our standard dollar.

On all our emergency, paper and coin, the legend is plainly written "The United States of America will pay the bearer on demand" whatever the face value of that piece of currency calls for.

Thus reads the redemption promise.

Everything of value in the United States of America is behind that promise.

FEBRUARY 20, 1948.

Copies of Mr. Hart's statement before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Marshall Plan sent to the following:

Anderson, Ira L.	Lindesty, W. A.
Brand, Charles J.	Brown, S. M. (Mohawk Carpet)
Conant, Ernest L.	Morris, John A.
Creigh, Thomas (2)	Myrick, Julian S.
Dresser, Robert B.	Needham, William A.
Freedman, Benjamin H.	Pickin, Jr., Wm. H.
Gipson, J. H.	Priest, Frank T.
Gray, Col. Edward D.	Wood, Gen. Robert E. (Sears, Roebuck)
Harding, Earl	Borchard, Prof. E. S. (Yale)
Jones, Mark M.	Weir, Ernest T. (2)
Kracke, Edward A.	Gannett, Frank
Lebedeff, Ivan	Essant, Opal
Lesssen, Nicholas F.	Sayre, Robert H.
Maguire, Russell	Nail, H. H.
Makaroff, V. S.	Creigh, Thomas
Morgan, Edwin S.	Drake, Col. J. F.
Munn, Glenn G.	Phinney, Pearl Bussey
Pearson, John A.	Donner, Robert
Rhoades, J. Howard	Fisher, Vardis (J. H. Gipson)
Taylor, O. A.	Scatterday, Mrs. Helma (J. H. Gipson)
Twombly, O. A.	Turner, Edith L. (3)
Twombly, McKay	Devereux, F. Ramsay
Schmid, A. Margaret (3) (6) (10)	Allen, Phil
Pipkin, James H. (2)	Fuller, D. D., Rev. David Otis
Luhnnow, W. H.	Caldwell, Jr., Walter O.
Peterson, Nicholas E.	Gauntlett, John M.
Dunn, Mrs. Henry T.	Crummey, James C.
(Mrs. Doorly)	Orgill, Edward
Stallforth, F. (3)	Sayre, Robert H.
Richardson, James (FES-Harvard)	Fabrizio, Mrs. N. P.
Schechter, A. A. (Mutual)	Holmes, Carl
Beard, Dr. Charles A.	Funk, C. M. (S. H. Kress)
Bailey, E. G.	Turner, E. C.
Trevor, John B.	Campbell, Philip S.
Duberg, H. E. C.	Nixdorff, Charles E.
Lane, Rose Wilder (CGD)	Scherer, Linn W.
Dall, J. J., 3d (CGD)	Koenig, E. J.
Patton, E. C. (CGD)	Armstrong, George W.
Gould, E. A. (CGD)	Donovan, J. B.
Blair, C. H. (CGD)	Moroney, John R.
Fisch, Jr., J. F. (CGD)	Roberts, Summerfield G.
Ray, Philip B. (CGD)	Cartwright, E. O.
Earhart, H. B.	McDaniel, Hugh
Divine, C. Dwight (2)	Smith, Prof. Arthur E.
Hargrave, Thomas J. (Eastman)	Adams, Nathan
Anderson, F. J. (Foley Bros.)	Pomeroy, Eugene
Irvin, C. H.	Pettengill, Samuel B.
Jones, Mark M.	Lewis, Charles S. (3)
Lewis, Charles S.	Traiser, Mrs. Charles H.

Copies of Mr. Hart's statement before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Marshall Plan sent to the following—Continued

Leetch, Mrs. William D.
Disque, Gen. Brice P.
Freeman, Admiral Charles S.
de Courcy, Kenneth
Truman, Hon. James
Bethel, Mrs. Neva (6)
Roberts, John W. (67 Broad St.)
Smith, Co., Truman

Kefover, C. M.
Dick, Carl
Lojendio, Prof. Ignacio M.
Hart, Mr. (for ? friend of Lojendio)
Donner, Robert (10)
de Grange, Mrs. H. C.
Robinson, Dwight P.

FEBRUARY 24, 1948.

Mr. DANA E. KEECH,
Action for Liberty,
Box 533, Riverside, Calif.

DEAR MR. KEECH: As you requested information about any sources of literature, in case you don't know of the two organizations listed below, they send out a quantity of information which we believe will be of great value to you.

The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-second Street,
New York, N. Y.

If on your inspecting the publications of the council already sent you, you care to have issues previous to the past year, please advise and we will gladly forward them to you.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: We heard you on Monday evening over the radio. It was an excellent presentation.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

FEBRUARY 26, 1948.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: Thank you for taking the trouble to write about that broadcast. I appreciate your good words.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

P. S.—Would this broadcast, copy of which I enclose, be worth considering for insertion in the Record?

FEBRUARY 27, 1948.

HON. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17.

DEAR SAM: I am enclosing herewith copy of H. R. 4840, being the bill to effectuate the so-called Marshall plan.

As I mentioned on the phone, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs meets Tuesday to consider amendments, the committee's hearings having run over a period of many weeks.

I enclose also text of proposed amendments to the Economic Cooperation bill now before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I shall be obliged to you if you will look over these proposed amendments and make any suggestions that occur to you, and which you think will more clearly effectuate the purpose of instructing the Executive not to extend any aid under the proposed act to any country that continues its socialization plans.

The idea is not, of course, to attempt to unscramble any eggs. Britain, for instance, has completed the nationalization of her coal mines. We won't undertake to disturb that. And if there are other industries whose nationalization has been completed, we will not disturb them.

But I know, as a matter of fact, quite a number of industries are in process of being nationalized. In some cases they have reached a point where a date has been fixed in the future when these industries will be taken over. With respect to those industries the process should be halted and, as I attempt to explain in the bill, abandoned at least for 10 years.

Then, too, as you know, the scheme for socialized medicine is to take effect—I think it is July 1. It has not taken effect yet, and 80 percent of the doctors of Britain have opposed it, as was announced in the press a week or two ago. Hence this project would be abandoned, and the doctors told to forget it—at least for 10 years.

I enclose, simply for reference, copy of statement I made before the House committee on February 17. You will see that I made several additional suggestions for amendment. But this proposed amendment regarding socialization is the only one that I attempt to cover in the enclosed proposed amendments.

Several of the members of the committee during the hearing asked if it would be possible to phrase what I urged with respect to this socialization matter. Finally I agreed to try to prepare amendments.

I, of course, have copies of all of these, and if you will be good enough to call me on the phone when you have finished considering them I shall be obliged to you.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 1, 1948.

HON. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17.

DEAR SAM: Thank you very much for taking the trouble to suggest amendments to my proposed amendments to the Marshall plan bill. These have been incorporated and I am enclosing a copy.

Sincerely yours,

MARCH 1, 1948.

MR. ROY E. HUBBARD,
Kirby Building, Dallas, Tex.

DEAR MR. HUBBARD: I was in Dallas a couple of days the second week in February and some one of our subscribers, on whom I called, suggested that I get in touch with you. Knowing that we have been fighting communism hard for a good many years, he thought that you might be interested to know about our work.

I am enclosing our March 1st publications, also copy of statement I made before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs last week in opposition to certain phases of the Marshall plan.

Our work consists in putting out these publications which go to many thousands of people all over the United States, as well as to Members of both Houses of Congress; appearing before congressional committees on important proposals; furnishing speakers; conducting broadcasts, etc., etc.

Our organization is not new, having been at work for the past 17 years.

We have been strongly opposed, since the matter came up, to the proposed FEPC bill and the antidiscrimination bills in different States. I am enclosing the pamphlet entitled "The Negroes in a Soviet America." The little blue sheet enclosed refers to a passage on page 88 from which you can see this proposal stems straight from the Communist program. The Civil Rights Committee of President Truman is headed by C. E. Wilson, of General Electric, who has permitted himself to be completely taken in, though with all of the leftists on the committee, that is not surprising.

The council was supported last year by some 8,000 individuals and corporations who contributed in the neighborhood of \$150,000, amounts running from a few dollars each, to around \$5,000 and one or two larger. We need this year for our work \$252,000.

Sincere we have opposed the left-wing philosophy of the New Deal, we have never been able to get a ruling from the Treasury Department that a contribution to us by an individual is deductible before taxes, although that privilege has been given to a number of Communist-front organizations. However, a subscriber to the council can get the same result by purchasing a quantity of sets of our publications, at \$10 per set a year, to be sent to colleges, public libraries, and incorporated churches. This is deductible as being a contribution to educational and religious corporations.

If our work commends itself to you, we would be glad if you would consider a subscription to us under the above terms.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I am today placing in the Congressional Record the radio talk which you gave on February 23. It is an excellent treatment of the subject matter, and I concur fully in your views. I will mail you a copy of the Record tomorrow morning.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

MARCH 2, 1948.

Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for doing me the compliment of putting that radio talk in the Record.

Council Letter 180 out yesterday may interest you.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 3, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I have your letter of March 1 and have mailed a copy of your proposed amendments to each member of my committee. I am glad to have this information and thank you for sending it to me.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

MARCH 1, 1948.

Mr. EARL HARDING,
31 West Twelfth Street, New York 11.

DEAR EARL: Enclosed is copy of a letter I am today writing Congressman Smith, together with copy of the proposed amendments to ERP mentioned therein.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 1, 1948.

HON. LAWRENCE SMITH,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Referring to my phone conversation with you this morning, I am sending enclosed 30 copies of my proposed amendments.

I wish to say, in connection with these amendments, that they are limited solely to the socialization phase of the problems presented by the bill. I have not undertaken at this time to phrase any amendments that would carry out any of the other suggestions that I made to the committee in my statement on February 17. By having omitted these other matters I do not wish to be understood that in any respect I withdraw my other suggestions made to the committee in that statement.

I would like to point out, too, that the reason I have selected the date of March 1, 1948, is because this is the day when I understand the committee will begin consideration of the bill. Should it become known that the Congress is considering the adoption of this antisocialization amendment, it might be that in some of the European countries that would seek to be beneficiaries efforts would be made to force through some socialization project before the bill took effect.

The idea contained in my proposed amendments is not that any socialization scheme which has been completed, as, for instance, the nationalization of the coal mines in Britain, would be disturbed. However, if it had been decided merely that a certain industry, whatever kind, was to be taken over by the Government as of some future date, that project would be abandoned. Also the scheme to socialize medicine, which I understand is to take effect in Britain in June or July, would be abandoned—an action which incidentally would seem wise in view of the fact that, according to recent newspaper accounts, 80 percent of all the doctors of Britain have expressed themselves as opposed to this scheme.

The 10 years which I have suggested as the period during which socialization shall not be resumed is more or less arbitrary. The thought is that it would not be adequate to limit the prohibition against socialization to the 4- or 5-year period during which we shall actually be helping these countries; for if we limited the prohibition to that period, it might be possible for them to resume their socialization the day after our aid ceased.

I think it highly likely that if socialization is postponed for a period as long as 10 years, when that period is over the interest in socialization would have disappeared.

I hope these amendments will be of some value to the committee.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

**PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION BILL NOW BEFORE THE
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

The bill shall be amended in the following respects:

1

Strike out section 2 (a) and substitute a new section 2 (a) as follows:

"SEC. 2. (a) Recognizing the intimate economic and other relationships between the United States and the nations of Europe, and recognizing that disruption following in the wake of war is not contained by national frontiers, the Congress finds that the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace and the general welfare and national interest of the United States. The restoration or maintenance in European countries of principles of individual liberty, free institutions, and genuine independence rests largely upon the establishment of sound economic conditions, stable international economic relationships, and the achievement by the countries of Europe of a healthy economy independent of extraordinary outside assistance. The accomplishment of these objectives calls for a plan of European recovery, open to all such nations which are willing to cooperate in such plan, based upon a strong production effort, the expansion of foreign trade, the creation and maintenance of internal financial stability, and the development of economic cooperation, including all possible steps to establish and maintain equitable rates of exchange and to bring about the progressive elimination of trade barriers. Mindful of the advantages which the United States has enjoyed through her system of private enterprise and through the existence of a large domestic market with no internal trade barriers, and

believing that similar advantages can accrue to the countries of Europe, it is the hope of the people of the United States that these countries through a joint organization will exert sustained common efforts which will speedily achieve that economic cooperation in Europe which is essential for lasting peace and prosperity. Accordingly, it is declared to be the policy of the people of the United States to sustain and strengthen principles of individual liberty, free institutions, and genuine independence in Europe through assistance to those countries of Europe not generally recognized as being dominated by Soviet Russia and which are ready and willing to participate in a joint recovery program based upon self-help and mutual cooperation: *Provided*, That no assistance to the participating countries herein contemplated shall impair the economic stability of the United States; *And provided*, That no country shall receive any aid or benefit under this Act whose government has not first committed itself by action of its duly constituted authorities to halt any steps now being taken looking toward the nationalization of any industry; and does not agree to resume such nationalization of industries for a period of ten years from and after March 1, 1948, nor to initiate steps looking toward such nationalization of any industry. The term "Industry," as used in this Act, shall be deemed to include not only manufacturing but farming, mining, transportation, or any other business activity or profession now or heretofore conducted by private enterprise. Each such country shall in like manner commit itself not to further any socialization project of any nature; and shall agree that any socialization project, whether of industry or social insurance of any nature, scheduled to take place at any fixed time in the future, shall be abandoned and not taken up again for a period of at least ten years from and after March 1, 1948. Any action taken by any country after March 1, 1948, to further or to complete any project of socialization shall, unless rescinded, disqualify such nation from receiving any further benefits under this Act. It is understood that where the nationalization of any industry, as of the coal mines of Great Britain, has been completed, these conditions shall not apply. The Congress of the United States establishes these conditions in this subsection (a) because it is convinced that the ability of the United States to render aid and assistance to the countries of Europe is due to the operation of her long-established system of private enterprise, and that only through the return of the several European countries to private enterprise can these countries achieve genuine recovery, and so be able to make any substantial return or benefit to the United States or to any citizen or business concern of the United States which may aid any such country. And Congress believes further that if such countries abandon their nationalization and socialistic projects, private capital will help reconstruction and thus relieve the Government and taxpayers of the United States. It is further declared to be the policy of the United States that the continuity of assistance provided by the United States should, at all times, be dependent upon the continuity of cooperation among the countries participating in the program."

This first proposed amendment contains substantial parts of the new section 2 (a) found in the bill adopted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on February 16, 1948.

II

Section 10 (b) of the bill now before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs shall be amended by adding (on 10) after subsection (8) a new subsection to be called subsection (9) and to read as follows:

"(9) Abandoning, or postponing, any and all socialization projects of any nature, including any social insurance projects of any nature, not heretofore completed—all as set forth in section 2 (a)."

III

Amending section 10 (c) (p. 20) of the House bill by changing the period at the end of the section to a semicolon, and adding the following: "but nothing contained in this subsection (c) of section 10, or in any part of this act, shall be construed to warrant the waiver by the Administrator, or by anyone acting on behalf of the United States, of the provisions contained in section 2 (a) of this act with respect to the abandonment or postponement of any socialization project or any project of social insurance by any beneficiary nation."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 4, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Enclosed please find \$1, for which please send me three copies of The Negroes in a Soviet America and two or three copies of council letter No. 186. I am recommending to all my friends that they obtain these documents.

Formerly I was with the Republican National Committee publicity staff. Recently I asked Chairman Reece if he had ever read the Ford-Allen pamphlet, but he had no comment to make on this in his reply. Perhaps you could send some copies of this pamphlet to the committee. It is my view that the committee's stand on the civil-rights program of President Truman is a blow to our freedom and an insult to the Southern States.

I don't know of any series of news letters more important to the American people than your series of Palestine I, II, and III.

I enclose Public Law 204, and refer you to section 6, which I interpret to mean that President Truman cannot send American troops into Palestine as part of a UN force without approval of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD R. PLACE.

MARCH 5, 1948.

MR. ROBERT DRISCOLL,
General Counsel, Grayhound Corp.,
141 West Jackson Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. DRISCOLL: I was glad of the chance to talk with you yesterday morning about the work of the National Economic Council.

We are engaged in a plan to put our publications in the hands of every public library, college, and church in the United States. It will be quite a job to build this up, but we have made a very fair start on the program. An opinion from our legal counsel, Mason H. Bigelow, which is similar to the opinion a number of our subscribers have received, is to the effect that the purchase of a quantity of our publications to be sent to education and religious corporations is an item deductible before taxes.

If you have a suggestion of any person or persons to whom the facts with respect to this could be sent, I shall be glad to have it.

I am enclosing copy of recent advertisement in the Wall Street Journal in which this plan is set forth at some length.

I do not want to burden you with reading matter, but I am enclosing copy of a memorandum I made on a trip which I took last summer and fall, visiting Portugal, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and England.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

MARCH 5, 1948.

MR. HOMER HARTZ,
8 South Michigan Avenue,
Chicago 3, Ill.

DEAR MR. HARTZ: I enjoyed talking with you, as I always do. Whether we like it or not, you and I were born to live at a pretty busy time in the world's history. Certainly nobody with any sense at all of what is going on today need ever lack a subject of conversation.

As I think I intimated to you, the National Economic Council is trying to get its publications into all the public libraries, colleges, and churches in the country. It is quite a contract. We have an opinion from our legal counsel that the purchase by any individual or corporation of a quantity of sets of our publications, each set to go to some college, public library, or church, is deductible before taxes.

I am wondering if your company would feel warranted at this time in considering the purchase of, say, 25 sets of these publications at \$10 each, to be distributed in this way? We are prepared to furnish suggested lists of recipients.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

MARCH 5, 1948.

Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD,
925 South Homan Avenue,
Chicago 7, Ill.

DEAR GENERAL WOOD: You asked me to report to you on whether the late city edition of the New York Times had any more in it about MacArthur's telegram to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House.

It did not. I enclose tear sheet that contains the only mention of the subject, and which appears to be identical with what appeared in the so-called city edition which is the airplane edition that can be bought in Chicago about 9 o'clock in the morning.

We shall be very pleased to receive your company's check, as you indicated, for \$1,750, the amount contributed by your company to the council during 1947.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*;

MARCH 5, 1948.

Mr. WILLIAM H. REGNERY,
Western Shade Cloth Co.,
2141 South Jefferson Street,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. REGNERY: I enjoyed, as I always do, my talk with you day before yesterday in Chicago.

Referring to my request that your company purchase 500 sets of our publications (or as many as you feel warranted in taking) to go to colleges, public libraries, and churches, I am enclosing photostat copy of legal opinion of our own counsel, Mason H. Bigelow (who, incidentally, a few weeks ago was elected president of the New York State Bar Association). Several other legal advisers of some of the friends of the council have passed favorably on this project.

If you will tell us in what sections of the country you would like to have such subscriptions go, we will, upon hearing from you, prepare a list and submit to you so that you will not be bothered with any of the details.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

Received at Utica and forwarded to Mr. Hart March 8, 1948. A. M. S.

POTTAWATTAMIE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 4, 1948.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Utica 2, N. Y.:

Enclosed a \$1. Please send me 10 copies of letter No. 186. For years the group to which I belong has been fully aware of the Palestine situation and the part the Zionistic Jew was going to play.

So, you are not entirely right in one statement in letter No. 186—the sentence which reads, "Even Christian Americans have swallowed this uncritically."

Wonder if you ever heard of our publication called *Destiny*? I sent a copy of letter No. 177 to Mr. Rand, publisher of *Destiny*, and he printed it with your permission. I think probably he is now on your mailing list. In any case we have been thoroughly awake to all the implications of present-day Near East developments.

Ever heard of one Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, publisher of a religious paper called the *Defender*? Wichita, Kans.

He too has been trying to alert his readers to the seriousness of "those who say they are Jews and are not." It occurred to me that if he had your letters he might give them wide publicity as his magazine gets into many homes throughout the Nation.

Reverend Winrod is one of the fundamental preachers that Walter Winchell has been trying to liquidate.

What is your opinion of Town Meeting? I think it is one of the so-called reputable disseminators of false information which the uninitiated swallow without question. I understand that Birkhead is to be on in the near future.

Very truly yours,

ETHEL M. EYRES,
Care of County Superintendent of Schools

MARCH 10, 1948.

MISS ETHEL M. EYRES,
*In care of County Superintendent of Schools,
Council Bluffs, Iowa.*

DEAR MISS EYRES: Thank you for your letter of March 4, which was received only this morning from our Utica office from which 10 copies of letter 186 were sent you.

Of course when we said in letter 186, "Even Christian Americans have swallowed this uncritically," we meant that many Christian Americans have done so—thank heaven not all.

We are familiar with most of the organizations and the excellent work that many of them are doing in their effort to spread the truth.

You ask my opinion of the Town Meeting of the Air. It has long been my opinion that the slant with them is largely to the left. As their program works out, the left-wingers—especially the younger ones from the colleges in New York and vicinity—through all of the meetings and are very numerous among the questioners when the question period comes. This gives the impression that the outfit is even more left-wing than it is. But I still think it is in most instances definitely slanted toward the left.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 9, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
834 Investment Building, Washington 5, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would appreciate your sending me 10 copies of the Economic Council letter dated March 1, 1948, Council Letter No. 186. I am enclosing \$1 to cover the cost of these.

Thanking you and with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. DAVIS.

MARCH 11, 1948.

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS,
*Congress of the United States, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: [March 9, 1948. \$1. Posted. Ten copies—Council Letter No. 186.]

MARCH 10, 1948.

MR. EDGAR HOBIE,
*Care of Hon. Hadwen C. Fuller, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR EDGAR: Thanks for sending us copy of the Record.

There is no reason in the world why we should receive anything from your office for which your office has to pay, without reimbursement to you. We are entirely capable of reimbursing you, and we certainly want to do it. Your good will and the time you spend in sending us the things we ask for are by themselves of great value to us. We certainly can pay for whatever you have to pay for.

Will you please bear this in mind? I shall be glad if you would send us a bill for any things that you have paid for in the past, or give me an estimate of what they are, and we will send you a check.

And please, in an entirely pro forma way, notify us in the future of anything you have to pay for in order to get it.

As I say, we are receiving great benefit from your good will. We do not want to impose upon you by taking your money, too.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Building,
New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: I certainly appreciate your thoughtful letter in regard to costs involved in your requests down here.

In reply, I would like to remind you that in certain matters important to me you have been most generous of your time and most cooperative.

Although I have been down here quite a while, and probably too long, I still get as much enjoyment out of doing nice things for nice people as I did the first year I was here.

I say most sincerely that I have benefited considerably from observing your approach to very difficult problems, and admire your courage in fighting a cause in which you are sure you are right.

In other words, if there is any obligation in this matter, I am under it, and the Congressman feels the same way. Please call on us any time for anything, and if it starts to cost money, the bill will reach you without delay.

With kindest regards, I am,

Most cordially,

EDGAR V. H. HOBBS.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
March 11, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Building,
New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Permit me to thank you for your kindness in calling to my attention the advance proof of your very able letter on civil rights. There is no question that the creation of the alleged rights recommended in the report of the President's radical commission will take away from millions of other Americans the right of association which we have always regarded as being inalienable.

I shall appreciate anything that you may do to help us in this fight.

Sincerely,

RICHARD B. RUSSELL.

HARRISS AND VOSE,
NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING,
New York 4, N. Y., January 14, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN HART,
350 Fifth Ave., New York City.

DEAR MERWIN: Unless you have seen same I thought you would be interested in the enclosed from the Patriot of London, England.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. HARRISS.

(The following is taken from the Patriot of London, England, September 25, 1947.)

In 1934 Soviet Russia was admitted to the League of Nations by 30 votes to 8, Switzerland, Holland, and Portugal forming the minority. The Irish Government did not oppose Russia's entry, although Mr. de Valera, as President of the League, stated:

"The things that count most in human life are being attacked in Russia. Hundreds of millions of Christians believe that to deprive a man of his religion is to deprive life of its meaning."

Since then the Bolsheviks have made great strides in their campaign against Christianity. This can be measured by the fact that now Russia will not admit Ireland to the new organization which has taken the place of the League of Nations. Opposing the Irish Government's second application for membership of the so-called United Nations' Organization, the Soviet spokesman at New York declared: "Even in the most critical part of the war, Eire was expressing open sympathy with the Axis and Franco Spain." Omitting to explain the nature of this alleged sympathy with the Axis, Comrade Krasnikoff went on to state that Ireland does not possess the qualities required of nations wishing to join UNO. As Russia, presumably, possesses all these "peaceful" qualities, it may not be out of place to point out what the Bolsheviks were doing during the first 22 months—the critical period—of the war, when Germany conquered Europe, from the Spanish frontier to the Black Sea, and from Norway to Greece. On February 11, 1940, the Bolsheviks signed a commercial treaty with the Nazis, whereby Russia undertook to supply Germany annually with important raw materials, especially petrol, textiles, cereals, and all types of minerals, to the tune of 1,000,000,000 marks. In his book, "Our Armoured Forces," Gen. Sir G. Martel informs us that from September 1939 to June 1941 the Bolsheviks "supplied" Germany with great quantities of raw materials which were essential to her for war. During this time they supplied the Nazis with more than a million and a half tons of cotton, half a million tons of phosphates and great quantities of manganese and other minerals for the manufacture of armaments. Whether this contribution to the Nazi war effort could be described as merely "expressing open sympathy with the Axis" as Ireland is alleged to have done, should perhaps be left to UNO to decide!

In any case, it is difficult to understand what purpose the Irish Government could hope to serve by joining UNO, which has been aptly described as "Usury's Newest Offspring." If it be the promotion of peace, it had better keep away from this sinister organization.

Shortly before the money power embarked upon its League of Nations scheme it made a much more successful experiment in the establishment of bolshevism in Russia, which had nothing in the way of peace in it. This experiment, as Pope Pius XI termed it, has far surpassed all the expectations of its New York authors. In short, Soviet Russia is now "the long-term policy" of Judaeo-Masonic international finance. This is the key to a proper understanding of the role of UNO in world politics.

A very clear appreciation of UNO is to be found in "Victors Beware!," a new work by Professor de Madariaga. This Masonic exile from Spain, having held office in the Moscow sponsored Spanish Republican Government, should be a qualified judge of Soviet tactics. He writes:

That this could be so must appear inexplicable to all who have been deceived by the false propaganda spread about UNO. But how many of those who have heard so much of UNO have been told anything about, say, Dr. Leo Pasvolksky, "Special United States Assistant Secretary of State"?

According to Dispatch (August 1, 1945) Pasvolksky, who drew up the United Nations Charter, is a Russian-born Jew who has become one of the leading advisers of the United States Government. Of him the well-known American columnist, Arthur Sears Henning, has written in The Chicago Daily Tribune as follows:

"Leo Pasvolksky, Russian born agent internationalist, knows more about the new League of Nations to preserve peace than any other person in the world. That's because he wrote the first draft of the charter of the World Peace League

¹ The (UNO) Charter is in the main a translation of the Russian system into an international idiom and its adaptation to an international community. * * * The overwhelming mass of Russia's political influence has weighed down the evaluation of world affairs, and is now taking us back to an unholy alliance of big powers, resting upon force and very little else. "UNO", de Madariaga tells us, "bore upon its brow from the very beginning the mark of Moscow." (P. 270.)

and attended its revision and amplification all the way from the first day of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference to the last day of the San Francisco Conference. He bids for fame as father of the charter * * * President Truman has appointed Stettinius the United States representative in the World Peace League. And Pasvolosky is to go right with Stettinius to the capital of the League when it is selected, to guide the American delegate through the mazes of the Charter and provide him with the answers to the questions that will arise. For Pasvolosky knows all the answers, can even give them before the questions are asked * * * He was brought into the department as an economist * * * and successively advanced to the highest rank outside of those positions filled by Presidential appointment subject to Senate confirmation. Pasvolosky now a naturalized American citizen, was born at Pavlograd, Russia, 1893, and came to this country with his parents in 1905 * * * He has published several works on Russia, including the 'Economics of Communism'."

The opening session of UNO was described by the New York columnist, John O'Donnell, as "the greatest aggregation of hypocrites and doublecrossers that ever assembled." The most important of those gentlemen is Mr. Trygve Lie, or Comrade Lie, as he is familiarly known to his fellow Comintern members Thorez, Dimitroff and Company.

Comrade Lie owes his present position as Secretary-General of UNO to the faithful service he has so long rendered to Stalin. Away back in 1935, when Stalin exiled his rival, Trotsky, Lie, then Minister of Justice in the Norwegian Government, was given the task of having Trotsky deported from Norway—his presence there being dangerous for Stalin—to Mexico, where he was eventually murdered. A detailed account of this affair is given by Trotsky in his last work, Stalin and his Crimes, in which an entire chapter is devoted to the subversive activities of Comrade Lie. The Comintern, states Trotsky, regarded Lie as one of its chosen instruments.

In one of his first statements after being appointed Secretary-General of UNO, Comrade Lie expressed the opinion that General Franco's removal from Office was essential to the efficient functioning of UNO. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the activities of UNO have so far consisted in interfering in the affairs of Spain. It is, in fact, in its campaign against Spain that Comrade Lie's sinister organization can best be seen in its true color. Describing UNO as "the most important Communist front in the world", the American paper Think Weekly (December 1, 1946) warns that "it is gradually developing the earmarks of a Communist-dominated organization for establishing and financing a Communist world". On this account it should be obvious that any country really wishing to remain at peace and to avoid the poison of Bolshevism should have nothing whatever to do with Comrade Lie and his UNO.

MARCH 15, 1948.

Hon. Ed GOSSETT,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your letter of March 13, and I am enclosing 15 extra copies of letter 187 as requested.

With warmest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING,
New York, N. Y., March 17, 1948.

Mr. GEORGE E. DEATHERAGE,
2003 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

DEAR MR. DEATHERAGE: Thank you for your favorable comment on council letter 186.

We can send you more of these if you would like them. Will a hundred do? We will try to send a copy of letter 186 to each of the names on this list.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DEAR MR. HART: A hundred will be fine. Hope I have helped increase the circulation. Anyhow we are trying.

A bill will be entered soon in the Senate to reimburse the defendants and their attorneys in the sedition trials. The booklet enclosed tells the story. Repudiation of the partitioning of Palestine can be credited in a great sense to your work, I firmly believe. Beautiful piece of work.

Cordially,

DEATHIERAGE.

JAILED FOR PREACHING PATRIOTISM

Compensatory justice asked of Congress for innocent "mass-sedition case" defendants who were freed from Department of Justice false charges that they undermined United States Armed Forces, instead of which they were loyally defending the Republic against that communism which Washington itself many years later calls "America's greatest menace"

To Members of the Congress:

Thrown into prison by Washington warmongering power politics they had fearlessly unmasked as planning to destroy the United States—

Court-prosecuted over 5 years for attacking the very communism Government agencies now proclaim the most dangerous menace ever confronting the Republic—

Hate-jailed for preaching patriotism, and even prevented from making a living by a ruthless espionage that hounded them out of job after job—

The innocent defendants of the infamous Moscow imitated "mass-sedition case" were finally liberated in 1947 from a dastardly political conspiracy-oppression by the abject failure of the Department of Justice to make a case against them during half a decade of a prosecution that included three indictments, 7½ months of mistrial and a 2-year additional futile search for non-existent guilt.

The history of American criminal procedure fails to reveal one instance where, as in this persecution, men were held in jail for years to give the prosecutors an opportunity to build up a doubtful case.

This mass prosecution has been truthfully press-and-bench branded "a courtroom farce," "a travesty on justice," a "black mark" on the United States judiciary, and a persecution more "vindictive, despicable, and revengeful" than anything ever witnessed in the annals of American jurisprudence.

COURT REBUKES THE PROSECUTION

Effective July 31, 1947, this mass disgrace ended when the United States court of appeals at Washington finally upheld, with a stern rebuke for prosecution misconduct, delay, and lack of due diligence, the unconditional 1946 lower court dismissal of indictments on the ground that constitutional guarantees had been violated. The appellate court ruled as follows on the Justice Department plea for retrial after 2 years of un-American procrastination following mistrial:

"* * * The record shows that * * * the trial court, at the instance of some of the defendants, *again and again sought to compel action* which would result either in a trial or dismissal. Its final decision to adopt the latter course seems to us *altogether reasonable and proper*, and in fact we are not prepared to say that it was not compelled, in the light of the facts then shown to exist." [Italics supplied.]

After 2 years of delay and deliberate retrial stalling following a 1944 mistrial, Chief Justice Laws, of the United States District Court of the District of Columbia, at Washington, unconditionally dismissed the mass case effective December 2, 1946, on the grounds that the constitutional right of defendants to speedy trial had been denied; that 7½ months of mistrial and 5 years of prosecution were more than ample to establish any guilt; that the prosecution failed to assure the court that it had evidence tending to show guilt of defendants even after a long postwar investigation; that defendants could not now obtain a fair trial because witnesses were scattered and their memories impaired; that the proceedings showed that serious doubt existed as to indictment validity; that to permit another long trial would be un-American and a travesty on justice.

SUBVERSIVE AIMS OF PROSECUTION

What was the real aim of the instigators of this prosecution? Let the following published comment answer:

"It was launched by the Roosevelt regime in an attempt to silence all *political dissent*, and particularly all reference to the criminality of those in high office who steered the American people into an unwanted war" (Chicago Tribune of August 2, 1947). [Italics supplied.]

"The theory behind the trial was that if this conglomeration of unrelated persons, many of whom did not even know each other, could be convicted, a precedent would be established that the law could be used in this country as an *instrument of political force and coercion*. * * * The prosecution ended because the Government *had no case*" (Baltimore News-Post of August 18, 1947). [Italics supplied.]

"The Government attempted to dramatize these false propositions: (1) The Nazis wanted to keep America out of the war; the defendants wanted to keep America out of the war. Therefore, the defendants were Nazis. (2) The Nazis were anti-Semites; some of the defendants were anti-Semites. Therefore, defendants were Nazis. (3) The Nazis were anti-Communist; defendants were anti-Communist. Therefore, defendants were Nazis (extracts from pp. 34 and 35 of a 1945 book entitled "A Trial on Trial," legally analyzing the mass case under the editing of a Chicago lawyer).

Practically ignoring the final exonerations by bench and bar, the "controlled radio and press" which for years had subjected defendants to almost daily vilification barrages, generally suppressed the acquittal news by "silent treatment," although, under American law, defendants were vindicated under the principle that the accused are held innocent until convicted by a competent judicial tribunal. The Justice Department even refused to announce the ending of the case.

A PREJUDICED JURISDICTION

From homes thousands of miles away, defendants were repeatedly dragged for trial to Washington's war-hysterical, prejudiced jurisdiction regardless of the sixth amendment to the Constitution providing that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and District wherein the crime shall have been committed." [Italics supplied.]

While millions of dollars could not rehabilitate defendants owing to the terrible mental, physical, financial, and other ordeals to which they were unjustly subjected after sacrificing all they held dear for "God, home, and country," they are now appealing to Congress for at least tax-free compensatory justice for themselves and their able and courageous unpaid counsel, who, when convinced of their clients' innocence, became ardent champions on constitutional grounds to a degree where, when he declared a mistrial December 7, 1944, Associate Justice Proctor eulogized defense attorneys from the bench as follows:

"I wish to record formally, and to express very sincerely, the appreciation of the court for your very long and faithful service. You have rendered a very important public service. You have maintained the highest traditions of the profession of which you are members. It will be a source of satisfaction to you in the future."

In his dismissal decision effective December 2, 1946, Chief Justice Laws said, "The court acknowledges with gratitude the service of counsel who served in behalf of defendants without compensation. Their sacrifices were extensive, and their financial losses were great."

In thus twice openly acknowledging the "great sacrifices" made by counsel, the court by implication also supports the relief claims of innocent defendants impoverished by the long and unjustifiable prosecution.

Court-appointed attorneys were assured before taking service that the case against defendants was so strong that conviction would occur within 60 to 90 days, but their suspicions were aroused when they found rules of evidence being continually and flagrantly violated during mistrial, with indications that there was a plot to railroad the victims to prison. As true Americans, standing for fair play, they revolted and fought for defendants as for friends, while jurors themselves exhibited disgust over prosecution methods and showed sympathy for defendants.

In addressing the House on January 8, 1948, Michigan and California Representatives approved a congressional investigation of the so-called sedition case, favoring compensation for its victims.

A PROSECUTION TRIBUTE TO DEFENDANTS

An involuntary tribute was paid to the defendants' patriotism and innocence by one of the assistant prosecutors (who resigned from the case) who was being criticized at an informal gathering of counsel, on account of the prosecution's failure to prove its charges during months of trial against men and women who had been smeared and "convicted" in controlled publicity channels as "fanatics, bigots, and crackpots of the lunatic fringe." He exclaimed:

"How were we to know that the defendants would infect the defense attorneys with their spirit?"

No evidence whatever was adduced at the long mistrial indicating that any of the defendants had ever been anything but law-abiding citizens, yet their dwelling houses were invaded and searched without warrants on orders from Washington in direct violation of the fourth amendment to the Constitution.

Mistrial testimony of the prosecution utterly failed to show even the existence of the alleged conspiracy the defendants were accused of joining. Not one prosecution witness, on cross-examination, would confirm the indictment allegation that there was "a Nazi publicly announced program to destroy democracy throughout the world."

But there was a conspiracy. It was one hatched in the subverted Department of Justice to railroad innocent anti-Communist American patriots to prison for criticizing warmongering policies manifestly promoted in Washington by Communist enemies intent on overthrowing our republican form of government. Even the chief prosecutor inadvertently admitted, in his opening address to the trial jury, that defendants were known by "the main label of anti-Communist."

The inherent political nature of the case is shown by the fact that the prosecutor referred therein to the Nazi Party 240 times, democracy 50; Communist Party 80, and Fascist 13 times—in addition repeatedly employing the terms Republican Party, Democratic Party, political campaign, etc. He was reported to have voted the Social Party ticket in 1932, has since defended Communists in the courts, and was run out of California in 1947 in connection with the published threat of an indictment quoting his Los Angeles "incitement" speech against fascism.

Chief Prosecutor Rogge was quoted by the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 21, 1948, as saying: "It would be a privilege and a pleasure to be Henry Agard Wallace's running presidential mate," which hooks him up also with the Moscow Communist element.

WHY PROSECUTION HAD NO CASE

In court the prosecutor alleged that "defendants wanted to destroy the American form of government," whereas their publications frequently called for the preservation of that form of government "at all costs."

He accused defendants of wanting to set up "a one-party totalitarian system in the United States," whereas defendant publicly emphasized the fact that "our two-party system is a bulwark against the communism that destroyed European nations."

He said defendants planned to "abolish freedom of speech," whereas defendant publications declared "our great constitutional form of government stands or falls with freedom of speech, of the press, and assembly."

At the masthead of his publication, one defendant carried in a pro-American platform the declaration that he was "Antidictatorship, communistic, or fascistic."

And these defendant publications were in the possession of the prosecution prior to return of indictments.

The first indictment was abandoned because it was returned by an illegally constituted grand jury. The second indictment was declared defective by the court because it violated the ex post facto provisions of the Constitution by going back 10 years for evidence. The third indictment bill of particulars actually went back more than 20 years in a farcical attempt to show intent to violate a law which was not enacted until over two decades later.

The transcript of the mistrial shows that aside from FBI and other Government agents, prosecution witnesses consisted principally of ex-convicts, renegades, refugees, allens, disgruntled stooges, and other fearing denaturalization proceedings.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY FOLLOWED

The detailed charges made against defendants by the mass-case prosecution closely followed the long-established "Communist line" doctrine of accusing opponents of the very treason Communists themselves aggressively promoted under cover—branding all opposition "Fascist" to divert attention.

Without practical contracts or intensive education, decent fair-play Americans are utterly unable to evaluate the depth of depravity to which the originators and promoters of communism descend to further their devilish objectives.

Some conception may be had of the perverted Communist mind by reading the following graphic extract from a warning address delivered at San Francisco July 20, 1947, before the Lions International Convention, by R. H. Markham, veteran correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, who was expelled from Russia in 1946 for telling the truth about communism:

"The immediate aim of the Communist is to smash you. Concealed in deceit, cradled in murder, dedicated to conspiracy, maintaining secret commando schools giving courses in wholesale lying, stealing, an killing, the Communist Third International serves as a general staff for world destruction. When Communists say 'democracy' they mean tyranny; when they say 'freedom' they mean slavery. Their 'people's fronts' are fakes; their labor unions are traps. A police state and a Communist regime are synonymous."

"The Communist Party of the United States is a fifth column. * * * It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries. * * * Their goal is the overthrow of our Government. * * * Communism is not a political party—it is a way of life, an evil and malignant way of life. * * * Anyone who opposes the American Communist is at once branded as a 'disrupter,' a 'Fascist,' a 'Red Baiter,' or a 'Hitlerite' (testimony March 20, 1947, by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover before the House Un-American Activities Committee).

"The greatest menace confronting America today is the aggressive spirit of communism," is part of an anti-Communist resolution adopted by the American Legion's twenty-ninth annual convention in New York City. (See New York Times of September 1, 1947.)

In a powerful attack on Communist Russia, Arkansas Democratic Senator John L. McClellan warned a war-memorial audience that "Communism is more iniquitous, vicious, brutal, and aggressive than were both nazism and fascism combined." (San Francisco Examiner of September 2, 1947.)

"It is a mistake to put the Communist Party in the category of a political party. * * * It is a conspiracy to overthrow the American system of government; it is a foreign-directed conspiracy." (Chairman Thomas of the House Un-American Activities Committee in a radio broadcast November 4, 1947, over the ABC network.)

Since the Un-American Activities Committee chairman and Federal Bureau of Investigation Director hold that the Communist Party is not a political party but a foreign conspiracy against the United States, why should Congress hesitate to outlaw an organization which always operates underground until it believes it has acquired the power to overthrow government by force and violence?

The warnings against communism issued in 1947 as quoted above were broadcast 10 years previously by mass-case defendants, yet in 1942 they were falsely called seditionists by the New Deal public press.

Why?

Does the answer lie in Ann O'Hare McCormick's column of the New York Times on September 1, 1947, quoting: "We always know what Russia is doing or trying to do by what she accuses us of doing," remarked a member of the Allied Control Commission in Berlin."

SUPREME COURT RULING ENDED CASE

Commenting on the June 11, 1945, reversal by the United States Supreme Court of draft-evsion conviction against some of the American citizens of German descent who were also indicted in the mass case, Chief Prosecutor Rogge admitted in a Philadelphia Inquirer signed article of December 25, 1940—

"That ended our chances of obtaining any conviction in the big Washington sedition case."

Section 8 of article 1 of the United States Constitution reads: "The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense. * * *"

"The power to 'pay the debts' is broad enough to include claims of citizens arising on obligations of right and justice," is an interpretation-ruling printed on page 127, Constitution of the United States, annotated, as per United States Supreme Court 1896 decision in *U. S. v. Realty Co.* (163 U. S. 427).

The foregoing provides the necessary authority for legislative relief to compensate these mass-case defendants and their unpaid attorneys on claims "arising out of obligations of right and justice."

The mass case having been closed, the matter is now out of the jurisdiction of the judicial department and can properly be disposed of under the Constitution by the Congress, which has the high precedent established by President Thomas Jefferson who, when he took office, did not hesitate to redress grievances of men politically prosecuted under the infamous sedition law of 1798, which was soon repealed.

LOYAL AMERICANISM DEMONSTRATED

In consideration of the facts recited herein, can it be denied that mass-case defendants demonstrated true Americanism?

That they displayed exceptional vision, superlative courage, and superior intelligence in openly defying powerful enemies—now designated as socialistic Communists?

That they patriotically stood up to be counted as a militant vanguard for American national interests against Communist International aggression?

That they exercised the typical American individualism, enterprise, and initiative which made the Nation great?

That, as loyal citizens, they faithfully discharged their citizenship duty to defend, protect, preserve the Constitution?

Warned now that we may be on the verge of another shooting war, the whole Nation is being mobilized to fight communism—at home and abroad. Which shows how right these defendants were 14 years ago when they began their militant crusade against that imminent danger.

Could crackpots of the lunatic fringe have had such prophetic vision as actually to foreshadow the world-shaking events of today?

Did they not lay on the altar of their country "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor"?

Do they deserve the tribute which has been paid to them—the 30 immortals who cracked the New Deal?

If so, then their righteous claims for redress of grievances should be generously and promptly granted by Congress, for history will attest that their great patriotic services were priceless.

Will Uncle Sam deny simple justice for unpayable service to America while showering billions on hate-America foreigners?

Unless frenzied antinationalism is liquidated soon, the Republic will be lost.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE E. DEATHKRAGE,
2908 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
ROBERT E. EDMONDSON,
Grass Valley, Calif.

MARCH 10, 1948.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 20, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you for your March 1948, Let's Not Subsidize European Socialism. Have you put out anything else along this line? Enclosed is a copy of our 25 acts in the drama of European recovery.

You are perfectly right. The Marshall plan finances socialism and puts it thoroughly on its feet in Europe.

Is it not astonishing the number of so-called serious-minded people, including those in the State Department, who emphasize the vast difference between socialism and communism? Besides the similarities you point out, there is the police state, the compulsory state, which in the last analysis gives you no choice as to whether you are compelled by one type of policy or another to do what the state

wants. If I'm to be robbed, it makes very little difference whether it is one kind of a devil state or the other which does it.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

MARCH, 30, 1948.

Mr. THOMAS CREIG,
1559 Continental Illinois Bank Building,
Chicago 4, Ill.

DEAR TOM: You have done a splendid piece of work in that memorandum you sent me under date of March 24.

I had heard tell about this committee at the American Bar Association and also of this international bill of human rights, though we have not had time to do anything about it. I am asking one of my men to get right on this subject immediately and see what we can do.

You know there are so many of these international commissions that are at work, some of which, like the IRO, are hard at it, and other, like the ITO, which are taking shape and coming into being. I am convinced they are all part of a grand scheme to reduce the whole world to the domination of a little selfish group that knows exactly what it wants.

I am wondering if it would not be possible to quietly call together a conference of a dozen or so men representing different groups in the country who could see what could be done to take action about them. I am sure a lot of things are going and will continue to go by default if some action like this is not taken.

Thanks for sending this to me.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 31, 1948.

Hon. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just wired you as per enclosed copy.

I also wish to invite your attention to page 4 of the New York Times of this morning, which shows with what ill will the Times notes the action taken by the House. It has pointed out that this is merely the action of the Committee of the Whole; that it very likely will not be accepted by the House itself, or by the Senate. Most astonishing of all, it indicates that the application by Spain would first have to be approved by the Committee for European Economic Cooperation comprising 16 nations.

Felix Belair, Jr., in his column on that page, said:

"Eventually, too, Spain would have to establish to the satisfaction of the ERP Administrator that its own recovery undertakings were in conformity with those of the other nations and its pledges to the United States."

This raises important questions. As I see it, the \$17,000,000,000 appropriation is going to subsidize socialism in Europe. England, France, and other countries are far committed toward socialism. It is clear from the announcements coming from the Socialist Congress now going on or recently held in London, that they regard these \$17,000,000,000 as the money with which they are to place European socialism on a sound basis—at American expense. Spain is very little Socialist. Belair's intimation seems to me to be that the ERP Administrator might require Spain to conform to socialistic schemes, in which Spain does not believe, before she will be permitted to get any aid. Socialism has been shown in many European countries to lead directly to communism—in fact both are Marxist. Hence the acceptance by Spain of conditions that the ERP Administrator might lay down could easily lead to the forcing of anti-Communist Spain to turn and travel in the direction of communism.

I shall be glad of your comment on this.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NEW YORK, March 31, 1948.

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Please accept our heartiest congratulations on the success of your amendment designating Spain as eligible to participate in European recovery program. The adoption of this resolution is a credit to the intelligence of the House.

Regards.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Empire State Building.

MARCH 31, 1948.

HON. LAWRENCE SMITH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I congratulate the House on including Spain in ERP. But see page 4 of today's New York Times where point is made repeatedly that the decision of the Congress will be of no avail providing the 16 ERP nations decide not to admit Spain to ERP. Does the House intend to delegate to other nations what to do with our money.

MERWIN K. HART.

THE LUCIUS BEEBE MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
Wakefield, Mass., March 31, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of February 24 telling us of the gift of a year's subscription to the publications of the Council, was received with much pleasure. We are glad to have them.

Evidently the donor wishes to be anonymous, but may we learn from you whether he is a resident of Wakefield?

Very truly yours,

HELEN FRANCES CARLETON, Librarian.

APRIL 1, 1948.

MISS HELEN FRANCES CARLETON,
The Lucius Beebe Memorial Library, Wakefield, Mass.

DEAR MISS CARLETON: In answer to your letter of March 31 requesting the name of the person who is giving your library our publications as a gift, we regret to advise that he wishes to remain anonymous, as you say, and that we are not at liberty to give out any information concerning him.

However, you may rest assured that the donor is a well-known and highly respected citizen.

We will be glad to forward any letter of appreciation you may care to write.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

APRIL 1, 1948.

HON. LEO E. ALLEN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I note with interest that you voted against ERP.

I wish to extend the congratulations of this organization on your wisdom and foresight. You have done a patriotic act, and the National Economic Council is going to list in an early publication the names of all who did vote against ERP, giving them due praise for supporting the United States in preference to supporting either world socialism or world communism.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

HOUSE VOTE ON FOREIGN AID

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP).—Following is the vote by which the House passed today the \$0,205,000,000 Europe-China foreign aid bill:

FOR THE BILL—320

Republicans—171

Allen, Calif.
Anderson, Minn.
Anderson, Calif.
Andrews, N. Y.
Angell
Arends
Auchincloss
Bakewell
Barrett
Bates, Mass.
Beall
Bender
Blackney
Boggs, Del.
Bolton
Bradley
Bramblett
Breham
Brophy
Buck
Burke
Butler
Byrnes, Wis.
Canfield
Carson
Case, N. J.
Chadwick
Clason
Cole, Kans.
Cole, N. Y.
Corbett
Cotton
Coudert
Crow
Cunningham
Dague
Davis, Wis.
Dawson, Utah
Devitt
D'Ewart
Dirksen
Dolliver
Eaton
Ellsworth
Elstesser
Elston
Engel Mich.
Fellows
Fenton
Fletcher
Foote
Fuller
Fulton
Gearhart
Gillette
Goff
Goodwin

Graham
Grant, Ind.
Gross
Hale
E. A. Hall
L. W. Hall
Halleck
Hartley
Harvey
Horter
Heselton
Hess
Hill
Hinshaw
Hoeven
Holmes
Hope
Horan
Jackson, Calif.
Javits
Jenkins, Pa.
Jenkins, Ohio
Jennings
Jensen
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Wash.
Jonkman
Judd
Kean
Kearney
Kearns
Keating
Keefe
Kersten, Wis.
Kilburn
Gallagher
Gamble
Gavin
Kunkel
Latham
Lecompte
Lefevre
Lichtenwalter
Lodge
McConnell
McCulloch
McDonough
McDowell
McGarvey
McMahon
McMillen, Ill.
Mack
Mackinnon
Maloney
Mathews
Meade, Ky.
Merrrow

Meyer
Michener
Miller, Md.
Miller, Conn.
Morton
Muhlenberg
Mundt
Murray, Wis.
Nicholson
Nixon
Nodar
Norblad
Patterson
Phillips, Tenn.
Ploeser
Plumley
Potter
Potts
Poulson
Ramey
Rees
Reeves
Richman
Robertson
Rockwell
Rogers, Mass.
Rohrbough
Ross
Russell
Sadlak
St. George
Sarbacher
Seablick
Hardie Scott
Hugh Scott
Seely-Brown
Simpson, Ill.
Simpson, Pa.
Smith, Me.
Snyder
Stevenson
Stockman
Stratton
Sundstrom
Taber
Talle
Tibbott
Tollefson
Towe
Van Zandt
Vorys
Wadsworth
Welch
Wigglesworth
Wolcott
Wolverton

FOR THE BILL.—Continued

Democrats—158

Abernethy
Albert
Allen, La.
Almond
Bates, Ky.
Battle
Beckworth
Bell
Bland
Blatnik
Bloom
Boggs, La.
Bonner
Brooks
Brown, Ga.
Bryson
Buchanan
Buckley
Bulwinkle
Burleson
Byrne, N. Y.
Camp
Cannon
Carroll
Celler
Chapman
Chelf
Clark
Colmer
Combs
Cooley
Cooper
Courtney
Cox
Cravens
Crosser
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Tenn.
Dawson, Ill.
Deane
Delaney
Domengeaux
Donohue
Douglas
Durham
Eberhart
Elliott
Engle, Calif.
Evins
Fallon
Feighan
Fernandes
Fisher

Flannagan
Fogarty
Folger
Forand
Garmatz
Gary
Gathings
Gordon
Gore
Gorski
Gossott
Grainger
Gregory
Hardy
Harless
Harris
Hart
Havener
Hays
Hébert
Hedrick
Heffernan
Hobbs
Hollifield
Huber
Jackson, Wash.
Johnson, Tex.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N. C.
Karsten, Mo.
Kee
Kefauver
Kelley
Kennedy
Keough
Kerr
Kilday
King
Kirwan
Klein
Lane
Lanham
Lea
Lucas
Ludlow
Lusk
Lyle
Lynch
McCormack
McMillan, S. C.
Madden
Mahon
Mansfield

Meade, Md.
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Monroney
Morgan
Morrison
Multer
Murdock
Murray, Tenn.
Norton
O'Brien
O'Toole
Pace
Patman
Peden
Peterson
Pfeffer
Philbin
Pickett
Ponge
Preston
Price, Fla.
Price, Ill.
Priest
Rayburn
Redden
Regan
Richards
Riley
Rogers, Fla.
Sabath
Sasser
Sheppard
Sinathers
Smith, Va.
Somers
Spence
Stanley
Stigler
Teague
Thomas, Tex.
Thompson
Trimble
Vinson
Wheeler
Whitton
Whittington
Williams
Wilson, Tex.
Winstead
Worley
Zimmerman

AGAINST THE BILL—74

Democrats—61

Allen, Ill.
Arnold
Banta
Bennett, Mich.
Bennett, Mo.
Bishop
Buffett
Case, S. D.
Chenoweth

Chipersfield
Church
Clevenger
Clippinger
Cole, Mo.
Crawford
Curtis
Dondero
Ellis

Gille
Griffiths
Gwinn, N. Y.
Gwynne, Iowa
Hagen
Hand
Harness
Hoffman
Hull

AGAINST THE BILL—Continued

Democrats—Continued

Jenison
Johnson, Ill.
Johnson, Ind.
Knutson
Landis
Lemke
Lewis
Love
McCowen
McGregor
Martin, Iowa
Miller, Nebr.

O'Hara
Owens
Phillips, Calif.
Reed, Ill.
Reed, N. Y.
Rich
Sanborn
Schwabe, Mo.
Schwabe, Okla.
Scrivner
Shafer
Short

Smith, Ohio
Smith, Kans.
Smith, Wis.
Stefan
Twyman
Vail
Vursell
Wilson, Ind.
Woodruff
Youngblood

Republicans—11

Barden
Dorn
Doughton
Harrison

Johnson, Okla.
Larcade
Morris
Powell

Rankin
Sadowski
Wood

American-Laborites—2

Isacson

Marcantonio

Total voting, 403. Vacancies, 3. Absent or not voting, 20. Paired for (4)—Rooney and Rains, Democrats; Brown, of Ohio, and Coffin, Republicans. Paired against (4)—Mason, Busbey and Rizley, Republicans; Passman, Democrat. Voting present (1)—Macy, Republican. Total membership, 435.

APRIL 1, 1948.

Hon. WAT ARNOLD,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I note with interest that you voted against ERP.

I wish to extend the congratulations of this organization on your wisdom and foresight. You have done a patriotic act, and the National Economic Council is going to list in an early publication the names of all who did vote against ERP, giving them due praise for supporting the United States in preference to supporting either world socialism or world communism.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Same telegram to go to—

Hon. Styles Bridges, Senate Office Building, Washington;
Hon. Albert W. Hawkes, Senate Office Building, Washington;
Hon. E. H. Moore, Senate Office Building, Washington;
Hon. Robert A. Taft, Senate Office Building, Washington; and
Hon. Kenneth S. Wherry, Senate Office Building, Washington.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1948.

Hon. JOHN W. BRICKER,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Paul Hoffman, nominated for head of ERP, is able but has a record strongly tinged with socialism. Myers, research director of CED of which Hoffman is head, was closely associated with both Harry Hopkins and Wallace. Others on CED staff have been strongly left wing. CED reports like that entitled "Jobs and Markets" reflect views inconsistent with American tradition. With Hoffman as head of ERP socialism in Europe and the United States would be greatly advanced thus threatening American private enterprise. I earnestly urge that Hoffman's appointment lie over a few days so that Senate can inform itself about him and his philosophy. Am mailing you document bearing on Hoffman.

MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Empire State Building.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 15, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I am informed that it is rule 38 in the 1943 Book of Rules for the Senate which states in part that the question is "will Senate advise and consent to this nomination which question shall not be put on the same day on which the nomination is received nor on the day it may be reported by a committee unless by unanimous consent."

The nomination was reported on April 7, page 4258 of the Congressional Record and Senator Vandenberg started out with these words "out of order and as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent * * *."

I trust this is the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

PERCY L. GREAVES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 14, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I have received your letter of April 12 concerning your proposed trip to Washington.

I will be glad to see you at any time. Please telephone my office upon your arrival and we will arrange an interview for a time mutually convenient.

With kind regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

J. E. RANKIN.

APRIL 16, 1948.

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I was sorry I was so pressed when I was in Washington that I did not get around to your office until the latter part of the time I was there. I was not surprised to find that you were tied up. Your office urged me to call you out from the floor, but I hated to do that.

I shall be down again in a week or two.

I left copy of Council Letter 189 (duplicate enclosed) at your office.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

MEMORANDUM

From: HMG.

To: MKH.

Subject: A. A. Athenson.

1. In accordance with your direction I wrote Mr. Athenson inviting him to come to see me. He came in on Thursday afternoon, April 15, and I spent about 2 hours with him.

2. Mr. Athenson is of Greek origin, a naturalized citizen of many years' standing. He is strongly anti-Communist, and has a good record in this respect extending back over a long time, at least 20 years, as letters and newspaper clippings he gave me to read evidenced. He has been a sort of free-lance writer, especially among Greek-American circles in the United States. He was a close friend of the late Dr. John H. Finley, sometime editor of the New York Times.

3. In brief, Mr. Athenson says that the following is true and can be substantiated:

1. The pro-Communist (now EAM) movement in Greece was begun around 1935, was financed largely in Greek-American circles in the United States,

including a group associated with Spyros P. Skouras, and with the knowledge and approval of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who received a representative of the group although he knew its aim was to overthrow a government by force with which we were then on friendly terms.

2. During the war, and with full knowledge of what was being done by those responsible, American aid to the Greek "resistance" was given to Greek elements analogous to the partisans of Tito in Yugoslavia, and who are now the EAM guerrillas.

3. The aid that is now given to Greece is, by the design and act of elements yet within the Department of State, largely either ineffective or actually helping the EAM and Greek elements friendly to the EAM. Tsaldaris was forced out as a "Fascist" and a more "moderate" Premier put in upon the insistence of Dwight Griswold, Administrator of our program in Greece, and over the strenuous objections of our Ambassador Lincoln MacVeigh. MacVeigh, if called to testify before a legislative committee, could blow the whole mess wide open. Athenson could also furnish evidence.

4. The actual help that is going to Greece through Greek War Relief is largely going to the EAM and those favorable to it, and this by design because Greek War Relief is really being used as a Communist transmission-belt.

5. The Greek Army could clear up EAM in a short time if it were permitted to do so, but is being held back by the so-called "moderate" elements in the Greek Government who are both ideologically sympathetic to the Communists, and who also, because they think the Communists may win, are going easy on EAM.

6. In summary, the whole Greek-aid program, as designed by our State Department and as administered is actually not an attempt to "stop communism" at all, but to mess the Greek situation up to the point where the Communists can take it over. He says pressure has been applied by the State Department to keep out of power anybody who could or would vigorously prosecute the war on EAM.

4. It is obvious that if all or most of what Mr. Athenson charges is so, and if it can be satisfactorily established as fact, it could by proper exploitation be made into the proportions of a national scandal. And it could be most damaging to the Democratic Party this year, as well as conversely valuable to the Republican Party.

5. From talking with Mr. Athenson, and from reading his letter which is appended hereto, I understand that he has been subjected to considerable persecution because of his stand in this matter. This persecution has seriously impaired his means of livelihood. Therefore it would be fitting that Mr. Athenson, in case his charges are pursued, should receive financial help. His motives impress me as patriotic and not mercenary, but in a case like this the information would be most valuable and the equity of aiding it giver clearly ethical.

6. The following seem to me to be possible courses of action (1) To engage Mr. Athenson to issue the facts in a series of pamphlets or in one big shot; (2) to put him in touch with some friendly and responsible newspaper connection which could handle the financial end, check and exploit the facts; (3) get together a group of friendly Senators and Representatives who would be in a position to raise hell. (Athenson is afraid that unless something is done soon MacVeigh, now in Washington, will be shipped to Europe and unavailable for testimony.) Or, some combination of any two or all of these courses might be worked out.

7. My personal impression is that Athenson is an honest man who will stick by his charges and that someone will be missing a sensation that may become historic if no effort is made to substantiate his charges.

H. McA. G.

APRIL 19, 1948.

From: National Economic Council, 7501 Empire State Building.

New York, Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, has sent the following telegram to Secretary of State Marshall and a group of influential Senators and Congressmen:

"Mr. Austin is reported as having pledged the United States to undertake a share of providing armed forces to carry out UN trusteeship in Palestine. We protest emphatically sending any American forces on a mission where Zionist interests alone are concerned. No American interest whatsoever is involved. We have already gone too far in permitting ourselves to be pushed into risking war

in the interest of this special group. The press reports from Washington that present opinion in the Executive Department is that Marines can be used, without congressional approval, by Executive order to 'protect American property and lives.' Property in question is doubtless that of the Palestine Economic Corp., Jewish National Fund, Jewish Palestine Fund and similar groups. We do not believe American people will consider this to be bona fide American property. Nor should persons who hold their American citizenship so cheap that they have in fact voluntarily abandoned it to fight for another allegiance and set up a foreign state, expect or deserve to receive the protection of American troops. The American people will not stand for possible involvement in war to give such protection. We earnestly urge you to use your influence to prevent this subterfuge. It is not worth the life of one American boy.

"(Signed) MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council."

APRIL 21, 1948.

Personal

Gen. BRICE P. DISQUE,

60 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17.

DEAR GENERAL DISQUE: I was very glad of the chance to talk with you at some length when we lunched together a couple of days ago. I think I know how the present trend in public affairs can be arrested and turned back, and I am sure that you can be a powerful factor in the project.

The Congress cannot do it unaided. The ground has to be plowed and harrowed and planted by private citizens. The Congress must register the result. But the Congress cannot act alone.

Of course quite a few organizations such as the National Economic Council have, in a small way, been trying to do the private citizens' end of this job. But neither the Economic Council nor any other organization, nor all such organizations together, have been doing an adequate job.

Yet there is reason to believe that an adequate job can be done. The business of socialising or even communising the United States is big business—the stakes are so great that any amount of effort and expense is worth while to those who seek to destroy us. The only way this effort can be met and counteracted, and the American system reasserted and reinvigorated, is by likewise making the counter-effort "big business." This adequate counter-effort had better begin very, very soon if we are not to lose so much of our American heritage that what remains will be hard to salvage.

The adequate job, in order to counteract and defeat these subversive forces, would be done partly in Washington and partly in the districts of Congressmen and Senators—that is throughout the United States.

The adequate effort would see to it that there is set up in Washington a large enough staff of competent men to examine all proposals that come up, reduce them to their simplest terms—all from the standpoint of preserving private property, private enterprise and individual initiative. It would be at the service of any Congressman who desired help. I know the Congressional Library is supposed to do this. But the Congressional Library has, as I understand it, a lot of left-wingers who often prevent the presentation of a matter favorable to our side. I know, too, that Lewis Brown's American Enterprise Association does a good job of analyzing bills, giving the pros and cons in each case.

But what is wanted is more than this: We have got to have men who can prepare adequate memoranda and speech material. It has got to be a private enterprise staff that can do a lot of work for the Members of both Houses.

The other part of the adequate effort is in field organization. In every congressional district we have got to find a small number of men—not less, perhaps, than 5 or 6, and not more than 10 or 12—who will agree to go to work on the job of standing back of the congressman from that district when he is right, and endeavoring to change his viewpoint when he is wrong. Ten or a dozen of the right men in almost any congressional district (in some city districts this would not be true), who are as devoted to their job of seeing that the Congressman is right as they would be, for instance, in the job of being a director of a bank or insurance company, can go a long way toward offsetting the work of the left-wing propaganda organization.

Such a group could stimulate letter-writing. If a congressman voted right on a contentious question, they would see to it that one or more letters were sent

to the newspapers, quietly but firmly supporting him and incidentally praising him. If the Congressman tended to go the other way, they could cause letters to be sent that in firm, measured language of goodwill would criticize him. Such a group could interest itself in the use of subversive text-books in schools and colleges; it would not overlook subversive activities in the churches; it could influence the bringing into the district of good speakers, and could prevent in many cases the bringing in of left-wing speakers. It could see that the truth was told in the home district.

Obviously, if this were done in all or a majority of the districts comprising a State, benefit would accrue to the Senators from that State.

It seems to me, from my years of being interested in legislation, both in State capitals and in Washington, that a very large part of the work of pushing or defeating a given measure is done in districts—back home. Organizations like the League of Women Voters and like the old Anti-Saloon League have, or have had, a tremendous influence on many, if not most, Congressmen. And except occasionally, as, for instance, when the court-packing bill was up, no adequate effort is done to offset it. I believe, too, that only a fraction of the time and effort now spent by these many left-wing organizations would be sufficient, if wisely used, completely to offset them.

Of course, such a program would take considerable money. But when we consider what is at stake almost any price would appear cheap. Unless such an adequate effort is made, then I think we will continue to lose the American system and presently it will all be gone, without any possibility of getting it back. The job should be undertaken as one that will take 4 or 5 years. Probably from 3 to 5 million dollars a year could well be expended.

My idea is not to duplicate the work of any existing organization. But after considering the work of all existing organizations, we find there is some overlapping, though I do not think it is harmful, and there are many gaps in the American front lines where no organization, or none of any consequence, is working to protect it.

I believe there are men, informed, able, wise, and patriotic, who in this time of peril could put together a movement that could save this country.

In any event, such an organization could, to the great advantage of the country, make it its business to see that really good organizations on our side—and you and I can think of several—are adequately financed.

The makings of the adequate effort are all available. They simply await the hands and brains and experience of men big enough to attract and hold the attention of the entire country.

I will enclose herewith a list of a small number of men whom I think it would be well to invite to a dinner or luncheon to discuss this matter, and I would be very glad to arrange such a meeting at the University Club at a convenient date.

I shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

Brig. Gen. Brice P. Disque, retired.

George S. Montgomery, Jr., partner in Coudert Bros.

Frank E. Gannett, newspaper publisher.

Earl Harding, public relations.

Senator Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey.

H. Smith Richardson, chairman, Vick Chemical Co.

H. Smith Richardson, Jr.

Col. Charles Lindbergh.

Arthur Bliss Lane, former American Ambassador to Poland.

Charles S. Payson, president, Rustless Iron & Steel Co.

Leonard E. Reed, president, Foundation for Economic Education.

David Goodrich, chairman, Goodrich Tire & Rubber Co.

Stanley Resor, president, J. Walter Thompson Co.

Congressman Howard H. Buffett, of Nebraska.

NEW YORK, April 22, 1948.

Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG,

Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,

Hon. CHARLES A. EATON,

Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs,

Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Austin is reported as having pledged the United States to undertake a share of providing armed forces to carry out UN trusteeship in Palestine. We protest

emphatically sending any American forces on a mission where Zionist interests alone are concerned. No American interest whatsoever is involved. We have already gone too far in permitting ourselves to be pushed into risking war in the interest of this special group. The press reports from Washington that present opinion in the executive department is that marines can be used without congressional approval by Executive order to "protect American property and lives." Property in question is doubtless that of the Palestine Economic Corporation, Jewish National Fund, Jewish Palestine Fund, and similar groups. We do not believe American people will consider this to be bona fide American property. Nor should persons who hold their American citizenship so cheap that they have in fact voluntarily abandoned it to fight for another allegiance and set up a foreign state expect or deserve to receive the protection of American troops. The American people will not stand for possible involvement in war to give such protection. We earnestly urge you to use your influence to prevent this subterfuge. It is not worth the life of one American boy.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building.

APRIL 27, 1948.

Mr. W. B. McLAIN,
663 Spitzer Building, Toledo 4, Ohio.

DEAR MR. McLAIN: In answer to your letter of April 22, we agree with you that radio is one of the best mediums of publicity we have as far as reaching the largest number of people.

As you doubtless know, radio programs are very expensive. We carried one which ended in 1947. We hope to raise money to broadcast again in the not-too-distant future. We enclose a copy of a recent broadcast made by Mr. Hart over Station WJZ.

Copies of our publications go to every Member of Congress and every Governor in the 48 States. We find that many Congressmen and Senators quote from our council letters and they have been frequently inserted in the Congressional Record.

We have reason to believe that our three letters on Palestine, letters Nos. 177, 181, and 186, were instrumental in reversing the misguided partition policy of the present administration. We enclose copies herewith.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CORP.,
67 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.
P. O. B. 2034, Cairo, Egypt, April 24, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Will you please supply copy of the following as per your Review of Books of April 1948:

Palestine: Star or Crescent? by Neville Barbour

The Odyssey Press, New York, \$3

Crisis, According to Plan.

I am enclosing check for \$3. Please forward the above to: Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, % International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., 67 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

P. A. DEL VALLE,
Vice President.

APRIL 28, 1948.

Lt. Gen. P. A. DEL VALLE,
In care of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.,
672 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

DEAR GENERAL DEL VALLE: Complying with your request of April 24, we have ordered today a copy of Palestine: Star or Crescent? by Neville Barbour sent to

you direct from the publishers, the Odyssey Press, Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Thank you for your check for \$3 to cover this order. We have in turn sent them our check for that amount.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

P. S.—We have also ordered a copy of *Crisis According to Plan* to be sent to you from the publishers, the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

APRIL 28, 1948.

The ODYSSEY PRESS, INC.,
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Please send a copy of *Palestine: Star or Crescent?* by Neville Barbour to Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, care of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., 67 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

We enclose our check for \$3 to cover this order.

Yours very truly,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

The FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION,
Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

APRIL 28, 1948.

GENTLEMEN: Please send a copy of *Crisis According to Plan* to: Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, care of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., 67 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

Yours very truly,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Room 619, 205 East Forty-second Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

APRIL 22, 1948.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Confirming our telephone conversation, please address envelopes to the following: 1,600 newspaper publishers, 531 Congressmen, 180 Washington newspaper correspondents.

Yours truly,

Mrs. C. G. DALL.

MEMO

DR. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., April 23, 1947.

To: Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

Here is the piece of which I spoke over the telephone.

Section A has been changed to: "In the Senate, this reform measure is in danger because some Republican Senators cooperating with New Deal Senators who have supported the labor monopolies are attempting to weaken the most important reforms in the House bill."

If upon receipt of this you will phone me how many you can use—if your mailing list is limited, it might be well to put in three or four copies each so that the person reached can get busy immediately distributing four or five each.

To all citizens suffering from the abuses and special privileges of labor monopolists:

You must speak up at once if you want equality before the law restored for all citizens, and if you are opposed to laws giving special privileges and monopoly power to labor organizers.

The House of Representatives has sent to the Senate a bill, removing some special privileges and prohibiting some of the worst abuses of labor monopolies. It still falls sort because it leaves the door open to a denial of the citizen's fundamental right to work, if the employer and a majority of his employees agree upon the union shop.

Only Nation-wide protest, and expression of the people's will to the Senate, can stop these compromisers, who would keep America under the yoke of the labor monopolists. Union bosses, with their swollen treasurers of hundreds of millions and the aid of scores of thousands of shop stewards, are mobilizing in a drive to overwhelm your Congress by sheer money power and entrenched organization.

Tell your Senators that you will never forget how they vote on this measure. Ask them to support the provisions of the House labor bill.

You must wire or write by air mail.

Stimulate discussion by local groups. Send delegations to call upon your Senators, urging support of the House labor bill. Arouse friends and fellow workers, for this is a movement friendly to wage earners and will restore their constitutional right to work. Concentrate on the Senate.

Distribute this leaflet widely. One hundred free on request; \$1 a thousand, postpaid anywhere. Wire or air mail your order. Ask for You Must Speak Up at Once leaflet.

Copyright 1947 by Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE

Republicans in roman, Democrats in *italico*

To address a Senator, write or wire: Honorable (name); United States Senator; Senate Office Building; Washington, D. C.

Alabama: *Lister Hill* and *John J. Sparkman*.
 Arizona: *Carl Hayden* and *Ernest W. McFarland*.
 Arkansas: *John L. McClellan* and *J. William Fulbright*.
 California: *Sheridan Downey* and *William F. Knowland*.
 Colorado: *Edwin C. Johnson* and *Eugene D. Millikin*.
 Connecticut: *Brien McMahon* and *Raymond E. Baldwin*.
 Delaware: *C. Douglass Buck* and *John J. Williams*.
 Florida: *Claude Pepper* and *Spessard L. Holland*.
 Georgia: *Walter F. George* and *Richard B. Russell*.
 Idaho: *Glen H. Taylor* and *Henry C. Dworshak*.
 Illinois: *Scott W. Lucas* and *C. Wayland Brooks*.
 Indiana: *Homer E. Capehart* and *William E. Jenner*.
 Iowa: *George A. Wilson* and *Bourke B. Hickenlooper*.
 Kansas: *Arthur Capper* and *Clyde M. Keed*.
 Kentucky: *Alben W. Barkley* and *John Sherman Cooper*.
 Louisiana: *John H. Overton* and *Allen J. Ellender*.
 Maine: *Wallace H. White, Jr.*, and *Owen Brewster*.
 Maryland: *Millard E. Tydings* and *Herbert R. O'Connor*.
 Massachusetts: *Leverett Saltonstall* and *Henry C. Lodge, Jr.*
 Michigan: *Arthur H. Vandenberg* and *Homer Ferguson*.
 Minnesota: *Joseph H. Ball* and *Edward J. Thye*.
 Mississippi: *Theodore G. Bilbo* and *James O. Eastland*.
 Missouri: *Forrest C. Donnell* and *James P. Kem*.
 Montana: *James E. Murray* and *Zales N. Eaton*.
 Nebraska: *Hugh Butler* and *Kenneth S. Wherry*.
 Nevada: *Pat McCarran* and *George W. Malone*.
 New Hampshire: *Styles Bridges* and *Charles W. Tobey*.
 New Jersey: *Albert W. Hawkes* and *H. Alexander Smith*.
 New Mexico: *Carl A. Hatch* and *Dennis Chavez*.
 New York: *Robert F. Wagner* and *Irving M. Ives*.
 North Carolina: *Olyde R. Hoey* and *William B. Umstead*.
 North Dakota: *William Langer* and *Milton R. Young*.
 Ohio: *Robert A. Taft* and *John W. Bricker*.
 Oklahoma: *Elmer Thomas* and *E. H. Moore*.
 Oregon: *Guy Cordon* and *Wayne Morse*.
 Pennsylvania: *Francis J. Myers* and *Edward Martin*.
 Rhode Island: *Theodore F. Green* and *J. Howard McGrath*.
 South Carolina: *Burnet R. Maybank* and *Olin D. Johnston*.

South Dakota: Chan Gurney and Harlan J. Bushfield.
 Tennessee: Kenneth McKellar and Tom Stewart.
 Texas: Tom Connally and W. Lee O'Daniel.
 Utah: Elbert D. Thomas and Arthur V. Watkins.
 Vermont: George D. Aiken and Ralph E. Flanders.
 Virginia: Harry Flood Byrd and A. Willis Robertson.
 Washington: Warren G. Magnuson and Harry P. Cain.
 West Virginia: Harley M. Kilgore and Chapman Revercomb.
 Wisconsin: Alexander Wiley and Joseph R. McCarthy.
 Wyoming: Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Edward V. Robertson.

MEMBERS OF SENATE LABOR COMMITTEE

Republicans: Robert A. Taft, Ohio; George D. Aiken, Vermont; Joseph H. Ball, Minnesota; H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey; Wayne Morse, Oregon; Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri; William E. Jenner, Indiana; Irving M. Ives, New York.

Democrats: Elbert D. Thomas, Utah; James E. Murray, Montana; Claude Pepper, Florida; Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana; Lister Hill, Alabama.

MAY 11, 1948.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
 Room 619, 205 Forty-second Street,
 New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: The enclosed envelopes were returned. They are from the list you covered for us, namely—1,600 newspaper publishers, 531 Congressmen, 180 Washington newspaper correspondents.

We are returning these, not in any criticism, but so that you may correct your records, because we know from our own experience how many changes there are on such lists.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
 Assistant to the President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, D. C., May 28, 1948.

HON. CHARLES A. EATON,
 Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs,
 The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Now that the Senate has invited Gen. Douglas MacArthur to testify before one of its committees, I would like to suggest that, if the general has accepted, you will extend a similar invitation for him to appear before our committee.

I am merely following up a suggestion made in the full committee at the time hearings started last December on the interim-aid legislation.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, D. C., May 27, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
 Room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I have your letter of May 25 in which you urge the House Committee on Foreign Affairs invite General MacArthur to appear and testify before our committee.

For your information, when the committee was hearing testimony on the European recovery bill I made such a request but the committee turned it down. I am informed that today the Senate Finance Committee will consider inviting him to testify before that committee.

I agree with you that his views would certainly benefit Congress and bring some measure of hope to the American people.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

MAY 28, 1948.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear SENATOR WILEY: I am enclosing herewith a brief statement which we ask you to insert in the record of the hearings of the Mundt-Nixon bill.

Thanking you.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART,
President.

MAY 28, 1948.

To ———

We strongly urge you to use all your influence to see to it that pending legislation shall provide for admission of no more than 50,000 displaced persons yearly into the United States, rather than the 200,000 voted yesterday by the Senate. The changes made in the Senate yesterday are obviously not in the interest of the American people as a whole, but were made mainly at the instance of certain minorities who hope and expect to reap the chief benefits.

We also urge you to use all your influence to see to it that the principles of admission of displaced persons be along the sound general lines recommended by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which are eminently fair and humane, rather than according to the population proportions in DP camps. The latter proposal is again clearly in the interest of a minority and will result in the admission of numbers less qualified by tradition and political experience to be assimilable citizens of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

The Honorable JOHN TABER,
*Chairman, House Appropriations Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

National Economic Council vigorously protests plan to appropriate \$10,000,000 of ERP money to American press, radio, motion picture producers or book publishers, and urges that it be stricken from proposed bill. We concur with representative Leo Allen's views as stated in the press. This looks like a brazen attempt to corrupt the press by Government subsidy.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.

NEW YORK, June 8, 1948.

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON,
*Chairman, Ways and Means Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

Members of National Economic Council today assembled in annual meeting, unanimously commend you and your colleagues in your firm stand on trade agreements extension bill. Your sound constitutional position that the elected Representatives of the people shall not surrender their function as the guardians of the public purse is a greatly needed emphasis upon the nature of free government. Millions of Americans will join with us in hoping and expecting that the House and House conferees will stand their ground against the unlawful pressure of the New Deal bureaucracy.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.
By MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 9, 1948.

HON. LEO E. ALLEN,
*Chairman, Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We note with regret that the bill appropriating \$65,000,000 for construction of a permanent United Nations in New York has been cleared by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

On behalf of this organization, I wish to urge as strongly as possible that this bill should not be released to the floor by the Rules Committee.

In our opinion, UN, from the standpoint of the interests of the people of the United States, is almost 100 percent a failure.

This loan, if made, will, we believe, never be repaid. The American taxpayers will as usual prove to be suckers.

We believe that the whole scheme of UN is wrong. If UN should succeed, it would simply place the control of our entire economy and our entire lives in the hands of internationalists.

We greatly hope you will not release this bill.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 9, 1948.

Hon. STYLES BRIDGES,

Senate Appropriations Committee,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We yesterday sent the following telegram to Congressman John Taber, chairman of House Appropriations:

"Members of National Economic Council today assembled in annual meeting, unanimously commend you and your colleagues in effort to make salutary cuts in the misnamed 'European Recovery Program.' Men such as you who have moral courage to protect the people's interest in spite of vast propaganda and pressure prove themselves statesmen in the best American tradition. We earnestly hope that the House and House conferees will stand firm."

We earnestly hope that the Senate Appropriations Committee will refuse to put back into the bill the deductions made by the House Appropriations Committee.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,

By MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 11, 1948.

Mr. L. F. REARDON,

225 Covington Drive, Detroit 3, Mich.

DEAR LEO: Here is a question that may interest you:

Perhaps you have seen the book called *Mainspring*, by Henry G. Weaver of the General Motors Corp. It is a rewrite of a book called the *Discovery of Freedom*, by Rose Wilder Lane who, as you know, edits our review of books.

I talked with Mr. Weaver some weeks ago, and asked if he would approve the idea of the National Economic Council conducting a prize essay contest on his book. First, he strongly approved it, then said he would like to think it over, and eventually wrote us he was enthusiastic about it.

It could be an essay contest, or it could be a question contest. In any event, I think we could get Mr. Weaver's help in framing the questions.

The book is perhaps one of the best things ever written describing the American system.

It might be that such a contest could well be conducted during the summer months. However, as to that I do not know. It would have a value in educating the American public during the election campaign.

My question to you is, does this present something that you would care to undertake to run on some reasonable basis, and under what terms and conditions?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART,
President.

WILLIAM VOLKER & CO. OF MISSOURI, INC.,
MAIN, SECOND AND THIRD STREETS,
Kansas City 10, Mo., June 7, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: We would appreciate your sending us 11,000 copies of volume V, No. 6, of your review of books entitled, "Here Is Danger!" Please send invoice to cover.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER & CO.
By H. W. LUHNOW.

JUNE 10, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
*William Volker & Co.
Main, Second and Third Streets,
Kansas City 10, Mo.*

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Mr. Hart has requested that I acknowledge your order for 11,000 copies of our June review of books *Here Is Danger*.

Due to the tremendous demand for this review we did not have enough on hand to completely cover your order, so we are having the shipment made directly from the printer tomorrow, parcel post special delivery.

As soon as we receive the shipping charges, we will send you our bill, at the usual rate of \$25 per thousand.

Thank you for this order.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

PRESTON KLINE CAYE, A. M., PH. D., O. D., D. O. S.,
SUITE 428, BARTLETT BUILDING,
SEVENTH AND SPRING STREETS,
Los Angeles 14, June 8, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: First may I express my appreciation and tell you how much I enjoy the Economic Council letter and the information contained therein. Each letter is widely circulated among my associates and friends. It would be a comforting thought if we might believe that the President of the United States is advised by his Cabinet officers and advisers, but judging from his actions one is inclined to believe that he is taking orders from a higher group.

What are the names of the leaders of the international New Deal that have the power to tell the President that he must retain all Communists in office, must follow the Communist line from the Daily Worker, must increase Government expenses, civil-rights program, etc., etc.? Who is running the State Department and telling Secretary Marshall, Secretary of State for United States and Russia, that he must not fire any Communists, promote communism and socialism in Europe by the ERP at the expense of the American taxpayers?

It would be interesting if this could be discussed in some future Economic Council letter.

Cordially yours,

PRESTON KLINE CAYE,
Director, Movie Travel Club; Director of Research, Visual Geriatrics Society.

JUNE 14, 1948.

Dr. PRESTON KLINE CAYE,
*Suite 428, Bartlett Building, Seventh and Springs Streets,
 Los Angeles, Calif.*

DEAR MR. CAYE: Thank you for your letter of June 8 which is just received.

If you would care to send us a list of the names and addresses of a dozen of your friends who you think might be interested in hearing from us with copies of council letters and with a request to subscribe, we shall be glad to write to them.

The names of the leaders of the international New Deal can be spelled out of events as they have happened and have been happening from day to day. Certainly men like ex-Governor Lehman, former director of UNRRA, are among them, as also are Judge Samuel Rosenman, Felix Frankfurter, and such men as Rabbi Stephen Wise and Rabbi Silver. Prominent among them would be Clark Elchelberger who for 10 or a dozen years last passed has been executive secretary of this, that and the other organization which have constantly sought to enmesh us in Europe.

I do not say that these men are telling Secretary Marshall that he must not fire any Communists, although it would seem extremely likely that they and others of their kind are the influences that prevent the firing of left wingers from the State Department.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 10, 1948.

Hon. JOHN TABER,
*House of Representatives,
 The Capitol, Washington, D. C.*

We earnestly urge you to do everything possible to defeat proposed appropriation of \$65,000,000 for United Nations world capital loan. In our opinion the UN is an alien-controlled organization to which if it continues we Americans would find we have surrendered our sovereignty. It is an utter failure.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
 By MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 10, 1948.

Hon. JOHN TABER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The courageous stand for budgetary honesty being made by you and the members of the House conference committee deserves the grateful thanks of informed and patriotic Americans. Your position has been greatly distorted in large segments of the public press, which have played down both the unrealistic nature of ERP appropriations requested by administration and the painstaking manner in which your committee in long hearings examined every item and insisted upon their justification. We cannot understand how Senate conferees can stubbornly insist upon figures which even Senator Bridges charged in Senate on June 15 have little relation to reality. He said that in the testimony submitted to his committee "There was little information on which the committee could base a firm, precise, stable, and undisputed appropriation figure." Further, in considering the representation that your committee is violating a "moral commitment," the House should know that Senator Vandenberg himself stated in the Senate on June 15 that "It has never occurred to me that the figures which came down in the estimates were untouchable." We are wiring strong and full statement to Senator Taft urging him to ask Senate conferees to accept House amendments.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL.
 MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 10, 1948.

Senator ROBERT A. TAFT,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

You are quoted in press today as being "quite prepared to stand by the view of Senator Vandenberg as to what is essential to carry out our moral commit-

ments to Europe." We urge you to reconsider in the interest of American people. In Senate, June 15, Senator Vandenberg himself stated "It has never occurred to me that the figures which came down in the estimates were untouchable." So that there is no "moral commitment" except to appropriate such sums as can be soundly justified by close examination, as was given in painstaking detail by the House Appropriations Committee. This is essentially the view stated by Senator Bridges himself in Senate same day in these words: "It is the earnest hope of the Senate Appropriations Committee that more realistic justification will be presented for any appropriation to be made after next January for further expenditure in 1940 and in 1950." Previously he had charged that "in all the great detail of testimony submitted to the committee there was little information on which the committee could base a firm, precise, stable, and undisputed appropriation figure." In view of this judgment, why should Senate conferees insist upon supporting figures they confess are unrealistic? When public understands the facts, reaction will be sharp. Up until now a large segment of the press, has withheld from the public or played down many facts essential to an understanding of the true situation. But those facts cannot long be dissembled. We urge you to exert your great influence and leadership to secure Senate concurrence with the reasonable and realistic position taken by the House.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.
MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

JUNE 21, 1948.

HON. RALPH W. GWINN,
522 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR RALPH: May I take my hat off to you in your success in defeating the housing bill with its public housing provisions, for I think you, more than anyone else, can be given the credit for this defeat.

I don't like a number of things the Congress did in its closing hours, especially the scrapping of all of John Haber's hard work in getting out the facts in the appropriations for the ECA. It is certainly a darn shame.

Now we will watch and see what the convention does. But in any event, I think you did a wonderful job on the housing bill.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

Received at Utica and forwarded to Mr. Hart July 6, 1948 AMS.

LOCKPORT UNION-SUN & JOURNAL, INC.,
Lockport, N. Y., July 2, 1948.

MISS MARGARET SCHMID,
National Economic Council Inc.,
903 First National Bank Building, Utica 2, N. Y.

MY DEAR MISS SCHMID: Enclosed is our check for \$100 being our contribution to the library fund of the National Economic Council according to my agreement.

We are pleased to carry out our part of the program this year, but kindly take this as our notification that we will not continue through next year.

Very truly yours,

E. D. CORSON, *Publisher*.

JULY 7, 1948.

MR. E. D. CORSON,
Publisher, Lockport Union-Sun & Journal, Inc.,
Lockport, N. Y.

DEAR MR. CORSON: We are pleased to receive your renewal of the subscription of \$100 for 10 gift subscriptions of Economic Council publications. It is very satisfactory to recall for how many years you have been supporting our work.

This work, incidentally, has grown tremendously. Occasionally we get a criticism to the effect that our stuff goes to only those people who agree with us. But judging from a few letters we receive criticizing us, it is certain that some of our letters reach people who thoroughly disagree. And we have had a number of instances where people have read our material and have admitted that it has affected their thinking.

A number of publications reproduce our Council Letters in whole or a part, and they are quoted from by a considerable number of publications. Quite a few of them find their way into the Congressional Record.

Thanking you again for your renewal,
Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

FINANCIAL REMITTANCE MEMO

JULY 6, 1948.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart from Miss Schmid.

Smith & Caffrey Co., D. C. Parks, 2011 Iodl St., Syracuse, N. Y.:	July-----	\$25
Lockport Union Sun and Journal, E. D. Corson, publisher, Lockport, N. Y.,		
(renewal of 10 gift subscriptions):	August-----	100
Total-----		125

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

KERN DODGE,
LEWIS TOWER BUILDING,
Philadelphia 2, Pa., July 9, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Some months ago, Mr. A. A. Zoll called upon me and told me of the plans of the National Council for American Education, 420 Lexington Avenue.

Later I received a letter asking me to act in advisory capacity which I agreed to do and at that time I sent a small check for \$25 for the good of the cause.

Not hearing of any further activity, I wrote and asked what this situation was and received a long and apparently very satisfactory letter from Mr. Zoll, with which he sent me a list of the board of governors and the advisory committee. In his letter, he mentioned your name saying that Dr. Griffiths' name would not appear in any literature because you thought it unwise.

This prompts me to drop you this note asking for your size-up of the National Council for American Education.

I would very much appreciate anything you can tell me.

Sincerely,

KERN DODGE.

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co.,
Kansas City 10, Mo., July 2, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We applaud your courage in putting out council letter No. 194 entitled "All the News," and although we may be stepping on a few toes we have decided to send this along in one of our monthly mailings because it is a situation that more folks in this country should be alert to.

Please send us 12,000 copies of council letter No. 194 and include with it 12,000 copies of the Review of Books, volume 5, No. 7, for July.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co.,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

P. S.—Please see that these bulletins come to us folded to fit a No. 10 envelope.

JULY 6, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
William Volker & Co.,
Main, Second and Third Streets,
Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Thank you for your complimentary remarks about letter 104 which Mr. Hart was pleased to hear.

We will be glad to ship you 12,000 of this letter and 12,000 of the July Review of Books. The printer has promised to ship these July 8 or 9 at the latest.

The price for the review will be \$25 a thousand, the same as your last order. The price of the letter will be \$35 a thousand due to the fact that it is a six-page letter. We will forward the bill as soon as the material is shipped and we receive the shipping charges.

Thank you for this order.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

JULY 12, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
William Volker & Co.,
Main, Second and Third Streets, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: We are glad to advise that the 12,000 July Reviews were shipped to you from our printer on July 7 and the 12,000 Council Letters No. 104 on July 9. We hope these reach you in good condition.

We enclose a bill herewith for the above order.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

To Our Readers:

We enclose sample copies of our Economic Council Letter and the Council Review of Books.

The council letters are published twice each month, on the 1st and the 15th, the Council Review of Books, edited by Rose Wilder Lane, on the 1st of each month.

Through our publications we are endeavoring to preserve the free enterprise system which made our country great and to expose those subversive influences which are undermining our Republic.

If you like these publications and would care to receive them regularly, please use the attached coupon.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

RALPH W. GWINN,
 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 6, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you for your letter of June 21.

I appreciate your thanks for the part I took in stopping the public-housing bill. You must take a goodly share of the credit, though, for things not being much worse than they are. Maybe we can get Dewey to reverse the terrible trend that was still on when the Eightieth Congress closed.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

RALPH.

JULY 20, 1948.

Mr. WILLIAM J. COAD, Jr.,
Care of Omar, Inc.,
 1400 South Eighty-fourth Street, Omaha, Nebr.

DEAR MR. COAD: A member of our staff who recently met you at a dinner in Omaha has suggested that we send you further information about the council and its supporters. We are sorry that you did not receive this complete information as you formerly requested. We list below a few of our friends.

Congressman Howard Buffett, of Omaha, is one of our supporters and a friend of Mr. Hart's. Mr. H. W. Luhnnow, of the William Volker & Co., of Kansas City, has been a strong supporter of the council for several years. He recently ordered 12,000 copies of our July 1 letter, No. 104, and the July review of books for distribution.

Col. Robert R. McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune is an old friend of Mr. Hart's and, as you may know, almost every issue of the council letter is published in the Chicago Tribune in whole or in part.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, of Sears, Roebuck, has been a contributor to the council for many years and also a personal friend of Mr. Hart's. Mr. Harry B. Carhart, of Ann Arbor, Mich., is likewise a contributor to the council.

Both Mr. Irénée du Pont and Mr. Lammot du Pont of Wilmington have been strong supporters of the council for some years. They have not only generously supported the council but have made available gift subscriptions to hundreds of educational and religious institutions throughout the United States.

I believe that any of the above-mentioned men would be glad to speak favorably of the council if you would care to write them.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
 Assistant to the President.

5953 Buena Vista Avenue,
 Oakland 18, Calif., July 15, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Recently one of my friends has told me a little about the case of subversive textbooks (H. O. Rugg) which came up several years ago. I had never heard much about it, and was interested. I have not been able to find much material on it in any library, but I understand that you published some reports on it. If you still have any of these available, I should certainly appreciate receiving a copy. If you could tell me of any literature of other organizations which you consider reliable, I should also like that information.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

JONATHAN N. HARDT.

JULY 20, 1948.

Mr. JONATHAN N. HARDT,
 5953 Buena Vista Avenue, Oakland, 18, Calif.

DEAR MR. HARDT: In answer to your inquiry of July 15, we are enclosing some literature on the subject of the Rugg textbooks.

If you mean us to give you the names of organizations or publications similar to our own, we believe the following to be reliable:

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.
 Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-second Street,
 New York 17, N. Y.

Human Events, 1823 M Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

The Appeal to Reason, by Lawrence Dennis, Post Office Box 11, Becket, Mass.

We are enclosing sample copies of our regular publications. The council letter is issued semi-monthly and the review of books and action report once a month.

Won't you become a subscriber and receive our material regularly?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
 Assistant to the President.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 29, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
Hotel Ritz, Paseo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

DEAR MERWIN: You must have sent a telepathic message to us because the enclosed is what we have already recommended. A Republican caucus is being held this afternoon at which the idea will be thoroughly explored.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH.

JULY 20, 1948.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
*House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: We suggest that special House committees be appointed by you with authority to make studies, travel, and take testimony in various parts of the country on at least the three issues mentioned below. In the meantime Congress should recess to await the reports of these committees.

I. Price control

The committee should—

1. Find the basic causes for inflation—going all the way back to 1933.
2. Study present inflation pressures, such as Government bidding up the prices and exporting Government goods either in short or excess supply through ECA.
3. Make a complete study of present Government controls affecting prices and causes of scarcity.
4. Study the effect of Government propaganda on prices.
5. Recommend a course of action.

II. Public housing

The committee should—

1. Make a study of the present need and the apparent shortage of housing.
2. Study the effect of present Federal Government controls, credit, and other interventions in housing existing since 1940, including the effect of Federal rent control on the efficient use and supply of housing.
3. Make a study of Government housing in the United States and abroad, including costs, the ultimate possible socialization of all housing, and effects upon the whole economy. Also the political implications of Government housing affecting the places and persons selected by Government to benefit by it, as well as all sources of propaganda for public housing.
4. Make recommendations.

III. Federal aid to education

The committee should—

1. Study the relative ability of the States and the Federal Government to finance public education.
2. Study the effect of Federal taxation on the money available in the several States for education, and the benefits to education from the repeal of certain Federal taxes.
3. Ascertain whether Federal aid is possible without Federal supervision, influence, or control. Inquire why all States regardless of their financial ability to pay for their own education should get Federal aid if control is not the real objective.
4. Make recommendations.

If this action is adopted the House will have the up-to-date facts before it and be much better prepared to decide the effect of this legislation on this Nation for generations to come.

Respectfully submitted.

250 CHELMSFORD ROAD,
Durban, July 25, 1948.

MERWIN K. HART, Esq.

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your letter of July 14. It must be quite extraordinary to look back on 50 years of visits to England, or rather, on 50 such

years. The changes are almost beyond human comprehension, by which I mean the unseen ones, more than mere improvements in vehicular traffic and plumbing.

I do not think I can suggest anybody who would be particularly valuable for you to see just now in England. I have never met Sir Oswald Mosley myself, but, believing as I do that fascism and communism are but separate horns of the same bull, the task of which is merely to destroy everything that lies in the path of the unicorn behind (Zionist world domination) I naturally do not find consolation or hope in his teachings.

I was sorry you pointed rather clearly to my identity in printing the article; I did not want anything more than "From a correspondent in South Africa" and wrote in the belief that this byline would be used.

I trust you will have a more instructive sojourn in England, and hope it may also be an enjoyable one.

Yours sincerely,

DOUGLAS REED.

AUGUST 3, 1948.

Mr. DOUGLAS REED,
250 Chelmsford Road, Durban, South Africa.

DEAR MR. REED: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 25 to Mr. Hart. I will forward copy of your letter to Mr. Hart in Europe.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Mr. Hart.

GETTYSBURG, PA., August 3, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: As librarian of Gettysburg College I regularly see your Letter. If other groups were to send such material, I am certain it would be disapproved as propaganda. The tone of the publication at times is intemperate and unworthy of the council.

The recent article, A Republic--If You Can Keep It, is particularly disturbing. Somebody is badly informed about democracy and fearful that it be I. The Webster Dictionary was consulted for the definition of the word "democracy." In brief it says: "Government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised by representation as in a republic."

All the copies of the Constitution I have seen start, "We, the people * * *" and conclude (amendment, art. X) all undesignated powers are reserved "to the people." All the issues which you oppose: Internationalism, immigration, anti-discrimination laws, social security, Federal aid to education, "signing away our heritage" could be regarded as powers "restricted to the people."

In this town it was proclaimed and established that this is a government of, for, and by the people. Our American citizens need badly to learn that this is not government for, by, of the President, the Congress, the courts, the political parties, the National Economic Council, or any other individual or groups.

In conclusion, may I declare myself vigorously as being for Federal aid to public libraries for an enlightened citizenry at the national level. I shall cease to be so when the National Economic Council and similar groups repudiate officially, completely, and sincerely such Federal aid to business and industry as the tariff and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. (I am an enrolled Republican.)

I recall that it has been said of the Bourbons that because they never learned they met with fatal consequences, and their friend, the author of the title of your article, wise Benjamin Franklin, in his witty way, though it would be trite, would also add, "Time marches on!"

Respectfully,

JOHN H. KNICKERBOCKER.

AUGUST 11, 1948.

Mr. JOHN HOWARD KNICKERBOCKER,
Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.

DEAR MR. KNICKERBOCKER: Mr. Hart is absent from the United States, but I have read your letter of August 3 with great interest.

It all comes down, I suppose, to what moderns who think they have discovered something new now call semantics. When I went to school, we had a more

prosaic set of terms for it. But at base the question is of the use of words and being sure that we mean the same thing when each uses a word.

To you, the word "democracy" means primarily something about the fountain of authority, namely, the people. Therefore, you speak well and truly for what the founding fathers called "popular government." As to the doctrine of popular government, you state, Mr. Hart would agree with you, I think, entirely. So any point of possible disagreement between you would not concern that. From his point of view, democracy is popular government without having, or without properly recognizing, the restraints that are put upon transient or permanent majorities by the political instrument we call our Constitution. If you will reread the Federalist papers, you may be struck by the fact that this usage seems also to have been familiar to, and accepted by, their authors.

The word "propaganda," which you also use, seems to me to be sorely in need of definition if we are to get anywhere. The loose use to which it is commonly put seems to me to be a symptom of the addled thinking so characteristic of our times. What does it mean to call somebody's writings "propaganda"? Usually only this: That an argument is made for a position which the critic himself disapproves. Any proposition is subject to being so called. Isn't it better to consider the proposition on its intrinsic merits rather than to smear it with a word which is practically empty of meaning? It seems to me that the word can only be rightly used if you mean to say that the author pretends to say one thing but really is attempting to promote a concealed end.

Please feel free to criticize. We need letters like yours. It may be that we are, as you say, "intemperate." Maybe the times call for some sanctified intemperance. The world today is no Sunday school picnic. Some of the most intemperate things ever said are recorded in the New Testament and were spoken by Christ, Himself. Isn't the world better because He said them?

Cordially yours,

H. M. GRIFFITHS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building:

Received wire, please inform by return wire how many legislators you have thus contacted and whether you are registered as lobbyist.

HON. JOE MCCARTHY,
Senate Office Building.

BELL, JONES & TAYLOR,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y., August 12, 1948.
Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOE: I have just received a phone call from the office of Mr. Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, and one of my old friends.

It seems that Mr. Hart's office sent you a telegram during the closing critical days of the special session, and that this telegram may have been misconstrued. The National Economic Council is a conservative public interest body, almost radical, I should say, in its devotion to individual enterprise. Whatever it was that Mr. Hart wired you, was sent, I am sure, with the best of intentions, and I hope that you will so regard it.

When you are in New York and I see you, I should like to have you and Mr. Hart meet one another.

Cordially yours,

LUTHER K. BELL.

AUGUST 5, 1948.

National Economic Council protests against rushing through any ill-considered housing legislation at this session. Private housing construction is now breaking all records, and should not be hampered by Government intervention or its flow of materials and labor be interfered with just as it is proving what it can do. Further, the council earnestly urges that the bill now being considered by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency be not enacted, or any legislation substantially like it. Enactment would be

another long step toward the culmination of ruinous inflation, by increasing the volume of Government credits. This will compound the basic evil from which we are now suffering, and which if continued will lead to the financial ruin of the United States. Instead of creating more Government money and credit, every opportunity and incentive should be given to private enterprise to increase production, untrammelled by ruinous taxation, further inflation or competition by Government.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

MULTIPLE-ADDRESSED TELEGRAMS

The dispatch of multiple-addressed telegrams will be expedited if the addresses are typewritten on this form. Place one address in each perforated section. Only one copy of the text is required.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.

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Washington, D. C.

Hon. Harry P. Cain,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. John W. Bricker,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. J. William Fulbright,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. A. Willis Robertson,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

AUGUST 5, 1948.

Mrs. MERWIN K. HART,
Winship Road, New Hartford, N. Y.

DEAR MARGARET: The enclosed card came and I thought perhaps you would like to take care of it so I am sending it on to you.

We had not heard in the office that MK got his interview with Franco but apparently he did as today the INS called me and gave me the following telegram:

"Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests that Merwin Hart submit the English translation of Franco statement to the Spanish Embassy in Washington for accuracy check before releasing. Signed: Knoblaugh, INS representative in Madrid."

I am awfully glad that he got this as he didn't get the one with Salazar's he had hoped he would.

I hope you have a lovely time when you go to Placid and be sure to give my love to Becky and Nellis.

Sincerely,

AUGUST 12, 1948.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart:

Cartwright was in here—asked for me but I was out to lunch so HMG saw him. HMG just called me in and is very much upset to think you may be seeing Mosley. He says that Cartwright told him that Hamilton is Mosley's right-hand man.

HMG says that Mosley is trailed by agents who would undoubtedly report any contact you have with Mosley to all the wrong places here and that within a few weeks, he is sure, it would be in the front page of Birkhead's sheet.

Of course, I realize that HMG gets alarmed about things but I am inclined to agree that an interview with this man might do you and the Council a great deal of harm. After all, one name they have always called you is a "Fascist" and this would certainly imply that you are consorting with them.

I asked Lubin early this morning to send you copies of 107 so that you would get them at the earliest possible moment. I believe you would like to have a few more so am enclosing five copies.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 10, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, Inc.
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of August 6 relative to housing legislation.

There is enclosed herewith an excerpt from the Congressional Record of August 7 stating my views on the subject.

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK C. SMITH.

[From the Congressional Record, August 7, 1948]

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the alleged purpose of calling this session of Congress was to pass legislation to check inflation. Yesterday we passed the gift loan bill for constructing a palace for the UN in New York City, which is inflationary.

Now we are considering a so-called housing bill which would greatly intensify inflation. Not one additional house will be built because of the passage of this act. It will not add a nail or a piece of building material or increase the available amount of labor for the erection of dwellings.

It will only create more credit to bid up prices on a definitely tight and limited supply of building materials and labor, thus not only forcing the prices of houses higher, but living costs in general as well.

The yield-insurance provision in this bill involves the basic principle of totalitarianism—fascism, nazism, communism—that is, political expropriation and disposition of private property.

This compromise measure may help to reelect some of us to Congress, but we should remind ourselves of what Euripides said: "The gods visit the sins of the fathers upon their children."

AUGUST 10, 1948.

Representative FREDERICK C. SMITH,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Thank you heartily for your letter of August 10, with the enclosure.

In reading the Record for the debate on the housing bill, I had already come upon your remarks and savored them to the full. I do not think that the entire issue has ever been stated so sincerely before, at any time or by anyone. In addition it was a contrast to the columns of pious hokum in favor of the bill—some of it, more's the pity, by good men who ought to know better.

Would you have any objection if at some future time we take occasion to quote this 2-minute diamond? (With credit, of course.) I think that the public deserves to read it.

This will probably be a strenuous summer for you, but I sincerely wish you well in your campaign.

Cordially yours,

H. M. GRIFFITHS.

AUGUST 18, 1948.

Money Raising.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart from Miss Schmidt.

I feel, as I think you do, that the council has been doing important work, and yet I believe you will agree that we have only commenced to do the big work that must be done.

To that end I think we should use all of the experience and ability that anyone in the council has.

During the past year or two, I do not feel you have used all of the experience and ability that I can give. I am placing on your desk, so that you may look them over, four volumes of the reports I have made on work I have done. You will see that it covers quite a wide experience and at least some ability.

In the matter of raising money, I have brought in during the years quite a good deal of money, and I would like to continue to do so. But during the past year of two, I seem to have been handicapped in my desire to do this.

Therefore, the first thing that should be established is, "Do you want me to raise money?" You have answered this previously by saying "Yes." But there is much more to it than that. If I am to raise money, I must have a little better climate in which to do it. Rather than being held back, I should be encouraged by the council as a whole, and I should more readily be furnished the wherewithal with which to do it.

Recently I saw an article in *Fortune* concerning the manufacturers' association, and in that article they made all of their officers who dealt with the public important. The Committee for Constitutional Government does this also. Whenever they have had a meeting in Utica, they have had all of their people who deal with the public up in front, and have spent quite a good deal of each meeting showing what "big fellows" they all are, just as when they want to make a big impression on someone they take them to their office and show them their machinery. I know you were quite impressed by this.

While you did this for me during the early days of the council, during the past year or two you have rather "hidden me under a bushel."

I can raise money, but in order to do so you must give me the importance that is required to do this. Little people cannot go out and raise big money.

While, as I have mentioned above, I have brought in quite a good many new subscriptions and worked on bringing in renewals of large subscriptions, yet there is no record in the New York office, insofar as I know, as to what I have done in that direction. This leaves it so that anyone new coming in, as Mrs. Dall and Miss O'Connor did, know nothing about this, and therefore I have often found subscriptions which I have brought in on lists that come through to me "Mr. Hart's special list," which rather takes it out of my province.

I have made a list of some of the subscriptions that we have today, and which I originally brought in through calls. There are, of course, many additional hundreds that came in through letters sent out from here. You will know that some subscriptions I brought in remained in for some time and then later dropped out. The attached list is as of today, and I would like to have my initials placed on the financial cards in New York, showing that these originally came in through me. This as a starter for keeping a record of the subscriptions I bring in.

Will you please let me know if you feel this can be done. I feel if the people in New York knew and understood the importance of the work I have done and can do, there would be an even better cooperation in helping me to bring about important results.

The up-state section outside of New York commencing with the early fall, needs attention and contact work, and I am ready and willing to do this, and think I can bring good results out of it.

In the early fall I would like to go to Niagara Falls, Buffalo, and Lockport. At this time we are rather in the dog house out there for the reason that we canceled two trips—the first trip for which I had about 20 good appointments—because we did not have the money for me to make the trip. The second trip was canceled because when I endeavored to arrange it, the response was not good, no doubt due to the cancellation of the previous trip.

I think by fall all of this will be forgotten, and I can start afresh lining up a trip, which would not only include prospective subscribers but also the renewals that come up in that territory in October.

You have said something about how we should get returns from a trip of one, two, or three times what is spent. I do not believe that we can look at it in just that way. For instance, as you will know, after a visit I had with Mr. W. Howard Wright in Schenectady a year ago, he subscribed for 50 gift subscriptions, or \$500. A month or two ago I went to Schenectady and after clearing up some things in Mr. Wright's mind, he agreed to renew this \$500, which would make \$1,000 all told. This cost the council, in addition to two half days of time for the two trips, about \$21 in expense money. You will see from this that the returns were manyfold what was spent.

However, it may be at other times the immediate returns would not be as great as what was spent. The greater part of the subscriptions I have obtained from time to time have renewed for many years, usually simply through a letter. And, of course, this must be taken into consideration in the long run of what any trip has produced.

I agree with you that at the end of the year it might be good for us to check on what has come in from trips, estimating what is likely to come, and what it costs.

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

Up-State renewals covered by calls by A. Margaret Schmid, and some of which were worked on in conjunction with Mr. Hart

	Amount	Date
Crouse-Hinds Co., Post Office drawer 131, Syracuse, N. Y., Mr. W. C. Blanding, treasurer.	\$75.....	1935-48
Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N. Y., Mr. Thomas J. Hargrave, president.	\$250, \$350, \$250.....	1937-48
(No call made on Eastman Kodak Co. in 1948.)		
Federal Mill, Inc., Lockport, N. Y.; Fred J. Lingham, president...	\$25.....	1935-48
General Abrasive Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.	\$25.....	1934-48
(Increased by personal subscription of R. MacDonald, Jr., treasurer.)	\$25 = \$50.....	
Hooker Electrochemical Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.; E. R. Bartlett, president.	\$125, \$250.....	1938-48
International Cooperage Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y. Attention: Fred Heil.	\$25.....	1941-48
(Increased by personal subscription of Mr. Heil).....	\$10 = \$35.....	
Iscro Chemical Co., Inc., Niagara Falls, N. Y. Attention: Eben C. Spelden, vice president.	\$25, \$50.....	1934-48
James McC. Mitchell, Marine Trust Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.	\$100.....	1934-48
Mohawk Carpet Mills, Amsterdam, N. Y.; Mr. S. M. Brown, secretary-treasurer.	\$500, \$250, \$500.....	1931-48
Niagara Smelting Corp., Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Paul S. Brüller.....	\$50.....	1941-48
Oneida Knitting Mills, Utica, N. Y.; Mr. F. Ramsay Devoreux, president.	\$50, \$100, \$50.....	1931-48
Schenectady Varnish Co., Schenectady, N. Y.; Mr. W. Howard Wright, president.	\$100, \$150.....	1939-48
(See Mr. Wright's gift subscription under "New subscriptions," \$500.)		
West End Brewing Co., Inc., Utica, N. Y. Attention: Frank X. Matt, president.	\$50, \$100.....	1931-48
(Also under "New subscriptions," \$100, gift subscriptions.)		
Utica Knitting Co., Utica, N. Y.; Walter D. Jones, treasurer.....	\$100, \$150, \$100.....	1934-48
Wurlitzer, F. R., chairman of the board, Rudolph Wurlitzer Co., North Tonawanda, N. Y.	\$50.....	1941-48
Anonymous.....	\$100.....	1938-48

Subscriptions brought in new through calls by A. M. Schmidt

	Amount	Date
Aldrich, Charles S., 207 River St., Troy, N. Y.	\$10.	1937-48
American Laundry Machinery Co., Rochester, N. Y.; Mr. V. O. Kreuter, vice president and general manager.	\$25, \$50, \$100.	1937-48
Arner Co., Inc., The, 291-303 Michigan Ave., Buffalo 3, N. Y.; Charles W. P. Atkinson, treasurer.	\$10, \$50.	1935-48
Bennett Textile Co., Inc., Cohoes, N. Y.; Harold W. Bennett, treasurer.	\$25, \$10.	1945-48
Bison Lumber Co., Inc., 465 Cornwall Ave., Buffalo 15, N. Y.; Mr. Frederick Henrich, president.	\$10.	1943-48
J. C. Bronner, Bronner & War, Suite 404, Burrell Bldg., Little Falls, N. Y.	\$25.	1945-48
Buffalo Bolt Co., North Tonawanda, N. Y.; Rudolph B. Flershem, president.	\$10, \$50, \$100.	1941-48
Buffalo Electric Co., Inc., 75 West Mohawk St., Buffalo 2, N. Y. Attention: Karr Parker, president.	\$10.	1930-48
Buffalo Pumps, Inc., Mortimer and Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. Attention: A. C. Peterson, secretary.	\$25.	1942-48
Buffalo Wire Works Co., Inc., 320 Terrace, Buffalo 2, N. Y. Attention: John M. Scheeler, vice president.	\$25.	1945-48
G. H. Burrell, Jr., Little Falls, N. Y.	\$25 (occasional \$50).	1934-48
Burrell, Loomis, Little Falls, N. Y.	\$25.	1934-48
Clark Brothers Co., Olean, N. Y.; Mr. F. H. Light, secretary.	\$25.	1934-48
Clary, Mrs. Mary A., Marcellus, N. Y.	\$5, \$10.	1939-48
Clausen Iron Co., Inc., 26 Tivoli St., Albany 4, N. Y.; N. O. Clauson, president.	\$25.	1943-48
Consolidated Machine Tool Co., 505 Blossom Rd., Rochester 10, N. Y.	\$10.	1939-48
Cortland Standard Printing Co., 110 Main St., Cortland, N. Y.; Mr. E. H. Clark, treasurer.	\$10.	1941-48
Cotton & Hanlon, Odessa, N. Y.	\$5, \$15.	1935-48
Craver-Dickinson Seed Co., post office box 175, Buffalo, N. Y.; E. L. Townsend, president.	\$10, \$25.	1935-48
Dills Machine Works, Fulton, N. Y.; Mr. J. D. Haskell, general manager.	\$25, \$5, \$25.	1932-48
Duffy, Charles G., president, Duffy Silk Co., 1270 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.	\$50.	1944-48
First Bank & Trust Co., Utica 2, N. Y. Attention: Francis P. McInty, president.	\$100, \$250, \$100, \$25.	1932-48
Fisher, Clarence L., The Pines, Lyons Falls, N. Y.	\$5, \$10.	1934-48
Flaser Forestry & Realty Co., Lyons Falls, N. Y.; Clarence L. Fisher, president.	\$10.	1941-48
Friedel Paper Box Co., J. F., Syracuse, N. Y. Attention: A. C. Friedel, president.	\$10.	1943-48
Gravel Products Corp., 374 Delaware Ave., Buffalo 2, N. Y. Attention: E. M. Hammond, president.	\$10, \$25.	1938-48
Green, Edward B., Green & James, 250 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.	\$5, \$10.	1934-48
Harding Bros., Inc., Elmira, N. Y.; D. G. Anderson, president.	\$25.	1935-48
Henrich Lumber Co., 193 Spring St., Buffalo, N. Y.; Mr. Frederick Henrich, president.	\$5, \$10, \$15.	1934-48
Heizler Foundries, Inc., Post Office Box 302, Rochester 1, N. Y.; Herman G. Heizler, treasurer.	\$25.	1944-48
Howell, W. H., Willsboro, N. Y.	\$10.	1935-48
Judge, Mrs. Elizabeth, 1206 Marquette Rd., Cleveland 14, Ohio.	\$25.	1946-48
Kasco Mills, Inc., Waverly, N. Y.; Walter S. Peck, assistant treasurer.	\$10.	1934-48
Kennedy, M. E., Kennedy Valve Manufacturing Co., Elmira, N. Y.	\$5, \$10.	1930-48
Kent, Gordon E., The Kent Co., Rome, N. Y.	\$10.	1940-48
Kerk Guild, Inc., L. D. Hoker, president, Whitesboro, N. Y.	\$10, \$25.	1935-48
Lapp Insulator Co., Inc., Le Roy, N. Y. Attention: J. S. Lapp, president.	\$75.	1937-48
Liberty Dressing Co., Box No. 488, Gloversville, N. Y. Attention: Frank A. Patten, president.	\$25.	1941-48
Little & Sons, Andrew, Little Falls, N. Y.; Mr. Gordon D. Little.	\$10 (occasional \$15).	1934-48
Lockport Union Sun & Journal, Lockport, N. Y.; E. D. Corson, publisher.	\$20, \$25, \$100.	1943-48
Long, Alexander G., 1234 West 1st St., Elmira, N. Y.	\$5, \$10.	1930-48
MacDonald, Robert, Jr., care of General Abrasive Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.	\$5, \$10, \$15, \$25.	1936-48
Marlin-Rockwell Corp., 403 Chandler St., Johnstown, N. Y.; S. W. Brandel, president.	\$100.	1935-48
Melvin & Melvin, Merchants Bank Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.; Mr. Crandall Melvin.	\$10.	1930-48
Mentolatum Co., The, 1360 Niagara St., Buffalo 13, N. Y.; E. K. Hyde, president.	\$25, \$75, \$25.	1934-48
Munschauer, George E., 973 Parkside Ave., Buffalo 16, N. Y.	\$10.	1941-48
O'Neil, James H., 1016 E. Water St., Syracuse, N. Y.	\$10.	1934-48
Onondaga Pottery Co., Syracuse, N. Y.; R. H. Pass, president.	\$50, \$100.	1936-48
Park & Pollard Co., Inc., The, C. O. Lewis, treasurer and general manager, 336 Hertel Ave., Buffalo 7, N. Y.	\$50.	1938
Pas & Seymour, Inc., Solway Station, Syracuse, N. Y.; John W. Brooks, vice president and treasurer.	\$25.	1930-48

Subscriptions brought in new through calls by A. M. Schmid—Continued

	Amount	Date
Phillips, E. L., 29 Maple Ave., Franklinville, N. Y.	\$1, \$2, \$5	1930-48
Rochester Telephone Co., 355 Main St. East, Rochester 4, N. Y.	\$15	1930-48
John W. Morrison, president		
Sayles, Halsey; Sayles, Plannery, Collin & Evans, 415 East Water St., Elmira, N. Y.	\$10	1930-48
Schultz, Mrs. Helen T., 96 Oxford Rd., New Hartford, N. Y.	\$5, \$10	1945-48
Shoemaker, J. B., care of Hygeia Refrigeration Co., Elmira, N. Y.	\$10	1945-48
Shulte, Clyde E., 9 Seneca St., Hornell, N. Y.	\$5, \$10, \$20	1934-48
Slaker, Mrs. Joseph G., 612 Tacoma Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.	\$3.50	
Smeallie & Voorhees, Inc., 88 Forest Ave., Amsterdam, N. Y.; J. D. Smeallie, president	\$5, \$10	1930-48
Smith & Calfrey Co., 2011 Lodi St., Syracuse, N. Y.; D. C. Parks	\$15, \$10, \$20, \$25	1937-48
Smith, L. C. & Corona Typewriters, Inc., Syracuse, N. Y.; H. W. Smith, president	\$10	1940-48
Smith, Sheldon, 16 First St., Troy, N. Y.	\$5, \$10	1939-48
Soder, E. J., care of McMillan Book Co., Syracuse, N. Y.	\$5, \$10	1942-48
Taylor Instrument Cos., L. B. Swift, president, 95 Amos St., Rochester 11, N. Y.	\$50, \$100	1941-48
Thomas, F. C. Inc., Olean, N. Y.; J. C. Wheeler, president	\$20, \$25, \$10, \$15, \$25	1932-48
Tillotson Furniture Corp., Jamestown, N. Y., Mr. James Tillotson, Jr.	\$100	1945-48
Times Herald, Olean, N. Y.	\$10	1935-48
Tobin, Frederick M., president, Tobin Packing Co., Inc., Rochester, N. Y.	\$250, \$500	1940-48
(A. M. S. originally requested Mr. Tobin be invited to New York meeting. He later subscribed \$250, 1948; \$500 additional.)		
Trico Products Corp., Buffalo, N. Y.; J. R. Olshel, president	\$10	1934-48
Troy Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, 407 Grand St., Troy, N. Y.; Arthur J. Hurch, president	\$25, \$50	1933-48
Upson Co., The, Lockport, N. Y.; Charles A. Upson, president	\$50, \$100, \$50, \$100	1934-48
Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., 9 Charles St., Binghamton, N. Y. Attention: J. A. McFarriety	\$15	1933-48
Victory Chain, Inc., Norwich, N. Y.; Charles A. Smith, president	\$25	1936-48
Vogt Manufacturing Corp., 100 Fernwood Ave., Rochester 5, N. Y.; Raymond A. Lander, president	\$50	1936-48
West End Brewing Co., Utica, N. Y. Attention: Frank X. Matt, president	\$100. Gift subscription	1948
Winship, A. W., president, Winship Co., Inc., 319 Oriskany St., East Utica 3, N. Y.	\$10, \$25	1939-48
Wright, Edward H., 139 Fulton St., Olean, N. Y.	\$10, \$15	1932-48

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

WILLIAMS BAY, WIS., July 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of July 7 addressed to me at my Washington residence has just reached me. Obviously it was not forwarded promptly.

I have no special suggestions to make aside from this one: How many political prisoners is Franco holding in confinement? I am especially interested in this question and when we were there nobody seemed to have the answer.

I am satisfied that Franco is doing a good job for Spain and I am hoping that this country will soon establish relationships with it. In the event you see Franco please convey my very best wishes to him. I shall never forget the 2 hours we spent with him last October.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

JULY 20, 1948.

Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
Williams Bay, Wis.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Your letter of July 17, addressed to Mr. Hart, was received this morning, and I am forwarding it to him today at Madrid.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Mr. Hart.

AUGUST 20, 1948.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
Williams Bay, Wis.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Referring to your letter of July 17 and my recent trip to Europe, the enclosed council letter 107 answers, I think, the questions you raised about the number of prisoners in Spain.

Sincerely yours

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

INLAND STEEL CO.,
38 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET,
Chicago 3, Ill., September 3, 1948.

Mr. MORRIS SAYRE,
*President, National Association of Manufacturers,
14 West Forty-ninth Street, New York 20, N. Y.*

DEAR MORRIS: I am back at my desk at Inland and, before I plunge into things here, I want to write you this letter.

When I closed my desk on June 14 to go overseas for Paul Hoffman as steel and coal consultant I could not possibly have imagined the great adventure into which I was to be plunged.

ECA was only 2 or 3 days old in Paris when I got there. No one knew what my job was, and Mr. Harriman told me to get out and find out what the job in steel was and tell him.

So I devoted my summer to that, and it took me everywhere. I was in London, Berlin, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland, participating every day in pretty important things. At the end of the summer I had smoked out some very difficult problems in steel and hope I may have been able to bring them into sharp focus.

I come back in the state of great mental indigestion. All day, every day, I am buttonholed by businessmen, and I am annoyed at the categorical way in which some of them express sweeping opinions out of the depth of their ignorance.

I do not propose to debate the merit or lack of merit of the Marshall plan. Whether there is a plan, there certainly is a project, and it is a fact in my life and that of every businessman, and if I can help make it a little more intelligent, good citizenship requires me to do that. If I don't like some part of it, that is a reason for getting in and not for getting out.

I know, for example, that there are 50,000,000 tons of steel being made in the next 12 months west of the Iron curtain. Add that to Russia, and I don't think our steel industry would be enough. If I were dead sure that this capacity could stay with us without the Marshall plan, I should probably be opposed to it, but I don't think American businessmen ought to pound the table and write that off without knowing the answer.

The thing I wanted to put to you and Earl now, however, is this:

I don't see how ECA can continuously be staffed with top-flight men out of industry unless the next Congress passes a statute that makes it possible for a company like mine to give the services of an executive to the country, say for a year at a time. Alex Henderson, as general counsel for ECA, is taking a very narrow interpretation of the law. He says that when the 90-day period has passed, a man may not be a consultant, but must resign from the payroll of his company. And he says it is unlawful for his company indirectly to reimburse him. He even requires the man to resign from his annuity plan.

If that is to be the law, the Marshall plan will be handled solely by the professionals and will rattle to the worst of the professionals because it is so big and they relatively are so few. It is perfectly absurd to forbid a large company to implement its own citizenship by making available the services of a man skilled in a particular field. Very few men, however high-minded, can afford to stop their pay for a year and withdraw from the collective security provided by the annuity plan.

I hope very much that you and Earl will consider this subject to be of such importance that you will interest yourselves in it with your customary energy and intelligence.

It is a matter of great regret that I cannot come to Hot Springs, but I am sure you will understand. I must be in Washington next week making my report and, after that, shall have several more days before I really feel that my

present assignment is finished. And since that will constitute a full 90 days away from my job here in Inland, I cannot with a clear conscience turn right around and come down there.

I shall hope to pick up my NAM work beginning in October.

It was a great privilege to see Noel on the other side, and every time I am with him I am again impressed with his sagacity and wisdom.

Very truly yours,

CLARENCE B. RANDALL, *Vice President.*

SEPTEMBER 15, 1948.

Mr. J. G. PHILLIPS,
*International Business Machines Corp.,
500 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. PHILLIPS: As Mr. Hart is leaving for Washington he asked me to thank you for your check for \$300 for the annual subscription of your corporation to the council.

We appreciate your continuing interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1948.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart
From Miss Schmid

You will recall that in the early days of the council we had quite a substantial subscription from the General Electric Co. And later, because we were "controversial" or something or other, they withdrew.

Not long ago I saw an advertisement, as you no doubt did, in the New York Herald Tribune, in which they analyzed communism and capitalism. In fact, it seemed to me it was so similar to what we say that we might have written it. Apparently the day has come when they have found that what we have said was exactly so.

What would you think, in case you have not already done so, of asking the General Electric Co. for \$10,000 or gift subscriptions in the equivalent?

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

AUGUST 24, 1948.

Mr. COLLINS BROOKS,
*Editor, Truth, 10 Carteret Street,
Queen Anne's Gate, London, England.*

DEAR MR. BROOKS: I am sending you today by ordinary mail, a copy of John T. Flynn's book, the Roosevelt Myth, which is being published today in the United States. I mentioned this book to you when I saw you, and I think you will find it of extraordinary interest.

I have known John T. Flynn for many years, and he is one of the most reliable American writers.

Enclosed is copy of the sketch of Mr. Flynn in Who's Who in America.

As perhaps I told you, a monograph by Mr. Flynn some 3 or 4 years ago led immediately to a congressional investigation of Pearl Harbor.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

"TRUTH" BUILDINGS, CARTERET STREET, QUEEN ANNE'S GATE,
London, S. W. 1, August 27, 1948.

MERWIN K. HART, Esq.,
*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1.*

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter has just reached me, and it is most kind of you to send me John T. Flynn's book which I shall await with eagerness and read with interest.

The sketch of Mr. Flynn was not with your letter; perhaps you could send it to me some other time.

It was a great pleasure to meet you when you were in London, and I hope to see more of you on your next visit.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,

COLLINS BROOKS.

AUGUST 30, 1948.

Mr. COLLIN BROOKS,

*Truth Buildings, Carteret Street, Queen Anne's Gate,
London, S. W. 1, England.*

DEAR MR. BROOKS: In Mr. Hart's absence I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 27, and to express my apology for neglecting to enclose the sketch of Mr. Flynn with Mr. Hart's letter. I enclose it herein.

It is only today that we have been able to get the copies of *The Roosevelt Myth*, and it is going forward to you today by ordinary mail.

Sincerely yours,

_____, Secretary to Mr. Hart.

TRUTH BUILDINGS, CARTERET STREET, QUEEN ANNE'S GATE,
London, S. W. 1, September 2, 1948.

Miss H. DE WITT,

*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y., U. S. A.*

DEAR MISS DE WITT: Thank you very much for sending on to me the sketch of Mr. Flynn. It is good of you to send me the *Roosevelt Myth*, to which I am looking forward.

Yours sincerely,

COLLINS BROOKS.

NEW YORK, September 24, 1948.

COLLIN BROOKS,

Truth, 10 Carteret Street, London, S. W. 1, England:

Referring my August conversation your office Cape declines Flynn's book. Can you find publisher?

MERWIN K. HART,
Empire State Building, New York.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1948.

Mr. COLLIN BROOKS,

*Truth,
10 Carteret Street, London, England.*

DEAR MR. BROOKS: I have just sent you a cable of which the attached is a carbon copy.

You may recall that about the 7th or 8th of August I called on you, at the suggestion, I think, of Sir Waldron Smithers, and mentioned to you a book of John T. Flynn's, *The Roosevelt Myth*. You seemed much interested in the book and expressed a desire to see it, and I promised I would send you a copy. This copy was sent you at least 3 weeks ago.

I think I mentioned to you that the New York publisher, Devin-Adair Co., had sent, or was to send, a copy to Jonathan Cape. You and I discussed possible publishers, and I think you mentioned that Eyre & Spottiswood were an excellent firm. My recollection is that you said to me, in substance, to let you know if any difficulty developed in finding a publisher, and you thought you might be of service in getting one.

This explains my cablegram.

Let me say that my interest in the book is merely that both the author, Mr. Flynn, and the publisher, Mr. Devin Garrity, head of Devin-Adair Co., are friends of mine, and I believe the book is so truthful and so important that I am glad to do anything I can to further its circulation.

I hope the copy of the book that I sent you was duly received and that you have had opportunity to read it.

Since you had made this very kind offer to see what you could do about securing a publisher, it seemed best to cable you direct, and write you this letter, rather than trying at this distance to negotiate with other publishers.

Mr. Flynn's book is selling very well. The first edition of 10,000 copies was exhausted almost before it was out, and a second edition of 25,000 is well sold before it appears. The book is already on the best seller lists of both the New York Times and New York Herald Tribune, although so far the book has had no advertising whatsoever.

I am enclosing a copy of a leaflet the National Economic Council sent to its several thousand members, and which resulted in heavy sales; and I am also enclosing a copy of a circular which has been prepared by the publisher for use in the United States.

The above may be of interest to you in anything that you may feel you can do. Meanwhile I shall be glad to hear from you at your early convenience. Any publisher that decides to take the book may communicate direct with Bevin-Adair Co., 23 East Twenty-sixth Street, New York 10, N. Y.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MEHWIN K. HART, *President*.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.

224 SECOND STREET, N.E., WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 9, 1948

Part 2

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN RE 1948 CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SITUATION

The labor-internationalist coalition is so confident its undercover campaign—outlined in part 1—will be successful next month it has selected its 1952 nominees for President and Vice President. They are:

For President: Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University.

For Vice President: Chester Bowles, former OPA Administrator, whom the coalition expects to elect Governor of Connecticut next month.

It is planned that Connecticut will be an "Island of Democratic Victory" in a Republican year, for Mr. Bowles' election as Democratic Governor of that State this year plays a very important part in the coalition's master plan to elect a labor-socialist government in 1952.

Coalition leaders believe if Mr. Dewey is elected the Democrats will win not more than 180 seats in the next House. They confidently expect to control at least 100 of these.

They intend Mr. Bowles will be the Democrat who topped the Dewey landslide, if there is one. He then will be the "logical leader" to take over the Democratic Party (outside of the South) after November, and rule that party in the next Congress.

These leaders seem to know there will be a depression next year if Mr. Dewey wins. Apparently they intend to prolong that depression through widespread strikes of long duration. This, they believe, will wreck the Republican Party.

Coalition leaders plan to wage a continuing "war of nerves" on the next Congress. The principal weapon will be fear—fear of propaganda-manufactured "public opinion" favoring the coalition's legislative program, fear of defeat in 1950 for any Member who opposes that program.

Coalition legislative program

Principal items on that program will be—

1. *Continuation of the Marshall plan.*—Coalition leaders fear collapse of any European Labor-Socialist government before 1952 might cause a serious setback to their plans in the United States. Therefore, the Marshall plan must be continued and expanded to maintain these governments in power, no matter how much it costs the American worker and taxpayer.

2. *Lend-lease II*.—This will provide these labor-Socialist governments with the military equipment needed to bolster these governments against either internal or external threats to their power.

3. *Amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act*.—Principal approach will be to repeal the "union election" clause and weaken the clause requiring union officials to sign anti-Communist affidavits. This will be necessary to restore left-wing labor elements to union power and enable them to herd workers into their unions by a minority vote of employees, as was so successfully done under the Wagner Act prior to enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act.

4. *Approval of the ILO labor convention*.—This is an agreement adopted at the July 1948 San Francisco meeting of the International Labor Organization, a branch of the United Nations. It gives complete control over labor-employer relations in the United States to an international council. Its approval by the Congress would automatically nullify all laws of this country which would be contrary to any rules, regulations and/or orders issued by that international council and would help set the stage for labor-Socialist international control of American labor and industry.

5. *Approval of the ITO Charter*.—This will give the International Trade Organization, also a branch of the United Nations, absolute power to allocate investments, markets, and production, fix prices and control profits in the United States and other countries.

"War of nerves"

Having subjected the Eighty-first Congress to a continuous "war of nerves," it then is planned, under Mr. Bowles' leadership, to have all Democratic House candidates (north of the Mason and Dixon line) campaign in 1950 on the coalition's labor-Socialist platform. They expect to win control of the Eighty-second Congress by then, defeating most, if not all, of the Members on their "liquidation list."

Control of the House in the Eighty-second Congress will be used to prolong the depression by blocking all recovery plans of Mr. Dewey through 1951-52, just as Democratic control of the House in the Seventy-second Congress prolonged the last depression by blocking all recovery plans advanced by Mr. Hoover through 1931-32.

Coalition leaders are confident this will set the stage for a sweep to victory and power in 1952 with a labor-Socialist ticket headed by Eisenhower and Bowles. (George Allen, who acted as Mr. Truman's personal emissary to General Eisenhower prior to the 1948 Democratic convention, is not placing any bets on the outcome of the 1948 election. He is offering 5 to 1 that Mr. Dewey will not be reelected in 1952.)

Another step toward final achievement of their goal will be to have the Democrats "cooperate" with Mr. Dewey in the next Congress to pass legislation expanding the powers of the Vice President. Amendments will be proposed by coalition-controlled Members—and every effort made to pass them—that will extend these powers far beyond Mr. Dewey's plans.

This is intended to "tailor" the office for Mr. Bowles so, when he is elected Vice President in 1952, he will be the real power in Government.

The recent withdrawal of the Wallace gubernatorial candidate in Connecticut is part of the coalition's plan to throw Progressive Party support behind Mr. Bowles to assure a sweeping victory for the entire Democratic ticket in that State next month.

It is expected, as the campaign approaches election day, that additional Progressive Party candidates will be withdrawn in other States in order to assure election of Democratic candidates favorable to the coalition's plans. A list of 15 already withdrawn for this purpose is appended.

Machines at work

While top labor and internationalist leaders continue this "cold war" programs to dupe American women and workers into working for their conception of the "world of tomorrow," spot checks across the country by the Institute indicate the coalition machine now is operating quietly, and efficiently, in many districts. Coalition workers apparently are well supplied with money and working day and night according to well-laid plans.

There is little evidence of coalition activity in farm areas. It apparently is concentrated in urban areas—and particularly in worker residential districts. These are no reports of coalition workers calling at the homes of voters known to be friendly to GOP candidates—or at homes adjacent to those occupied by such voters.

Coalition workers appear to be well trained in the "cold war" technique. They seem to be expert at making purely local or personal issues seem of paramount importance to the voters, women particularly, just as Mr. Stalin has succeeded in making the local Berlin issue seem paramount in world affairs.

For example, Representative George Dondero did not carry his home county in the recent Michigan primary because women were told he was responsible for blocking repeal of the oleo tax. They were told—in a house-to-house, woman-to-woman campaign that—in blocking repeal of that tax—Representative Dondero had prevented a 20-cent drop in butter prices. "If you vote to renominate him, you're just voting to keep butter off your own table," these coalition workers argued.

Failure by GOP Members to reply to Mr. Truman's attack on the Eightieth Congress also is being used adroitly by these workers. They argue that if Mr. Truman's charge is untrue the local Representative should publicly say so. "He hasn't said a word. He knows Mr. Truman told the truth, but he's hoping to fool you by keeping quiet," is their clinching argument.

Taft-Hartley Act permits "scabs"?

Union leaders, trying to step up their part of this "cold war" on GOP Members, finally seem to have hit on one argument that is proving effective with union men. They are telling them, behind the closed doors of union meetings, that the Taft-Hartley Act permits an employer to hire "scabs" if they strike.

"This means, when the depression comes and we have to strike to make an employer stick to his collective-bargaining agreement, he can put 'scabs' on your jobs and the Taft-Hartley Act protects him. Go ahead and vote for these men who saddled you with the Taft-Hartley Act if you want to starve while a 'scab' gets your job," is their most convincing statement.

Reports from a number of districts indicate that many independent voters, particularly women, do not intend to vote on Election Day. These are voters who normally would support the GOP ticket, because they are dissatisfied with the present administration. Now, because of the propaganda dinned into their ears day and night by coalition workers and not answered satisfactorily by GOP workers, they are being convinced they cannot vote for GOP candidates either.

Reports also indicate that in many districts GOP workers are lethargic. They apparently have accepted as fact the Nation-wide propaganda theme that "It's in the bag for Dewey and Warren." Therefore, they see no reason why they should "get out and work", particularly when funds are lacking for local activities.

Who has the money?

Districts from coast to coast report sufficient funds are not available for local campaign activities. There is plenty of Dewey-Warren material available—too much in some districts—but there is a serious shortage of printed material, signs, handbills, etc., and funds for local paid advertising and radio time to support Members' reelection campaigns.

Many district leaders report that plenty of money has been collected in their areas by the National GOP Committee, but little of it is being returned to the districts when needed. Calls to Washington are not producing results, they state.

GOP ignores independent women

A lack of "get out and work" spirit is noticeably missing among the GOP women's groups generally. GOP leaders seem to be giving little attention to winning the independent women's vote.

The inadequacy of GOP plans to interest and hold both Republican women and independent women is in evidence in many parts of the country. There apparently has been a failure to discuss facts and principles—to give the women information and material which stimulates them mentally, encourages discussion and provides the correct answers to at least some of our country's present problems. Failure to interest the young college graduates and young married women has been most noticeable.

The serious times in which we are living call for much more, from a political party, than a moonlight sail in the harbor, a chance to purchase a cookbook prepared by a political leader's wife, or an opportunity to hear someone born in Holland tell of foreign trade and what part we should play in international affairs.

The American home is the very foundation of our constitutional government and private enterprise system. American women, correctly informed as to issues, could prove a vital and powerful force for the survival of our form of

government. But the uninformed woman can be easy prey for the glib-talking do-gooder, "one worlder" coalition worker.

While GOP leaders apparently are ignoring the fact that the millions of independent women voter hold the balance of power in this election—coalition leaders evidently are doing their utmost to bring these votes into their movement. Coalition workers are centering some of their cleverest activities on this group. They are work a house-to-house, woman-to-woman campaign based on alleged facts and principles—such as was used against Representative Dondoro in his home county.

World government marches on

This campaign has not deterred internationalists in their activities for world government. There are indications, however, that A. F. of L. leaders may not have the prominent roles in that government originally promised them for support of the coalition's plans in this country.

As was pointed out in part 1—ECA-ERP is being used not only to bolster Labor-Socialist governments in European Marshall plan countries, but also to build a new world trade union organization which is to serve as an important instrument in achieving world government.

Some A. F. of L. leaders hesitated to join in coalition's plans for this country. They remembered only too well what happened to them when they gave the same group of master minds their all-out support to enact the Wagner Act 18 years ago.

They then were led to believe that passage of that act would give the A. F. of L. complete, Government-aided control of all labor in this country. Instead, it was used to build a new union—the CIO—and to help that union gain a dominant position in the trade-union movement, both in the United States and in the world.

A. F. of L. leaders always have insisted that David J. Saposs was principally responsible for this betrayal. He was named chief economist of the NLRB after it was formed in 1935 and it has been repeatedly charged he used this position to give Wagner Act interpretations that worked for CIO unions and against A. F. of L. unions.

Russian-born Mr. Saposs has an international reputation in the left-wing trade-union movement. He is author of innumerable left-wing labor articles and was a co-founder of and instructor at the notorious Brookwood Labor College.

This college was founded in 1922 at Katonah, N. Y., by left-wing labor leaders after the 1919-20 attempt to establish a "Workers' Government" in this country had failed. Labor leaders blamed that failure on not having "enough properly trained workers in unions to win active worker support for the revolution." The purpose of this college was to train young men and women in revolutionary trade-union tactics to assure the success of the next "worker revolution" in the United States. Many CIO—and some A. F. of L.—leaders are graduates of this college.

Finally—after a 5-year fight—A. F. of L. leaders succeeded in having Congress refuse to appropriate funds with which to pay Mr. Saposs' salary, and he was removed from his post as NLRB chief economist. It was believed this ended his Government-financed activities on behalf of the left-wing labor movement in this country. It did remove him from the NLRB payroll—but not from Government payrolls.

Carey worries A. F. of L.

A. F. of L. leaders have become concerned lately over the prominent position given by the State Department to James Carey—CIO secretary and anti-Communist liberal in connection with forming the new anti-Communist world trade-union organization. They have viewed this as giving official Government blessing to the CIO's activities in world trade-union council affairs.

After much discussion with administration officials, Russian-born A. F. of L. economist Boris Shiskin was named chief of ECA's labor and manpower branch in Paris. This appointment apparently satisfied A. F. of L. leaders, and they intensified their work with the coalition. Many of them, however, continued to resist efforts to have them publicly endorse Mr. Truman's reelection.

Then ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman last Monday, October 4, announced that David J. Saposs, economic adviser to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, had been named special adviser in charge of trade-union relations at ECA's Paris office. Mr. Hoffman stated the appointment was effective October 1 and that Mr. Saposs, accompanied by his wife and daughter, had left for Paris by special plane Sunday and had assumed his duties there on Monday, the day the announcement was made.

It is worth noting that on Tuesday—the day following Mr. Hoffman's announcement relative to Mr. Saposs' appointment—a group of A. F. of L. leaders visited the White House to announce they had decided to publicly endorse Mr. Truman's campaign for reelection.

It is doubtful if A. F. of L. leaders will drop out of the coalition because of this appointment. In view of the strong statements they have been making against GOP candidates behind the closed doors of union meetings, how can they do an about-face now? There seems to be little for them to do now but to work more diligently with the hope of becoming the dominant labor faction in the coalition.

"In the bag?"

Coalition activities may be expected to continue, and to increase during the next several weeks. Its leaders are out to achieve their November objective at all costs. They know if they fail their program will be set back for at least 8 years.

Fulton Lewis, radio commentator, speaking from the Midwest last night, undoubtedly astounded many of his listeners when he announced he found the political situation in areas he was visiting at complete variance with the glowing reports given him by GOP headquarters in Washington.

This report by Mr. Lewis should make GOP leaders realize that the present lack of GOP activity, if allowed to continue, not only may help the coalition reach its November objective—that is, reduce the majority of members on its "liquidation list"—but also may result in the reelection of Mr. Truman.

This may be the final result of the lethargy of GOP workers; the apparent lack of proper planning by GOP leaders; lack of sufficient financial assistance when and where needed; and the over-all "take it easy" attitude that a Republican November victory is "in the bag."

EXCERPTS FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTE STUDIES AND REPORTS

"Therefore, if Congress approves the Marshall plan, it would appear evident it must be prepared to approve at an early date implementing legislation calling for:

"1. Lend-Lease II to supply Marshall-plan countries with needed military equipment.

"2. Selective service to supply the manpower to use that military equipment in Europe. * * * Institute Report No. 500, "Analysis of the Marshall plan," issued March 24, 1948.

"There is every indication that, unless extraordinary Government purchases prevent it, food prices generally will begin to drop about the end of September and, by the end of October, will be down an average of at least 20 percent." Institute Special Report No. 500, issued July 21, 1948.

Additions to labor internationalist "liquidation" list

Name	District	Terms	Home	Committee
Michigan—1 (total 10): Earl C. Michener ¹	2	14	Adrian....	Judiciary.
New York—1 (total 3): John Taber ¹	28	13	Auburn...	Appropriations.

¹ Chairman of committee.

Progressive Party congressional candidates have been withdrawn from following districts in favor of Democratic incumbent:

California: Fourth, Fourteenth, and Nineteenth Districts; Colorado: First District; Connecticut: Progressive Party supporting entire Democratic ticket; Indiana: First District; Kentucky: Fifth District; Massachusetts: Fourth District; Michigan: Fifteenth and Sixteenth Districts; New York: Eighth District (Brooklyn); Ohio: Fourteenth District; Pennsylvania: Twentieth and Twenty-seventh Districts; Rhode Island: Second District; Utah: First District; West Virginia, Sixth District.

NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
D. A. R. Administration Building, 1720 D Street NW.,
Washington 6, D. C., October 7, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We have just received your Economic Council Letter No. 200 issued October 1, 1948, entitled "World Government—by the Back Door." We wish to place an order for 200 copies of this issue. Kindly send the statement to us for payment.

We are glad that you are featuring this phase of world cooperation for so few people realize the distinction between the terms "world government" and "world organization," that can be developed under the United Nations Charter. We suppose you know that this year the theme for the debates in the high schools of the Nation is on the subject of world government. Therefore, it is necessary to have much printed material on the level of the high-school students. No one wants the wrong seeds planted in the minds of the youth of America.

Under separate cover we are sending the November-December 1947 National Defense News, our national committee's publication, and refer you to pages 19-23, and also the current September-October issue which carries the resolutions of the 1948 Continental Congress of NSDAI. Included are some reprints that have appeared in previous issues of the News and the reprint of an article prepared by Mrs. Grace Brosseau, honorary president general, at the request of those who issue the material for the high-school debates.

Cordially yours,

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
HAZEL B. NIELSON,
Secretary of the Committee.

OCTOBER 8, 1948.

MISS HAZEL B. NIELSON,
National Society, DAR,
1720 D Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MISS NIELSON: Thank you for your letter of October 7.

The 200 copies of our council letter No. 200 have already been mailed to you, and I hope you will receive them promptly. As you requested, the statement is enclosed.

Thank you also for the printed material, which is here. I have not as yet had more than an opportunity to glance at it, but you may be sure that it will be read thoroughly with great interest and I know within equal profit.

I have had the honor of meeting Mrs. Brosseau, and so I shall look forward with peculiar pleasure to reading what she has written.

It is perfectly splendid that the National Society of the DAR is so awake to the danger inherent in teaching the children about world government without making the very necessary distinction you mention. More power to you.

Cordially,

H. M. GRIFFITHS.

Enclosures mentioned here are in DAR file.

DECEMBER 27, 1948.

MISS HAZEL B. NIELSON,
National Regents Committee, DAR Administration Building, 1720 D
Street, NW., Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MISS NIELSON: Thank you for your check for \$8 to cover your last order of council letter and action reports.

We are sending, under separate cover, 300 copies of letter 205 for which bill is enclosed herewith.

We have no order blank as such, we have only the bill itself as the one enclosed. If you wish, you can always order by postal. We will always bill your orders the day they are received.

Thank you for your complimentary comments about our recent letters. We are glad to know that you are having such a demand for them and appreciate the opportunity of using this letter so extensively.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1948.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHARLIE: I hope that you and Mary got back to Washington in good condition and that you did not strike too hot weather.

As I told you, I am hoping that you will be able to come up to the dinner. If you would like to do so, I think I could arrange for you to spend the night at the University Club so that you would not have to go out after the dinner.

We will have some 60 or 70 men there and it would greatly please me if you found it convenient to come.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

OCTOBER 1, 1948.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHARLIE: You expressed a wish at the Lake Placid Club to have an inscribed copy of America Look At Spain and I am sending such copy in the mail today.

I found I had four or five copies left out of the only edition that was ever printed.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

OCTOBER 7, 1948 (9 p. m.)

DEAR MERWIN: Have just read my evening paper and this is the Spanish "take" from it. The page 1 item shows that the Kremlin's connections are not giving up without final struggles. Will be seeing you Thursday.

Sincerely,

CHARLES BRAND.

OCTOBER 13, 1948.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHARLES: Thanks for the clippings about Spain.

My friends in the Spanish Embassy told me they are quite satisfied with the progress made with respect to Spain.

The story about the coalition between the monarchists and the exiles emanated apparently in the imagination of some publicity man connected with the English Foreign Office. But we will perhaps hear something about this from Mr. Merry del Val Thursday night.

It will be good to see you. And incidentally, I plan to be in Washington next week, from Tuesday to Thursday both inclusive, and I shall certainly hope to see you and Mary.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

OCTOBER 5, 1948.

Mr. RUSSELL MACQUIRE,
500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

DEAR RUSSELL: I wish you would read Council Letter 200 (copy enclosed) as soon as you can. It deals with something of the greatest importance to employers of all kinds. Some, I suppose, will not believe that what we say is true.

And we are the first organization to draw attention to this imminent danger. We are trying to raise a special fund to use to arouse the Senate, and the people of the country generally, to the danger involved in the ratification by the Senate of this proposal.

Will you contribute to this fund?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 13, 1948.

Mr. RUSSELL MACQUIRE,
500 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR RUSSELL: I enjoyed talking with you yesterday as I always do, and I shall proceed with formulating the plan that I briefly outlined to you and, when I have it together, I will lay it before you.

As I told you, it seems to me because of the experience of six or eight organizations like our own, the Committee for Constitutional Government and others, whose patriotism as well as patience have certainly been tried over many years and who have accumulated a good deal of experience and knowledge of what we are up against, the business of saving this country is largely up to them. If they or any of them fail, the effort to save it will be weakened.

Frankly, I have never quite understood your attitude toward us. You became quite interested in the council at one time and agreed to come on the board and on the executive committee. Then you withdrew.

Even after you withdrew you told me, or so I understood it and so did at least one other person who was present, that if we could get five of our old friends to put up \$5,000 each, you would put up \$5,000 and would get four of your friends to each put up \$5,000 more. I got the five people to each put up \$5,000 and so reported to you but you seemed to have forgotten our conversation and nothing ever came of it.

In view of the fact that we are working on this plan of consolidated effort on an adequate scale, and in view of the fact that we must get along and pay our rent and other items, while we are doing so, would you be willing at the present time to make us a contribution of whatever size you feel you can spare toward our work?

Our work must be good because, while other organizations tell me they are having a terrible time to get money and some I fear have not got as much as last year, we are so far this year about 30 percent ahead of last year. But the pressure on us by reason of what our friends in Congress expect us to do, is so great that we are still in need of money.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 20, 1948.

Hon. JOHN TABER,
Auburn, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TABER: Pardon my intruding upon the political campaign but as this matter passes over my desk, I thought I would hand it on to you.

At least one drug store in a part of Queens in New York is giving out packets of safety matches with the cigarettes it sells and I enclose one of the match covers. It is an advertisement of social security.

Since social security is compulsory with large numbers of people, who would have any interest in pushing this excepting the Government?

And my question to you is: Is the taxpayers' money being used to furnish free matches to drug stores and presumably the public generally, to advertise social security?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

841 NORTH MAIN STREET,
Rantoul, Ill., October 21, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Please send me five extra copies of your letter No. 200. World Government by the Back Door, as offered. I should also like any letters

you may have on State financing and reorganization of local school districts.
Thank you.

Yours truly,

EILEEN M. HILL
Mrs. F. L. Hill.

OCTOBER 22, 1948.

Mrs. F. L. Hill,
841 North Main Street, Rockford, Ill.

DEAR Mrs. Hill: In accordance with your request, enclosed are five copies of Council Letter No. 200.

Also enclosed is a reprint from the Congressional Record of Mr. Hart's remarks before the Committee on Education and Labor. This is along the lines of financing of schools.

Mr. Samuel Pettengill gave a very good broadcast on Federal aid to education which you may request from the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Another organization that writes a good deal on this subject and who will be glad to furnish you with information is Friends of the Public Schools of America, 702 Albee Building, Fifteenth and G Streets, Washington 5, D. C.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. C. G. Dall,
Assistant to the President.

NOVEMBER 1, 1948.

Mr. W. Howard Wright,
President, Schenectady Varnish Co.,
Schenectady, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. Wright: I am writing to ask you if you would be willing to give a luncheon in Schenectady for Mr. Hart, at which he would speak, on Monday or Tuesday, November 15 or 16, or Monday or Tuesday, November 22 or 23.

This luncheon would be for the purpose of widening the sphere of influence of National Economic Council. We would hope those who attended would presently subscribe to the work of the council, if they become interested. There would be no request for financial support at the meeting. Those present would be called on later.

The luncheon would be at the expense of the council.

A number of the council's best friends throughout the State are arranging luncheons for Mr. Hart in this way.

I shall call you on the telephone about this in a day or two.

With best wishes and kind regards, we remain,

Very sincerely yours,

A. MARGARET SCHMID,
Vice President.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., November 2, 1948.

Miss A. Margaret Schmid,
Vice President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
903 First National Bank Building, Utica, N. Y.

DEAR Miss Schmid: Before I say "Yes" to your letter of November 1, please let me know just what the object of the luncheon is, how many people you want, and what kind of people you want.

The dates you mention are all right, except Tuesday, which in any case is out as I have another meeting on that day.

Yours very truly,

W. HOWARD WRIGHT.

NOVEMBER 3, 1948.

Memorandum to Mr. Hart from Miss Schmid.

Please note letter from W. Howard Wright. I know you will want to answer this letter right along, for he is the kind of man that can change his mind awfully fast.

I thought we answered the questions he asked in our letter to him of November 1, copy attached, but apparently not, for he asks them over again.
I think it would be well for you to take it from here.

A. MARGARET SCHMID.

NOVEMBER 4, 1948.

Mr. W. HOWARD WRIGHT,

President, Schenectady Varnish Co., Schenectady, N. Y.

DEAR HOWARD: Miss Schmid has sent me your letter of November 2 in response to hers of November 1, copy of which I also have.

The object of these luncheons that we are asking our friends to arrange, one in each of certain States, is to spread knowledge of the Economic Council and interest in what it is trying to do.

The end purpose is to raise money, though no mention of money will be made at the luncheon itself.

The idea is to have a simple luncheon—as simple as possible, consistent with giving the people enough to eat.

We don't want a large crowd. If 15 or 20 of the right people were to sit down, we probably would get the best possible financial results, for with a group no bigger than that, there could be informal discussion.

The kind of people we want are those who, if persuaded that NEC is good, could later either make as individuals, or through their corporations, a contribution to the council. There is no use in having anybody present who would not have the means to take out at least one or more \$10 subscriptions to our publications.

As to the follow-up after the luncheon, that could be done either by a suitable letter sent to each of them or, perhaps, Miss Schmid could go to Schenectady and spend a day or two calling on them.

We are in constant need of increasing our income. Now that the election has turned out as it has, there will be more need than ever for independent organizations of citizens like ours which can work with our friends in Congress and get the best possible statement before Congress on our side of the many problems that have got to come up.

I guess this answers the questions you raised.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Washington, D. C., November 5, 1948

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: One must credit the Reds and the labor-union leaders with plenty of ingenuity in devising ways and means of putting over collectivist programs. This fact is brought out effectively by your Economic Council letter entitled "ILO Rides Again." I trust that your exposure will prevent this devious method of attack from getting anywhere.

Cordially yours,

WILLFORD I. KING.

CARTER CARBURETOR CORP.,
St. Louis 7, Mo., October 10, 1948.

Personal

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: After reading your council letter No. 200 I wrote Senator Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, who is a good friend of mine. I worked with him on the Taft-Hartley law.

He is a very conscientious man, a man of high principles, and determined to safeguard our liberties. The last paragraph of his reply reads as follows:

"A convention may be a treaty or may be an executive statement but unless made pursuant to specific authorization I don't see how they could have the

force of law, as suggested. However, I'll certainly look into it when we get back to Washington.

"I cannot imagine the Senate ratifying the type of proposal quoted."

I am confident that nothing of this kind will get by without being thoroughly aired in the Senate.

I attach a copy of a similar letter to Senator Donnell, Senator Kem, and Congressman Walter C. Ploeser—all from Missouri.

Thank you for bringing the matter to our attention.

Sincerely,

HUGH H. C. WEED, *President.*

OCTOBER 16, 1948.

Personal

Hon. FORREST C. DONNELL,

Room 627, Federal Building, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR FORREST: I know you have lots to read but the attached council letter No. 200, written by Mr. Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, Inc., poses a situation so grave, if true, that I think it deserves careful attention. If an international labor organization through treaty arrangements between countries can nullify our internal laws, it is indeed serious.

It seems incredible to me that this might be so, but because of the seriousness of the situation and because Mr. Hart is generally sensible in his reports, I bring it to your attention for your consideration and I shall be glad to have your opinion about it if you care to send it to me.

Sincerely,

HUGH H. C. WEED, *President.*

NOVEMBER 9, 1948.

Mr. HUGH H. C. WEED,

President, Carter Carburetor Corp.,

2840 North Spring Avenue, St. Louis 7, Mo.

DEAR MR. WEED: Your letter of October 16 quoting from a letter from Senator Hall, of Minnesota, was duly received.

I am attaching hereto copy of letter written by Senator George of Georgia, who is expected to be the new chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, as he was before, on the subject of council letter 200.

I shall be interested to learn what, if anything, you get from Senator Donnell, Senator Kem, and Congressman Ploeser, to whom you wrote.

Meanwhile, correspondence has developed the fact that the employer member for the United States on the four-member delegation to the International Labor Organization was selected jointly by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the NAM. A letter I received a few days ago from Noel Sargent confirms this fact, and indicates that so far the NAM is not seriously impressed with the idea that there is danger.

Meanwhile we have published council letter 202 (an extra copy of which is enclosed herewith).

From further investigation made by us, there is no question that the left-wingers who, at last week's election, seemed to be almost as influential in the Republican Party as they are in the Democratic, are placing great reliance on railroading through the Senate some of the various agreements and conventions of these different international alphabetical agencies.

It is all a part of the plan to bring about international socialism.

Meanwhile an organization called Medical Economics, Inc., has sent me a pamphlet of which the enclosed is a copy, entitled "Labor's Program To Socialize Medicine Internationally," which appears to have been published in 1945.

It is increasingly obvious to us that we must work earnestly and effectively in opposition to these international agreements before the Senate next winter, and, meanwhile, must devote considerable time to interesting other organizations likewise to oppose them.

The great problem with us is to get sufficient funds to carry on an active piece of work.

Your company sent us \$1,000 last March. I am wondering if you would be willing at this time to add substantially to this amount for the purpose outlined in this letter?

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CARTER CARBURETOR CORP.,
St. Louis, Mo., August 10, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge receipt of your July 15 letter to Mr. Weed regarding a contribution to your organization. Our records indicate that we made a subscription in the amount of \$1,000 on March 24 of this year.

Is the July 15 letter addressed to us in error?

Yours very truly,

M. F. PETERSON, *Vice President.*

NOVEMBER 9, 1948.

MR. DOUGLAS REED,
250 Ohelmsford Road, Durban, South Africa.

DEAR MR. REED: I owe you a great apology for failing to write you since I returned from Europe.

First of all, I want to express my regret that in printing that piece you so kindly wrote for us some months ago, we did not follow your exact instructions as to the description of the author. We had no idea that in amplifying the description we would be running counter to your wishes. I hope that you may not have been embarrassed by it in any way.

I was in Europe 5 weeks visiting Portugal, Spain, France, and Britain. In Britain I had a call from Lt. Gen. Sir Frederic Morgan, who brought along the letter that you had sent him. We had two most interesting talks in my room at the hotel and I have been corresponding with him since then. I am grateful to you for putting me in touch with him. He certainly understands well some of the forces that have been and are at work in Britain in the world generally.

Most of our thought the past few days in the United States is in regards to the elections. The overwhelming number of people thought that Dewey would be elected. But he deserved to be defeated and he got just what he deserved. Dewey's campaign for the Presidency, is the third in succession—Wendell Willkie in 1940, Dewey in 1944, and again in 1948—in which the candidate literally sold out to the New Deal Socialist labor group.

Truman is a man of extremely limited ability but he went to work with tremendous vim and put his candidacy across. His speeches rang with sincerity.

Dewey, on the other hand, with a musical voice and with his inevitable beneficent smile, long before the campaign was over, began to sicken many of his hearers. His voice did not carry conviction. He did not take a positive stand on anything, or if he did, it was to take the same stand the New Deal took. Instead of talking about a positive program of his own, he told about how well he could carry out the other fellow's program.

He made the mistake, it seems to me, the night before the election to be the guest at dinner, together with his wife and sons, of one of the most prominent Jews in New York. There is no doubt in my mind that the left-wing Jews had their tentacles on Dewey and always have had, just as they do on Truman. They stood to win either way.

Dewey actually got a minority of the votes cast. He was chosen by only about 25 percent of the voters of the country. Yet an overwhelming number of the voters of the country want to maintain the system of private enterprise and the institution of private property, with plenty of opportunity for individual initiative.

A good illustration of what happened at election is in the State of Ohio, where according to the newspapers, over 800,000 voters who went to the polls and voted for candidates for Governor of Ohio, went away without voting for the candidates for President, although the latter come at the top of the machine and is the first office with which the voter is confronted.

It was expected that we would have a total vote of 52 to 55 million. As a matter of fact, the total vote is 1 to 2 million less than in 1944, when the voting population was several million less than it is today.

Some months ago, Mr. Devin Garrity, of the firm of Devin-Adair, brought me copy of your book, *From Smoke to Smother*, and I read it with the greatest interest. Later a copy arrived from England which I assumed that you had sent me and for which I wish to thank you. I inquired of two or three friends in England, among them Colin Brooks, editor of *Truth*, with whom I had a visit, and I learned that this book is selling very well in England.

Devin-Adair were considering whether they could publish the book or not in the United States. I think that you have one or more publishers in England that have more courage than most of our publishers here in the United States. I do not know whether Devin-Adair have decided yet that they will publish your book or not.

There seemed to me to be two things in it which would work against its success in the United States, and I think I should tell you of them.

The first has to do with the protocols of Zion. I have no idea whether the protocols are as old as is claimed for them. Several Jewish acquaintances have vehemently denied that they are. But I feel confident that what they outline is exactly what is being worked out at the present time. Whether they are ancient or not is of no great importance.

Now, my point is this—the protocols of Zion have been pretty thoroughly discredited in the United States, and I feel sure that if you were to include mention of them in an American edition, the book would be roundly attacked by not merely Jews themselves but by the scores of reviewers who would try to create the impression that the mere mention of the protocols of Zion discredited the book.

The other comment I have to make is in regard to the mention of Mr. Henry H. Klein. You refer to him as "another leading Jew." I know Mr. Klein slightly. He has been in the office once or twice, and I have talked with him at some length. He is a man who is so steeped in his study of the Jews and their activities that he has long since forgotten how to interest anybody in what he has to say. He rattles on endlessly, and it is almost impossible to keep up with what he is saying. Consequently, he does not impress anyone very well. I am sure he is a man of integrity and that he has given a large part of his life trying to expose the truth.

I never knew Mr. Klein until within the past year, and I think a fair statement is that he has spent himself and no longer is very prominent in any way. If you could leave out mention of him it would be advantageous. I have discussed this with two or three Jewish friends who also know him or know about him, and they readily agree with the view.

If the book could not be published in the United States with these changes, why, then I would so let it be published as is, even though I think these two points would detract from it.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES,
305 Long Road, Wilkensburg, Pa., November 12, 1948.

HON. MAURICE J. TOBIN,
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We view with grave apprehension your declared intention as expressed in the press of working for the complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

It is our belief that in the main, with perhaps very few exceptions, this is good legislation and long since needed. The Nation prior to the enactment of this law was completely at the mercy of certain unscrupulous labor leaders whenever they felt disposed to defy the Government, as frequently happened, or to tyrannize their own constituents, employers, and the public at large. Often these acts bordered on anarchy and should never have been tolerated. We are happy to observe that the Taft-Hartley Act has greatly reduced the number of strikes and has been establishing order in the place of the confusion which formerly existed. The good results of the law prove it to be a boon to everybody, labor in particular.

We believe firmly in labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively, but we also think proper restraints should be put on labor unions as for instance are put on big business, especially since some unions have repeatedly proven themselves to be irresponsible and disdainful of the rights of others. If America is to be spared the fate that befell France such proper restraints as are provided by the Taft-Hartley Act must be retained. They who would remove these restraints are inviting disaster. Favoritism in Government will most certainly ruin our democracy by depriving others not so favored, of the rights to which they are entitled. America would soon cease to be free.

We are particularly interested in the liberty-loving, law-abiding worker who often has been compelled to violate conscience and conviction, and who for the first time received adequate protection under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Yours most sincerely,

W. O. H. GARMAN, *President.*

Copy of this letter sent to President Truman and every Member of Congress. Had many interesting and appreciative replies. Only a few were caustic.

WOMEN INVESTIGATORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 Second Street, SE., Washington 3, D. C., November 13, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART, *President,*
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: We have sent forward to you today the additional 25 copies of part I of our confidential memorandum, which you requested.

I do feel that part II is even more important than part I, particularly as it discusses the Labor Socialist ticket for 1952. This is all the more important since Bowles was elected to the governorship of Connecticut. Though I recall you told me you felt part II was not as good as part I, we have had an amazingly favorable comment on it. Part III is now in process and will be in the mail I hope, next week.

We have been so busy that no one gave a thought to rendering statements. Of course I never like to do this to friends. However, because the Republican National Committee was so insistent that money be given only to them, quite a number of our subscribers delayed or withheld regular contributions to us because of the urgency of the year—hence the enclosed statement. I waited a bit to see if any contributions might come in as a result of your distribution but as of today the answer is no.

I deeply appreciate your cooperation, as you know.

Many thanks for the memorandum on your European trip. I am planning to read it over the weekend.

Did you hear Stinson on the radio last night? His voice was so similar to Dewey's it was startling, and it seems to me he has the same "me-too" program. Is there no leadership left in this country? Are there any Republicans who want to serve rather than get?

Would so like to have an opportunity to exchange ideas but my trip to New York must be delayed until Part III of our report is concluded.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

CATHRINE.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C., November 13, 1948.
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

(Attention: Mr. Merwin K. Hart.)

100 copies of confidential memorandum—part I and part II (200 documents)
(fast postage) 25 additional copies of part I (fast postage)

Total amount due.....\$75.00

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., November 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Replying to your letter of November 11 relative to your Council Letter No. 200, dated October 1, 1948, on the subject of World Government—by the Back Door, I urge you to distribute this letter as widely as possible and seek every means to have the people of the United States make it their business to understand the concerted effort being made by certain internationally minded people to throw the United States into the international jackpot where we will lose control of our own internal and domestic affairs.

I hope some of these days you will write a similar letter to the International Trade Organization which is following the same pattern.

I hope the people can be made to understand that these agreements, if ratified by the Senate, have the dignity of a treaty which ranks higher than our own laws or even our Constitution itself.

Of course we want to do our share in leading the world to peace and decent economic relations, but we will not accomplish our objective if we surrender our sovereignty or allow foreign nations to direct our domestic and internal problems. I believe the course being followed by these two international organizations is little understood by any of our citizens and not understood at all by 90 percent of them. They work behind the scenes and pull the strings without giving the people sufficient notice to be heard.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) A. W. HAWKES.

CHARLES J. BRAND
ECONOMIC CONSULTANT
Investment Building
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 19, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Mr. Harry S. Barger, a member of the staff of the House Appropriations Committee, address room 240 Old House Building, came in this morning to get five copies of letter 203. They were furnished to him. He has been helping Representatives Taber and Wigglesworth in some of their investigations and is very well-informed on the whole international situation and on the loyalty and other problems here in Washington.

I thought letter 203 was splendid. You perhaps were a little too scathing on Dewey, but he certainly was not as shrewd as I thought him. As supporting your general thesis, I enclose an editorial from today's Washington Times-Herald about the Ohio vote. Apparently there were three or four or even five States where, with anything like decent work, the tide could have been turned. However, it is water over the wheel and we must think of other things.

Do you still want to go ahead with the plan for having a dinner here in Washington in January? If so, I will begin to make contacts, etc. One person I should like to have present is Seth Richardson, chairman of the Loyalty Board. What do you think of that? He is a former Assistant Attorney General and now is with the law firm of Davies, Richberg, Beebe, Busick, & Richardson.

I have not had time to read your report on the European trip, but I have saved it out for Sunday reading.

Cordial regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES.

P. S.—I enclose a check for \$25 to help with general expenses. Miss Feeley encloses one for \$5 and says not to put her on any mailing list as she reads the material that comes to me.

Regards to Margaret.

C. J. B.

NOVEMBER 24, 1948.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHARLES: Your letter of November 19 was received.

I have had a very nice letter from Harry Harger who would like to come to work for us. I certainly wish we could afford to take him on, for he seems to have had wide experience.

Yes, we want to go ahead with the plan for the dinner in Washington in January. I see no objection to Seth Richardson, provided only that he has the money to make a contribution subsequently if he wanted to. I think I met Mr. Richardson once sometime ago.

Thank you tremendously for the check for \$25, and please express my warmest thanks to Miss Feeley for her check. That was a very nice thing for her to do.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NOVEMBER 20, 1948.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
622 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR RALPH: I write you about a matter that is of considerable importance, although not in the class with some of the great issues that will be up in Congress after the first of the year.

Recently Clarence B. Randall, vice president of the Inland Steel Co., wrote a letter to Morris Sayre, president of the NAM, in which he said in part:

"I don't see how ECA can continuously be staffed with topflight men out of industry unless the next Congress passes a statute that makes it possible for a company like mine to give the services of an executive to the country say for a year at a time. Alex Henderson, as General Counsel for ECA, is taking a very narrow interpretation of the law. He says that when the 90-day period has passed, a man may not be a consultant, but must resign from the payroll of his company. And he says it is unlawful for his company indirectly to reimburse him. He even requires the man to resign from his annuity plan.

"If that is to be the law, the Marshall plan will be handled solely by the professionals and will rattle to the worst of the professionals because it is so big and they relatively are so few. It is perfectly absurd to forbid a large company to implement its own citizenship by making available the services of a man skilled in a particular field. Very few men, however high-minded, can afford to stop their pay for a year and withdraw from the collective security provided by the annuity plan.

"I hope very much that you and Earl will consider this subject to be of such importance that you will interest yourselves in it with your customary energy and intelligence."

This has been brought to our attention by one of our directors, and it would seem as though Congress should take action that would permit the loan of any of its officials for any length of time whatever, without requiring him to resign from the payroll and even from the annuity plan of his company.

The "Earl" that Mr. Randall refers to is Earl Bunting, who I believe is chairman of the board of NAM.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 2, 1948.

Mr. JAMES C. CRUMMEY,
6055 South Perry Avenue, Chicago Ill.

DEAR Mr. CRUMMEY: Thank you for your letter of November 28, and especially for the lists which you sent. We can use some of these names very handily. It is impossible for us to use all of them because we lack their addresses, and our experience shows that it is no good to send a communication, even first class, to a person in care of a committee. Doubtless this committee has long since been disbanded anyway.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CRUMMEY, KOHTALA & Co.
 CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,
 6055 SOUTH PERRY AVENUE,
 Chicago 21, Ill., November 28, 1948.

Mr. M. K. HART,
 President, National Economic Council,
 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: In clearing up my desk today, I came across two pieces of printed matter which had names on them which might be of value to your promotional department, they are:

(1) A bulletin of the Illinois Manufacturers Association, on the back of which is a list of men who are members of the IMA social security committee. In each case, the man is, without doubt, an important executive in the company listed. You might want, sometime, to send your promotional material to each.

(2) A letterhead of the Republican Citizens' Finance Committee of Illinois. In this case no company affiliations or addresses are given, but you may be sure that every name is one of importance, and is of a moneyed person. It might be that you have contacts, in Illinois, who could give you the address for many of these.

From time to time I get hold of lists of various kinds, and if you would like to see them, on the chance that some of the names might be worth propaganda shots, for subscriptions, I'll be glad to send them in. The Republican Committee letter was sent to me, but I did not "kick in" (not for Dewey or Green!).

Sincerely,

JAMES C. CRUMMEY.

NOVEMBER 30, 1948.

CLARK M. ROBERTSON, Esq.,
 640 Wells Building, Milwaukee 2, Wis.

DEAR MR. ROBERTSON: I am flying to Chicago on Sunday afternoon for a number of appointments in Chicago that day and I am wondering if you would find it convenient to arrange a small luncheon along the lines that you mentioned in Milwaukee on Tuesday.

With the election outcome what it was and with the need for preparing for an exceptionally strenuous session of the Congress, it seemed to me it would be an appropriate time, if convenient, if you could have such a luncheon at this time.

I have just tried to get you on the telephone and your secretary says that you are home ill, but I gather from what she says that you will probably be back within a day or two. Hence, I am sending this letter.

My thought about the luncheon is that if we could assemble from 12 to say 20 men, representing different industrial concerns, or men who are themselves possessed of considerable wealth, I could perhaps state a case to them which might interest them in the Economic Council. The ulterior aim of the luncheon would be, first, to acquaint them with certain facts about the situation and what we propose to do about it and, second, get some money from them.

Of course, I would not ask them for money at that time—would in fact keep that side of it entirely out of the picture unless you thought otherwise. This phase of it could be attended to either by a letter or by a subsequent call.

Attached hereto is a list of individuals and corporations who have contributed in the past either to the National Economic Council's general work or in most cases to its radio programs, together with the amounts. Doubtless there are others who would consider subscribing if they knew of the work we are doing.

I dislike troubling you about the matter of this luncheon but if you could arrange it, I feel that we could make it worth while. I would undertake to state our case in about 30 minutes and would hope that some of the persons present might care to ask questions. Or I would be glad to handle the thing in any way you thought better.

I am getting this letter off by air mail and would be glad if you would telegraph me collect at the Empire State Building, New York, as to whether you could arrange the thing for this date. It would be possible that I could make the date Monday if that day were possible for you and if Tuesday were not.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

Automatic Products Co., 2450 North Thirty-second Street, Milwaukee, Wis., \$25.
 A. W. Cutright, 2750 North Murray Avenue, Milwaukee 11, \$25.
 Herbert L. and Mildred H. Eggert, 1330 West Forest Avenue, Milwaukee 4, Wis., \$25.
 A. F. Gallun & Sons Corp., 1818 North Water Street, Milwaukee 1, \$100.
 Harnischfeger Corp., W. Harnischfeger, president, 4400 West National Avenue, Milwaukee 14, \$050, radio; \$310, NEC., 1046-47.
 T. R. Huston, Huston Baldwin Piano Stores, 714 North Broadway, Milwaukee 2, \$80 radio, \$55 NEC.
 Interior Woodwork Co., 010 West Bruce Street, Milwaukee 4, \$25.
 Lakeside Bridge & Steel Co., Paul Coddington, president, 3200 West Villard Avenue, Milwaukee 9, \$300.
 Dr. G. F. Messer, 640 North Fourth Street, Milwaukee, \$70.
 Mid-States Shoe Co., 2400 North Sixth Street, Milwaukee 12, \$500.
 Patek Brothers, Inc., Walter O. Schwarz, 216 North Water Street, Milwaukee, \$200.
 Paull-Hoslin Fuel Co., Carl G. Paull, president, 5485 North Teutonia Avenue, Milwaukee 9, \$00.
 Mr. and Mrs. N. J. Penning, 3317 North Frederick Avenue, Milwaukee, \$75.
 Pfister & Vogel Tanning Co., 1531 North Water Street, Milwaukee 1, \$100.
 A. J. Pietsch Co. 3535 West State Street, Milwaukee 8, \$100.
 Pressed Steel Tank Co., 1445 South Sixty-sixth Street, Milwaukee 14, \$050.
 Screw Machine Products Co., Box 764, Milwaukee 1, \$250.
 C. M. Robertson, Wells Building, Milwaukee, \$100.
 Albert H. Weinbrenner Co., A. H. Weinbrenner, president, 226 South Juneau Avenue, Milwaukee 1, Wis., \$100.
 Also the J. I. Case Co. of Racine, whose president, L. R. Clausen, is quite a friend of ours, \$250 radio, \$10 each year since 1044.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., December 2, 1948.

MERWIN K. HART,

National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

Will try to arrange luncheon for Tuesday as suggested. Letter follows.

CLARK M. ROBERTSON.

CLARK M. ROBERTSON,

640 WELLS BUILDING,

Milwaukee 2, December 2, 1948.

Air mail.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. HART: My secretary has brought your letter of November 30 out to my home, and while it is a little short notice to try to get a group together I feel quite confident that I can get some of the people whom I am sure you will be interested in meeting.

I am setting the time of the luncheon at the Milwaukee Club at 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday, December 7.

There is a good train from Chicago on the North Western Road leaving Chicago at 9:45 and getting into Milwaukee a little after 11 o'clock, which is probably the one you will want to take. Either come to my office when you get in, or I will meet you at the Milwaukee Club at about 11:45 a. m.

With respect to handling this group you know far more about this than I do. The only suggestion I would have would be not to make any requests for funds at the meeting. I am enclosing a list of the people to whom I am extending an invitation.

Unfortunately it is necessary for me to extend these invitations by letter since I am home with a bad cold and the condition of my voice is such that I cannot communicate over the telephone.

You will notice I have asked Mr. Chas. D. Ortgiesen, the president of Mid-States Shoe Co. I do not believe I am acquainted with him, but I am sending him an invitation in view of the fact that that company has been a substantial contributor.

Very truly yours,

CLARK M. ROBERTSON.

DECEMBER 3, 1948.

Mr. DOUGLAS REED,
250 Chelmsford Road, Durban, South Africa.

DEAR Mr. REED: Thank you for your letter of November 23.

Thank you, too, for giving me such an exhibition of unwillingness to compromise on principle. You have convinced me entirely that the mention of the protocols should not be omitted. There is no time to compromise. I doubt that you realize how great the Jewish pressure is here in New York. I have an impression it is far greater than anywhere in London.

My organization is dependent solely on the financial support of several thousand individuals and corporations. Every once in a while some of them drop away and we have to look elsewhere to meet our budget and, since our work is constantly growing, we have a tough job to get the money that we need.

Of all the thoroughly responsible organizations in the country, I think we have been most outspoken on the subject of the nefarious activities of certain of the Jews.

We shall probably deal in early council letters with the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report on atomic espionage. I do not know that we will deal with the charges brought against the chairman. Mr. Thomas has done some excellent work as chairman but we were all sorry to see him refuse to testify on constitutional grounds. We will await the outcome of his trial.

I am glad that your back is better.

The other day one of my friends, Mr. William F. Buckley, dropped in and told me of some of his plans that day which, you may be sure, were of very keen interest to me.

I shall certainly hope that you can come to this country for an early visit. It will be good to see you in the flesh and talk with you. You will enjoy the view from my office on the seventy-fifth floor of the Empire State Building, not quite a thousand feet above the sidewalk.

I am flying to South Carolina next week to keep an engagement that Mr. Buckley has made for me.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 4, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MERWIN: Replying to your letter of November 20, if ECA is to go on and if ECA is to have the support of a considerable part of industry it might be argued that ECA should be staffed by the country's best brains, which, of course, are in industry. From a dollars-and-cents point of view and for the sake of world recovery, if it is going to be done through the socialistic process, I suppose we should make laws to get the best men to do the job. On the other hand, if we are to get rid of socialism and the financing of socialism abroad, the quicker it breaks down due to incompetence, the better it will be.

This position, however, is somewhat modified by the possibility that the Socialists and Communists with their fanaticism will take the posts of administration if they are neglected by the character of men Mr. Randall described. In that case socialism becomes more thoroughly entrenched, than it might be if good men operated the socialist state.

I am sure Mr. Randall, and possibly you, too, will present this point before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. This should also be called to the attention of Fritz Coudert who will be one of the best men on the minority side of that committee. Do you know Coudert? If not, you should get acquainted with him. He is a good bet.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

MEMORANDUM OF TRIP TO CHICAGO AND MILWAUKEE, DECEMBER 5-8, 1948

Lunched with Laird Bell at the Attic. He asked me no questions about my work, and I volunteered no information.

Had an hour's talk with William H. Regnery, of Western Shade Cloth, 2141 South Jefferson. He had had an exhausting morning, and I think had had a recurrence of his heart attacks and felt weak, so I didn't stay long. He was eager to talk, however, and most friendly. I told him of our plans and asked him for an additional contribution for this winter, and he promptly said, "I believe in your work and will send you a check." I think it will probably be \$1,000, though possibly less, and more likely more.

Saw Harry Jung at his office, and he dined with me at a restaurant at the corner of Randolph and Halstead Streets, one of the most famous places in America. Harry is extremely depressed, says his income has fallen constantly. Apparently he has no idea of how to raise money. He does a tremendous amount of work for anybody who asks it, and most of them send \$10 or \$15 or \$25 which nowhere near covers the cost. He told me his total income is down to about \$15,000 on which they all had to live. Said he had the services of some 10 to 20 volunteers, and only a very small paid staff. It seems to me of the utmost importance that he be sustained, and I told him if he would send me the names of 200 or 300 people I would like to use some of them for our du Pont letter, but that if he would mark 100 that he thought good prospects for himself I would write each of them a letter urging them to contribute to his organization. He seemed to like the idea, and said he would get us the list in a couple of days.

James O. Crummev, 6055 South Perry Avenue, an accountant, has been corresponding with us aggressively for 2 or 3 years, and thinks highly of our stuff. When I phoned him he promptly asked me to dinner. We met at the Union League Club, and he had several other fellows there including Clyde A. Crowley, Ph. D., chairman of Graham Crowley & Associates, 407 South Dearborn street; an associate of Crowley's called Jim, and another man whose name I did not get but who is connected with Northwestern University. All of them seemed to know a great deal about the present situation and are definitely on my side. Crummev is an accountant and has, among other clients, the American Petroleum Institute for the Middle West. He was very active in the effort 4 years ago to organize the Northern and Southern Democrats in opposition to the New Deal. He is about 62. When I first met him I thought he and his associates were rather small-caliber men. But my opinion of all of them rose during the evening. I asked Harry Jung afterwards what kind of a director of the Council Crummev would make. He certainly is enormously interested.

He volunteered that if I would send him the names of ten or a dozen of our leading contributors in Chicago, he would go around and talk with each one of them on our behalf and see what could be done to strengthen the council in Chicago and Illinois. He even volunteered that he would organize, but said he could not run, a State organization. There are real possibilities there.

Ralph H. Norton, of Acme Steel Co., was away until April.

James M. Kemper, 4750 North Sheridan, is recuperating in the West, according to his secretary.

Robert Driscoll was leaving for Baltimore within an hour or two after I phoned.

I finally got Henry M. Dawes on the phone, and he could not be in, but asked me to see Mr. Westcott, their president. As it happened, I was unsuccessful in getting back to Chicago by 4 o'clock from Milwaukee and did not get in until 5:35, so telephoned to Dawes' secretary I could not meet him. Dawes seemed very friendly.

Had 20 minutes with Colonel McCormick. He was quite depressed over the election; mentioned that a young kinsman of his, with plenty of means and recently married, had gone to Washington to take any Government job that he could get—which seemed to rather disgust Colonel McCormick. The colonel said the Illinois organization of the Republican Party did wretchedly.

On Wednesday morning I had three-fourths of an hour with F. C. Curley, president of the Santa Fe, at 80 East Jackson, corner of Michigan, and found him a most friendly person. He spoke highly of my memorandum on Europe, and gave me copy of a speech he had made in Kansas City a few days before. He was particularly interested in our bringing over Cecil Palmer from England, and volunteered that since the British Ambassador, Sir * * * Franks, is going round the country making speeches trying to sell British socialism, it would not be a bad idea at all to have Palmer trail him and speak in all those places. For instance, he said he is president of the Economic Club of Chicago, and implied that a date could be arranged there.

He was likewise interested in our letter 200 and the threat of the ILO "convention" discussed therein. He said he was not sure that our interpretation

of the thing was correct, but he said several times that he might be wrong. Apparently he has a real doubt.

Rather curiously, it seemed to me, although Kansas City is one of the main points on the Santa Fe line, he had never heard of Hal Lahnow.

When he asked me what we wanted him to do, I said to renew the subscription of last year and the year before, and since our work is bigger, to make it \$2,000 instead of \$1,000. He seemed very favorable to it, said he would have to take it up with his board, but remarked, "I think you can count on it."

He is a first-class man in every way, and was younger than I had expected to see. Who's Who lists him as 50, though he looks 10 years younger. The man certainly has guts.

* * *

The luncheon at the Milwaukee club came off as arranged by Mr. Clark Robertson, general counsel of the J. I. Case Co., of Racine.

Those present were:

F. J. Sensenbrunner, of Neenah, Wis.

Harold W. Story, vice president and general counsel, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., 1126 South Seventieth Street, Milwaukee 14.

Leon R. Clausen, chairman of the board of J. I. Case Co., Racine.

John T. Brown, vice president, J. I. Case Co., Racine.

Frank R. Bacon, chairman of the board, Cutler-Hammer, Inc., 315 North Twelfth Street, Milwaukee 3.

Harold S. Falk, president, The Falk Corp., 3001 West Canal Street, Milwaukee 8.

Edmund Fitzgerald, president, the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., 720 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee 2.

Lawson Adams, secretary, Wrought Washer Manufacturing Co., 2100 South Bay Street, Milwaukee 7. (President, Employers Association of Milwaukee.)

Robert A. Uhllein, vice president and secretary, Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co., 235 West Galena Street, Milwaukee 12.

Chester O. Wamvig, president, Globe Union, Inc., 900 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee 6.

William C. Frye, industrialist, 2655 North Lake Drive, Milwaukee 11.

Clark Robertson.

Mr. Frank J. Sensenbrunner, of North Commercial Street, Neenah, is, I understand, the wealthiest man in the State of Wisconsin.

Leon R. Clausen, 80, has all the vim of a man much younger.

It was a formidable group of people, and a fairly large group considering they had been called there on about 2 days' notice.

I talked informally to them, and they asked many questions.

Follow-up letters will be sent presently.

WILMINGTON, DEL., December 6, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York City 1.

DEAR MR. HART: I have approved and am returning herewith one copy of the list of instructions to which your publications are to be sent.

Yours very truly,

IRÈNÉE DU PONT.

NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

D. A. R. ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, 1720 D STREET NW.,

Washington 6, D. C., December 6, 1948.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,

Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: We are enclosing check No. 140458 to the amount of \$12 in payment of our order of November 18 for 200 copies of Council Letter No. 200. (Invoice 132.)

We are in receipt of your letter of December 3 relative to our order of December 2 for 100 copies of Council Letter No. 202 and 100 copies of Action Report No. 10. The amount for same of \$8 is being put through the regular

channels. We will be glad to receive these copies. As yet they have not arrived. We have just received in this morning's mail Council Letter No. 204, The Impending Battle of Capitol Hill. We should like to place an order at this time for 200 copies of this issue which will be distributed to our State chairmen. Under the DAR interpretation of national defense, legislation is assigned to the National Defense Committee.

Under separate cover we are sending a copy of the November-December issue of National Defense News, our committee's publication.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
HAZEL B. NIELSON,
Secretary of the Committee.

DECEMBER 7, 1948.

MISS HAZEL B. NIELSON,
*Secretary, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution,
National Defense Committee, 1720 D Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.*

DEAR MISS NIELSON: Will you please send a copy of the National Defense News of September-October 1948 and November-December 1947 to: Rev. Bill Denton, Box 444, Akron 9, Ohio?

Please let us know if there is any charge.

Dr. Denton is very interested in attacking world government and broadens it 7 days a week. We have recommended a speaker for him to speak in the largest auditorium in Akron in January.

If you have any other publications attacking world government we will be very grateful if you will send them also.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

P. S.—In accordance with your request just received we are sending you today under separate cover 200 copies of Council Letter 204, for which we enclose bill herewith.

Thank you for the copy of National Defense News we look forward to receiving.

105 BELGROVE DRIVE,
KEARNY, N. J., December 10, 1948.

MR. BERNARD GIRAUDO,
In care of University Club, 1 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR BERNARD: I am sending you herewith my check for \$10 as a little Christmas present, with the hope that you and your family may be well and have a pleasant day.

I appreciate very much your attention to the little party I gave at the University Club on December 8.

I am sending my check to the University Club for \$381.83 in payment of their bill.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

WILMINGTON 98, DEL., December 10, 1948.

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: I have read the enclosed Council Letter No. 204 of the National Economic Council with great interest and concern.

In my judgment the National Economic Council has correctly analyzed the critical situation now confronting American business—and all Americans. It has also shown how the very real and immediate peril can be met, if enough of us work together.

Please permit me to suggest that every individual and corporation study this letter at once, and follow up the study with an appropriately large contribution to the National Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York 1, to be used in meeting this crisis.

We must not permit our freedom to be lost by default.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DUPONT.

240 OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., December 13, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, The National Economic Council, Inc.
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Under separate cover, I am returning today Reed's *From Smoke to Smother* which, thanks to you, I have read with much interest and very great benefit.

Without pretending any ability or qualification to review a book, I am enclosing herewith my comments on the work, its inferences and conclusions, in part, in the thought that they may be of some interest to you and your associates.

Would it not be well to have a careful review made of the book, after the fashion of the exceptionally able review by Rose Wilder Lane of Eric Johnston's latest brain storm? Reed's book should be "must" reading for all Congressmen (if they can, or ever do, read), and all men in public office. Since the enemy does not recoil from using our institutions of learning and every other available avenue for its sinister purposes, a review of the work might do some good in the hands of the press and educators throughout the country. (Our mutual friend Trohan is trying to obtain a copy.)

What do you think of the weekly newspapers and the smaller dailies as a medium for stimulating grass-roots thinking? I have long considered the weeklies as a chief means for forming public thought and opinion, but have never been able to do anything on that line.

For your information, I have congressional hearings which show that the Federal Communications Commission and other Federal agencies have considered the Anti-Defamation League's records and files as a prime source for information and leads in official investigations; and within the past 2 years, the press has repeatedly disclosed that the league's investigative facilities have been used in certain States in prosecutions for crimes and offenses.

Reed's book confirms my thought of long standing that the protocols of the Jewish Elders is authentic; and that, whether the book be true or false (as claimed by the Jews) they prove that their predictions have come true, when they are paralleled with the happenings of recent years.

With renewed thanks for permitting me to read *From Smoke to Smother*, and with all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

"FROM SMOKE TO SMOTHER"

The book is a masterpiece of keen observation, clear thinking, and an inimitably rational analysis of facts and world events. Wonder is that it was ever published and that its circulation has not been suppressed. To call it other than a true masterpiece, filling the need of the times, would be a gross understatement.

BRIEF COMMENT

Having due regard for the similarities and the differences between the American and British forms of government, the book draws many deadly parallels and points unerringly to numerous fundamental changes in governmental structures which have been effected in both governments during the past decades through fraud, trickery, deceit, chicanery, evasion, concealment, and even treason, by persons and officials in high places. As the author points out, those changes have been wrought without benefit of legislative action and advice, or even of public discussion and enlightenment, through resort to distorted facts, false and concealing propaganda inevitably paid for by the taxpayers of both countries, and the self-same means have been used to perpetuate traitors and wrongdoers in office to perpetuate their evil conduct.

In the United States, as in Great Britain, war powers were conferred greatly in excess of any legitimate need, and they have, by hook or crook, been continued in peacetime for sinister purposes, with an unmistakable view to the further weakening of both governments.

It is readily apparent that Winston Churchill (who did not accept the premiership to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire) has long been, and still is, the greatest and ablest statesman of many decades. The author makes it crystal clear that while Churchill yielded to pressures and sought at all times to serve the dire needs of England during the war, there is yet little excuse for his

continued yielding to dangers and evils since the war. He, like many of our so-called statesmen, could well have been more outspoken in demanding that our hell-bent rush to world statism be stopped.

The author makes it abundantly clear that the United States and Great Britain were maneuvered into both world wars by chicanery and sharp political practices of the one-world internationalists who laid their deep, dark, and devious plans long ago. World War I was fought to make the world safe for democracy (some facetiously say "for the Democrats"), and World War II was fought and won, as it now clearly appears, to make the world safe for communism and political Zionism.

Sad to relate, but America's and England's outpourings of great wealth and treasure to Russia built that nondescript country up from less than nothing to a powerful nation now astride the heap of other nations, and since the purposes and intentions of Russia have long been well known, and since her conduct has spoken louder than mere words, it is nothing short of treason that the leaders of Great Britain and the United States have sold, and continue to sell, their countries to the Mongolian and Jewish hordes. (Ambrose Bierce's *Devil's Dictionary* defines a Russian as one having the shape of a human being, but the soul of a Mongolian.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt and his shadowy, concealed, and very slippery "advisers" played the lead in such matters for the United States, and Churchill, being a better Englishman than they were Americans, went along because his country had vital need for the aid the United States could, and did, give to England.

In this connection the following significant paragraph is found in Mr. Churchill's preface to his book, *The Gathering Storm*, published in 1948:

"One day President Roosevelt told me that he was asking publicly for suggestions about what the war should be called. I said at once, 'The unnecessary war.' There never was a war more easy to stop than that which has just wrecked what was left of the world from the previous struggle. The human tragedy reaches its climax in the fact that after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and of the victories of the righteous cause, we have still not found peace or security, and that we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted. It is my earnest hope that pondering upon the past may give guidance in days to come, enable a new generation to repair some of the errors of former years, and thus govern, in accordance with the needs and glory of man, the awful unfolding scene of the future."

Author Reed asserts but one proposition for which he finds no ready answer: That while there is little or no difference between nazism, fascism, and communism (socialism), there is no clear-cut reason for Germany having retreated from Russia after first playing footie-footie with, and then attacking, her and staging a devastating invasion. The inference the author seems to want drawn is that, after all, Hitler was not averse to the advancement and spread of communism since he (Hitler) had failed in his own efforts at world conquest and domination. If that be the author's desire, the conclusion seems well taken.

Throughout the whole book runs the thought that both the United States and Great Britain, through circumvention and chicanery, and treason, too, have already, in effect, adopted a socialistic form of government; and that both are ripe for eventual and early communist pickings. In this connection it is well to remember that Henry J. Taylor, radio commentator, journalist, and author of parts, aptly said: "A Communist is but a Socialist in a hurry."

It has long been thought that, in every great emergency, and in due time, "a man of the hour" appears to save threatened governments; but the present hour is dark for Englishmen and Americans, and the author makes no prediction that such a man will come in time. It seems doubtful whether such man will appear, unless and until some man or men in public life can generate enough patriotism and intestinal fortitude to tell the peoples of both countries the facts of life and of government, and start demanding a return to national and international sanity.

Author Reed points out that, in 1647 Cromwell, posing as a "Friend of the People," the "champion of Parliament against the King," and "a bold challenger of tyranny," began his reign of terror "by abolishing the House of Lords and the King, and ended by abolishing Parliament and setting himself up as king; that he also destroyed the safeguards of Magna Charta (signed by King John at Runnymede June 15, 1215), ruined liberty, inflicted confiscatory taxes, threw every household open to his agents, boasted of a massacre in Ireland, crippled trade, seized men's lands, goods, homes, chattels, and reduced the nation to a condition of fettered despondency from which no resurrection seemed possible."

While the Cromwell reign was finally ended—at his death—with much British rejoicing, the author points to a similarity in the happenings of 1947-48, when like things have happened. The distinction between the two periods of national fits in England is stated by Author Reed in this fashion: That the Cromwellian reign was brought about by an Englishman, for an Englishman and his followers, while the ruin now being wrought is being consummated by and for the benefit of foreign interests and powers—Russia, communism, and political Zionism—all working hand in hand for the destruction of the British Government and the establishment of a one-world state with the alien wreckers in full control.

Already, thanks to the British Labor government, Britain's railroads, banks, mines, farms, and other industries have been socialized, and Englishmen are otherwise being deprived of their inherent rights and liberties.

Only recently one of our leading industrialists (none other than Eric Johnston) is said to have urged that the United States appropriate \$1,000,000,000 to compensate American investors who suffer losses from the socialization of industries in foreign countries. And it has been repeatedly asserted that our billions for foreign relief and rehabilitation are underwriting the socialization of the British Empire.

There is unmistakably a question in Author Reed's mind as to whether the power recently acquired by, for, and in the interest of, foreign powers and alien interests over the British Government can be destroyed by Englishmen as easily as were the powers seized and exercised by Cromwell during his reign. It seems self-evident that the end of present-day evils and destructive powers may, and probably will, entail another and worse war in which England and the United States will be compelled to participate.

Our Declaration of Independence cut us loose from British oppression, charging that the King had made judges dependent upon his will for their tenure; that he had erected a multitude of new offices, and sent swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance; that he had kept standing armies among us in peacetime without our consent; that he had made the military independent of and superior to the civil power; that he had combined with others to make us subject to a jurisdiction foreign to our institutions; that he quartered large bodies of troops among us; that he cut off our world trade, imposed taxes without our consent, abolished the free system of English laws, and the like.

Our Constitution and its Bill of Rights became our Magna Charta to confine and delimit abuses by our own established Government.

Now, however, it is as evident here as it is in England that our constitutional guarantees, rights, privileges, and immunities are being whittled away and sacrificed upon the altar of a one-world state wherein both England and the United States are destined to become mere provinces, shorn of their sovereign powers—all at the clandestine action, behest, and demand of Communists and political Zionists.

Once Great Britain and the United States are established as components of such an one-world state, can they, or either of them, throw off the yoke of Stalinism, communism, and political Zionism? Manifestly, such deliverance will not come as easily as did the final liberation of Great Britain from the Cromwellian forces.

Neither the press of England nor of the United States longer dares to question any conduct or action of the Jews, whatever such action may be; and, in reporting the daily news, mention by the press of the fact that a given individual is a Jew long since has been verboten. And there is a well-defined propaganda throughout this country to keep the press from mentioning any person as a Negro, Jew, or a member of any other minority group in the reporting of crimes, however revolting such crimes may be. There are numerous organizations in the United States devoted to the furtherance of Zionism, including B'nai B'rith's well-financed Anti-Defamation League which obligates its members not to say or do anything that reflects upon any Jew or Jews. Such organizations have raised and spent hundreds of millions of dollars for the furtherance of their purposes, here and abroad.

The Anti-Defamation League has so far obtruded itself into governmental affairs, both Federal and State, that its elaborate investigative facilities have been utilized in the prosecution of organizations and individuals not approved by the league and its officials.

When any organizations, minority or otherwise, become so powerful that they strike terror into the hearts of the press and of public officials, it is high time to consider their purposes and deal with them accordingly, be they Jews, Russians, or others.

DECEMBER 13, 1948.

Mr. HARRY S. BARGER,
248 Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARGER: Thank you for the two memoranda received today.

This will confirm the verbal arrangement made with you the other day, namely, that we hereby employ you for a period of 4 months commencing January 1, 1949, to give your whole time (less such incidental assistance as you may feel you should render to Congressmen John Taber and R. B. Wigglesworth, which we understand would not take up much time) to representing us in Washington in connection with our support of certain measures and our opposition to certain other measures, and to assist us in whatever way you can.

While we are not in position at this moment to commit ourselves for more than 4 months, yet it is our intention in good faith to continue the arrangement after the 4 months' term has expired, assuming that your work is satisfactory which, from all the good words we have heard from Walter Trohan and Gene Carey, we feel confident will be the case.

Your salary will be \$600.00 per month payable either semi-monthly or monthly, as you may prefer.

It is understood that at the start you would not require an office. We assume we could communicate with you at your apartment. Doubtless you can inform us of some address in the House Office Building at which we could get you during daytime hours.

I shall hope to see you sometime between now and the first of the year and go over with you in some detail some of the measures in which we shall be interested in the next Congress.

I feel that you and we are going to develop a very effective teamwork, and we are glad indeed to secure your services.

If the above is your understanding of the arrangement, will you kindly sign the enclosed copy of this letter and return to us in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

The above is in accordance with my understanding and it is hereby accepted.

WILMINGTON, DEL., December 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York City 1.

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge your letter of yesterday and return to you the list of those institutions to which the books have been sent as gifts from me.

It was my intention to make contributions for books from time to time and I am so designating all three of the contributions for that purpose solicited by you. I hope that is quite all right with you.

Yours very truly,

IRÈNÉE DU PONT.

DECEMBER 23, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
William Volker Charities Fund,
Post Office Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: The 11,000 copies of council letter No. 204 were shipped to you at noon today from Utica, N. Y.

Due to the holiday we thought it advisable to insure packages. We enclose a bill herewith.

Please accept our wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
Kansas City 10, Mo., P. O. Box 168, December 17, 1948.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Please send us 11,000 copies of your Council Letter No. 204 under date of December 1, 1948. Also send us an invoice to cover.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

DECEMBER 21, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
William Volker Charities Fund,
Post Office Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Mr. Hart has asked me to acknowledge your letter of December 17, ordering 11,000 copies of Council Letter No. 304.

These letters will be shipped Thursday noon, parcel post, special delivery.

Thank you for this order.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH HARRY S. BARGER,
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1948

We had before us the attached memorandum for discussion and the references are to them.

1. Mr. Barger is to draft a suggested letter for me to send to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the two Houses, with copies to the ranking Republican members of each committee, protesting against the passage of any further Federal funds to subsidize housing.

He will undertake to get appropriate publicity when the letter is put into a news release for him and released.

2. We are to prepare a Council Letter on the bill arising out of the allowance for deduction before taxes for expense for advertising governing activities. Barger has a lot of data on this.

3. Barger is to send me a list of all the international alphabetical agencies, showing which ones the United States has joined by ratification and which it has not joined.

4. Hart is to talk with Mark Jones and O. A. Taylor regarding the amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act and then write Barger so that he can draft proposed bill which will be designed to still further strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act.

5. We are to have an early Council Letter on Civil Rights.

6. Barger to draft an equity bill to enjoin spending of public money in violation of a statute.

DECEMBER 27, 1948.

Mrs. ROSE WILDER LANE,
Route 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.

DEAR ROSE: As I have told you in a former conversation, an opportunity has presented itself for us to bring to America an English writer and lecturer who is 100 percent on the side of private enterprise, and who will be able to interpret to the American people the horrible fizzle that socialism is making in Britain.

Coming, as we expect he will come, during the present winter and remaining until late spring, he will be available for addresses before groups of all kinds on the subject of the preservation of private enterprise and private property, and the encouragement of individual initiative—this during the vital period when various socialistic schemes recommended by Mr. Truman will be under discussion in Congress.

One United States Senator has volunteered that he will give a dinner in Washington to certain Members of both Houses of Congress and of both political parties,

at which this English speaker of ours, Mr. Cecil Palmer, will be the guest of honor.

Let me say immediately that it is definitely understood with Mr. Palmer that he is not to be just one more British lecturer, telling Americans how Britain and the United States must work together. He will not talk about any American issue. He will simply talk about socialism and explain how it is failing in Britain.

Mr. Palmer is in his early fifties, and for the past 6 years has been the chief executive officer of the British Society of Individualists—now the British Society for Individual Freedom. He has spoken in practically every town and hamlet in Great Britain. He has personal magnetism, and above all a deep conviction that private enterprise can give Britain, as it has given America, a far higher civilization than socialism can ever give.

Mr. Palmer's projected trip arose out of a conversation I had with him last summer. I saw a good deal of him in London, both in the summer of 1947 and again in 1948. He told me confidentially last August that he was tired and discouraged after 6 years of working in England, and that he was going to retire from his position. I then asked him if he would come over here to give addresses if we desired him to do so, and he jumped at the idea.

Recently in Chicago I was telling the president of one of the largest American railroads about Mr. Palmer's projected visit, and he remarked that only a few days before he had had to preside at a luncheon at which the British Ambassador, Sir Oliver Franks, had given a talk designed to bolster socialism. He expressed the belief that Franks is going around the United States making speeches of this kind, and this railroad president observed that in his opinion it would be an excellent thing for Mr. Palmer to trail Sir Oliver Franks and speak in the cities where he had spoken.

Nearly all businessmen have reacted in the same way.

Mr. Palmer is prepared to tell audiences in this country, and, indeed, all Congressmen that he meets, that he hopes the Congress will not appropriate another dollar for Britain unless Britain first agrees that no further industries (not even iron and steel) will be nationalized.

Now there has been difficulty in raising the money to bring Mr. Palmer to this country. This difficulty was perhaps natural during the political campaign. For about 30 days afterwards many Americans were stunned over the election result, and it remained difficult to raise money for any purpose. Recently prospects have improved, as a growing number of Americans have realized they must gird themselves for a real fight this winter, and money has been more readily obtainable.

It will require about \$5,000 to bring Mr. Palmer to this country. We have received pledges for about half of this amount. Several persons have not been heard from, but I hope to receive a pledge for \$1,000 within the next few days. Nevertheless we need about \$1,500 more.

We are raising this \$5,000 fund by special contributions. In the case of some addresses to be made by Mr. Palmer we will be able to charge fees. These fees, as they are paid into the council, will be credited to the \$5,000 fund (which will cover all expenses including a rather nominal honorarium for Mr. Palmer), and if the total amount received by the council exceeds \$5,000, all of the overplus will be divided 50-50 between Mr. Palmer and the National Economic Council.

I and my friends regard the raising of this \$5,000 to bring Mr. Palmer over here as so important that it simply must be done. It will furnish one of the best weapons in our fight against socialism this coming winter.

I am taking some pains to set forth the story about Mr. Palmer, and if any of your friends would contribute to this fund we would greatly appreciate it.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the new year,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DEAR MERWIN: If you can conveniently and will send me the dope on the English lecturer which I sent to Ann Arbor and also write a little informal note to me about the arrangements for dinners, for addressing people in Washington, and so forth, and mentioning that you are within about so many dollars of having money enough, and, of course, are still working and hoping. It's got to be done, so it will be done spirit. I will make another effort to get some money from another source. I think it was the election that stopped the other one. The wholly unexpected awful shock. It scares them to immobility—scares them stiff. This, plus the influence you mentioned which seems stiff (if not

quite stuffed) shirt to me. Please excuse pen, my typewriter not accessible at the moment. I hope house will be done by January.

R. W. L.

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION, DECEMBER 28, 1948, WITH MR. HARRY S. BARGER

The Economic Council wishes, during the coming session of Congress, to take an active part in the consideration of the following proposals:

1. We wish to oppose any extension of Federal subsidies to housing, leaving that subject entirely with the States.

2. We shall oppose the ratification of—

(a) The right to organize convention of the ILO.

(b) The convention setting up exclusive national employment agencies.

3. We shall oppose the ratification of the ITO.

4. We shall oppose ratification of the International Bill of Rights.

We shall oppose all of the above measures proposed by international alphabetical agencies on the ground, among others, that each involves a surrender of vital parts of the sovereignty of the United States.

5. We shall favor the strengthening of the Taft-Hartley law.

6. We shall oppose civil rights legislation.

7. We shall oppose Federal aid to education.

8. We shall oppose socialized medicine.

9. We shall oppose any further letting down of the bars of our immigration laws.

10. We shall oppose any further appropriations to continue the Economic Co-operation Administration in its work abroad unless each beneficiary country agrees to stop further nationalization of industry, including in the case of Britain the nationalization of iron and steel.

Of the above matters we do not wish to tackle more than we can adequately handle. Probably we ought not to include in our program any with respect to which we cannot arrange for a carefully prepared appearance before the proper committee of at least one of the two Houses.

The purpose of this conference is to talk and think through each of the above subjects in the light of conditions existing in Washington, and make up our legislative program based on this discussion, all subject to the final ratification of our executive committee.

11. Enforcing law against Government lobbying. What can be done?

LOMA LINDA, CALIF.,
Box 438, December 21, 1948.

DEAR MERWIN: It seems a long time since I have heard from you or that I have written.

I don't know if Seymour has told you of my accident. My friend, Mrs. Woodward, wrote him as I was not able, being in the sanitarium.

I was helping the janitor hang curtains when the ladder slipped, crashed to the floor, man and all, knocked me down and caught my right foot between the ladder and the leg of the treatment table, fractured the arch bone, and they placed it in a cast from my toes to my knee; had it there for 6 weeks. Just taken off day before yesterday, it is now strapped, and I cannot bear my weight on it yet, but hope to go back to work next week. Have been out of work 7 weeks. My work keeps me on my feet most of the time, and it is hard for me at my age. Everyone has been lovely to me; the lady in the next room has brought me a tray from the cafeteria every day, and the Woodwards (the people who brought me to California) have been to see me every day.

I wanted to ask you, Merwin, if there is any of the furniture in storage that I could use, it seems there was so much of it. You see I live in a room in the annex of the hospital, and it is just for the workers, and so when I will have to stop working, which will not be long on account of my age, I will have to move to a room in the village, and I will need some furniture. We are having beautiful weather and all about us they are decorating for Christmas. I think they do more of it here than they do in the East. The illuminations are beautiful Christmas night.

I do hope you and Margaret are well and the boys, give them my love, and hoping to hear from you, I am

Your affectionate cousin,

MABEL.

JANUARY 3, 1940.

MISS MADEL HART,
Box 488, Loma Linda, Calif.

DEAR MADEL: I was glad to get your letter of the 21st which reached me only today because I have not been in Utica for some time.

I am terribly sorry to hear about your accident. Nobody told me about it before. It certainly was a mean experience that you went through and I hope you are fully recovering.

Certainly the home is one of the most dangerous places in the world to be. I am a director of a casualty company and we know from experience that an astonishing number of accidents take place right in the home and falling off stepladders is a favorite way.

I am hoping to get out to California sometime this winter or spring and will surely look you up.

About the furniture question. We have got some furniture, mostly large pieces. I should think it would not pay to have them crated as they would have to be and shipped out to California. I will talk with Margaret about it the last of the week when I am home. She is staying up with the boys and will come down with me next Sunday afternoon.

Much love, and I will write you again before long.

JANUARY 4, 1940.

Memo to Mrs. Dall:
From Mr. Hart.

I think we want to give more time than ever this year to promotion, especially promotion of our \$10 subscriptions. I know you and I both think that our promotion has been anything but satisfactory. Yet there is a way to solve it, and we ought to work that way out.

We have fairly heavy renewals coming up in January and February—in fact the first 4 or 5 months of the year. The du Pont letter has brought us probably some \$3,000 so far, and will bring more from that first mailing in December. Now we are planning to send out about 4,800 additional letters (less, of course, any duplications).

Beyond this, several friends have agreed to give luncheons, dinners, and cocktail parties in various sections, and those should yield something.

But the main part of the problem to be solved has to do with \$10 subscriptions. This deserves some of our very deepest thought.

It may be advisable to talk with Miss Birchall. She may have become a little discouraged at our not taking her advice before, but I feel sure some of the advice was not particularly good—like, for instance, telling people that they could "pay later," which would simply increase our bookkeeping load and really brought us very few results.

However, we should talk the whole thing over together and form our own best opinion—yourself, Dr. Griffiths, Miss O'Connor and myself—about how to proceed. And we haven't much time to lose. January is the best month of the year, and is so recognized.

Council Letter 206 on Political Medicine will be a good letter with which to get money from doctors—that is from those who have any. Usually doctors don't have much spare money, and they feel a kind of exemption from belonging to things and paying dues. Nevertheless, something can be done.

We plan to have other council letters that should appeal particularly to certain classes of people. For instance, a letter in opposition to future TVA's ought to appeal to the power companies.

Let us undertake to have a session on this subject at 8 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, January 5.

JANUARY 5, 1940.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
Care of Douglas Mann, Esq.,
208 East Thornapple Street, Chevy Chase, Md.

DEAR AL: I know you plan to get back about the 10th or 12th of January, but I am writing you today to convey some information of importance.

I think I mentioned to you at one of our talks in New York, that we were trying to arrange to bring Cecil Palmer, a British writer and lecturer, to the

United States to spend several months lecturing throughout the United States in support of private enterprise and in opposition to socialism. We have been able to conclude the necessary arrangements, and have arranged the fund required.

Mr. Palmer will arrive here some time during the first week of February and will remain until May. He will be available for making addresses in any part of the United States. Within a day or two after his arrival I plan to get some 30 or 40 men together to meet him informally, but to give him also a chance to make a 20-minute talk to them and answer any questions they desire to ask. That will give them a chance to take a look at him and size him up, and I shall hope that it will be possible for you to be one of the number.

His principal reason for coming here is to serve the cause of private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative. He can tell things about the practical workings of socialism in Britain in such a way that I think a great many men in both Houses of Congress and on both sides of the aisles will be impressed. You mentioned, I think, that you might be able to arrange to give a dinner in Washington at which representative men of both Houses would be present, where he would have a chance to talk. If on meeting him you think well of this, it probably would be a most effective way of bringing his views to the attention of men in Congress.

I am particularly glad that we have been able to arrange his trip, and he is looking forward with the keenest interest to being able to accomplish something for those of us in America who believe in private enterprise and want to retain it.

I have not yet had the draft of that public statement we asked Robert B. Dresser to put together. I phoned him the other day, and he said he had been greatly driven but would undertake to get it to us before the end of the week. As soon as it is received I will have it copied and sent to you and each of the others who sat in that meeting at the Harvard Club, as well as to those who attended the meeting in my office 10 days prior thereto.

As the days have slipped by and it becomes more apparent what Truman intends to do in the Congress, it seems to be more and more vitally important that a citizens' organization such as we envisioned in our two meetings should be formed. I think the men are available—the investigating and writing and speaking talent; I think the followers are ready in all sections of the country; what is needed is the leadership. You, more than any other man in the United States, can furnish this leadership.

I did not go any further with Harry O. King (although I got your message that you thought it was all right to go ahead if I was sure of him). I am perfectly sure of him—that is, of his sincerity and ability, as well as that of his associate, Gordon Reed. These two men are together in a half dozen business ventures. (Incidentally, Mrs. King, formerly Isabella Greenway and Member of Congress from Arizona for 8 years, would be most helpful, too.) But I think it is best to wait until after you have had your proposed little dinner in Washington, particularly if you can go ahead with that plan very shortly after your return.

I am enclosing council letter 200 on Political Medicine. One of the major projects of Mr. Truman, I understand, is socialized medicine, or, as we call it, Political Medicine. It is going to take an organization of citizens from all parts of the country to help the doctors beat this, they cannot do it alone. Such a citizens' organization, however, would be available to defeat a lot of other socialized projects.

I hope you have had a wonderful rest, and am looking forward greatly to seeing you. I expect to remain here in New York probably until after the inauguration on the 20th, though I could come to Washington on short notice if the need arises.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

240 OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, January 8, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: The press release and letters on housing came about 11 o'clock this morning, and were promptly sent to the following Members of Congress, the press, and the press representatives:

Members:

John Taber
 Richard B. Wigglesworth
 Charles A. Plumley
 Karl Stefan
 Francis Case
 Ralph E. Church
 John Phillips

H. Styles Bridges
 Homer Ferguson
 Kenneth S. Whorrey
 Frederick C. Smith
 Charles A. Halleck
 Daniel A. Reed
 Charles W. Vursell

The press and radio:

Chicago Tribune, Trohan
 Hearst Bureau, Kent Hunter
 Three-Star Extra, Ray Henle, commentator
 Fulton Lewis, Jr.
 Pathfinder Magazine
 Mac Smith, care of Oliphant Services
 News Week, Bob Humphreys
 John O'Donnell, New York Times Bureau
 Westbrook Pegler, columnist, King Features
 Knoxville Journal, Guy Smith, Knoxville, Tenn.
 Henry J. Taylor, care of General Motors, commentator.

In most instances I appended a little note calling particular attention of my friends to the release.

Here's hoping they bring some results. I thought it best to make the release for the 7th, so the State of the Union message will die down some.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. DARGER.

WILMINGTON 08, DEL., January 5, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*National Economic Council,
 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: There is enclosed letter received from J. H. Rhoades, 107 Pondfield Road West, Cedar Knolls, Bronxville, N. Y., which I found quite interesting.

I did not know the answer, so did not answer him. Did I make an error?

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

107 PONDFIELD ROAD WEST,
 Bronxville, N. Y., December 20, 1948.

MR. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Relative to National Economic Council Letter No. 204, I agree with you that it is not only a fine letter, correctly analyzing the present critical situation, but that every reader of this letter should do everything in his or her power to aid Merwin Hart in his work.

I have known Hart for over 10 years and have always admired his devotion to the cause of America and its institutions. He has given unsparingly of his time and energy, often without the encouragement he deserves.

Unfortunately, it seems to me, businessmen generally have not yet recognized the disease from which they are suffering: ¹ nor have they isolated the germ that is the cause of that disease; ² nor have they made any effort to curb its carriers. ³ That which has happened in England, is happening here in our own country; but few seem to know it, and most people seem not to care.

I am a retired businessman (American News Co.) and have devoted most of my time—and what money I could spare—to the work, as an individual, such as Hart does with his organization. Frankly, it seems a hopeless task, either for an individual or for a small organization. How to prevent "our freedom from being lost by default" is a problem I cannot solve, if the people as a whole are too indifferent or too preoccupied with their own affairs, or have been completely debauched and demoralized by politicians of both major political parties. If you know the answer, or can offer any suggestions, do let me hear from you.

¹ Statism—the omnipotent welfare state.

² Socialism—which invariably results in statism.

³ They are to be found in political parties, the Federal and State governments; in labor unions, schools, colleges, churches, welfare organizations, etc.

Meanwhile, a happy New Year to you—that is, as happy as possible under the circumstances.

Sincerely yours,

J. HOWARD RHODES.

IN A NUTSHELL

What is "government"?

The Standard Dictionary defines "government" as "the form or system of administration by which a community is controlled."

What is meant when politicians (and many others) say: "The Government will pay for this or that," or "The Government will furnish this or that"?

"Government" has no money other than that which you contribute in taxes—either direct taxes or hidden taxes. Public debt merely represents deferred taxes, which you will eventually have to pay. Make no mistake about that.

That is why it is so necessary for you to decide what are the proper functions of government and to let your representatives know what you think.

For instance, is it the function of "government" to do things for you; that is, to provide you with a home, with food, with clothing, and with a job? Naturally, if you expect government to do these things for you, you must necessarily grant government the right to do to you; that is to tell you where you must live, what you may eat and what you must pay for your food, what you must wear (and, don't forget, that includes a uniform), where you must work, what you must do and what you will receive for doing it.

Again—is it the function of "government" to provide for your welfare and your security; or is it to insure for you the opportunity to provide for your own welfare and for your own security?

Again—is it the proper function of government to compete with private enterprise, or to regulate and restrict it until it is no longer profitable for citizens; or to pass laws which may eliminate or destroy any or all industries?

Again—is it a proper function of "government" to advertise its own merits, and to justify its own acts and policies by means of radio broadcasts, motion pictures, press releases, publications and other forms of propaganda, in order to direct or influence the thinking of the people?

Finally—if you think that it is a proper function of "government" to redistribute wealth by the taxation process, it might be well to remember that, sooner or later, your wealth, no matter how large or how small, will be distributed to those who have neither earned it, nor saved it, nor have any right to it.

Which do you prefer to be—a free citizen or a subject?

There you have, in a nutshell, the difference between the American and the European-Asiatic concept of "government." There you have the difference between free enterprise and planned economy. There you have the difference between the "old deal" and the New Deal.

Remember, it was the "old deal," or the American idea of the functions of "government," which enabled the free people of this Nation to accomplish for themselves in 150 years more than had been accomplished in any other country by "government" in 1,500 years. And it was exactly for that reason that millions of people came to America from foreign lands—and still want to come here; that is, to be free from coercion and compulsion by "government."

Wouldn't it be a good idea to think about these things?

Wouldn't it be a good idea to talk them over with your friends?

Wouldn't it be a good idea to find out what the men you vote for think?

Are you going to pay for your own enslavement without one word of protest?

This is No. 7 of a series of leaflets. Additional copies may be had for \$2 per hundred from the Westchester Security League, P. O. box 804, Bronxville, N. Y. (Ask for samples of other leaflets.)

240 OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 6, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of the 4th, received this afternoon:

I did not mean to exhibit a true aversion to registering under the Lobbying Act, and will, of course, do so at your request. I merely meant to say that

it goes against the grain for any citizen to have to register under that act, and brand himself as what most people consider bad, as a condition precedent to the doing by the citizen of a perfectly lawful thing—appealing to the reason and discretion of Congress and Members thereof on matters of proposed and pending legislation, as distinguished from the use of improper methods to influence legislation. As you say, the council has nothing to hide; and it is O. K. with me to register.

However, there is a possibility they may decide to pay this staff for some part of the month of January, in lieu of notice and accrued leave; and, since I have had no leave during the 2 years I have been here, I have every expectation and intention of taking whatever they may give me.

If it meets with your approval, then, I should like to defer registering until they decide what they will do in this matter, which should be done soon.

Meantime, I will get the blank, fill it out, and send it along for your approval before filing it.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

OCTOBER 4, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
Wm. Volker & Co.,
230 Main Street, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Both last year and this when I was in London, I saw a good deal of one Cecil Palmer, who for the past 6 years has been organizer for the British Society of Individualists.

As you know, this British society is as devoted as we are to the maintenance of private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative.

Palmer is a dynamic man of perhaps 50 or 55 years of age. He has spoken all over the British Isles and, while I have not personally heard him speak, I am satisfied from long conversations with him, together with reading some of the news accounts of his speeches, that he is a very engaging person.

He remarked to me one time this summer in his office that he addressed many meetings of workers and that one remark that he frequently made to them was: "Isn't it about time you began spending your own money on things you want instead of hiring bureaucrats to spend your money for you for things they think you ought to have." And he told me that he never failed to get that kind of silence that indicates the audience is thinking—and wondering.

Palmer made many speeches for the Government, as I understood it, in connection with their bond flotations and was regarded as one of its best speakers, if not the best.

In London this summer Palmer told me confidentially that he was going to sever his connection with the British Society of Individualists, at least temporarily—that he needed a change. I asked him if he would consider coming to the United States and making a series of addresses here. He jumped eagerly at the idea and I told him I would see what could be done.

I asked him what his idea of compensation would be and he said that if he got his expenses and some nominal amount over and above that, he would be satisfied—that what he was interested in was working for the cause of private enterprise.

After the first of the year one of the main questions coming before Congress is how much to appropriate for the so-called Marshall-plan countries. Palmer and such men in Parliament as Sir Waldron Smithers and others with whom I have talked, and some of them many times, say that for the United States to appropriate money to Britain without the restriction that there will be no more nationalization of industry is simply to subsidize the Labor Party.

The great question before the British people today, and I think it is one of our greatest problems, too, is whether the British Government should be permitted, while borrowing money from us, to nationalize the iron and steel industry. (I pointed this out in letter No. 198, copy of which is enclosed.)

I have sent a confidential memorandum to John Foster Dulles, and through him to Governor Dewey, urging that Mr. Dewey consider making some utterance that would tend to discourage the Labor Government of Britain from taking this step. I do not know whether it will bear any fruit or not.

Meanwhile, I have talked with Congressman Ralph Gwinn, of New York, one of the most active men on our side in Congress, who thinks it would be most wholesome if it could be arranged to have a man like Palmer appear

before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and/or the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and urge the Congress in the interest of private enterprise in both Britain and the United States, and in the interest of saving both countries from socialism, not to appropriate another dollar except with the condition that nationalization shall be dropped.

Mr. Gwinn is certain that if it would not be possible for Palmer to appear before one or both of these committees, the block of 67 Congressmen of which he is a member and which is a solid core of believers in private enterprise would be glad to meet him at dinner and listen to him. We could ourselves arrange quite a number of meetings here in New York. We could arrange, I think, for him to speak before groups in colleges like the private-enterprise society at Harvard. We think that groups like the Economic Club, of New York; the Executives Club, of Chicago; the big organization (I think it is called the Economic Club) of Detroit, and many other groups. Some of these groups would be prepared to pay him a fee; some would not.

My impression, after talking with Palmer, is that if he could come to this country and have his expenses paid for, say a period of 3 months starting about the middle of January, his passage over and back would cost not over \$1,000, his expenses would be not over \$25 a day for 90 days, and we should be prepared to pay him a nominal fee of \$100 a week in addition. We could open an account charging him with his expenses and his weekly fee and crediting to him such fees as might be paid him for speaking; the understanding being that if more money was received in fees than his total expenses, the excess would be divided, half of it to go to him as additional compensation and the other half to go to the council for the trouble of making and carrying out the arrangements.

It seems to me that for us to bring an English speaker from Socialist England who would urge the people of the United States and their Congress in their own interests, as well as in the interests of the people of Britain, to stand up and defend private enterprise—simply by requiring that no country in Europe receiving funds from the American taxpayers could extend the nationalization of industry and further—would have a most wholesome effect on America. It would have a wholesome effect on Mr. Dewey and the Congress.

If you agree with this reasoning, would your foundation consider giving the council \$5,000 solely for this purpose? The amount would be carried in a separate account and an accounting made along the above lines.

We have concluded no arrangements with Mr. Palmer, of course, and will not unless and until the thing can be financed.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILLIAM VOLKER & CO. OF MISSOURI, INC.,
Kansas City, Mo., October 6, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 4 making recommendations as to one Cecil Palmer and asking for \$5,000 to underwrite his trip to the United States.

Fortunately the writer has direct contact with several persons in London and we are checking immediately to see if your impression of the man can be confirmed. We'll let you know shortly.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER & CO.,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
Kansas City, Mo., October 22, 1948.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Our own sources of information in England confirm somewhat your own impression of Mr. Cecil Palmer. It seems he put a good deal of life into the Society of Individualists, which for years was the private affair of

Ernest Benn but which consisted almost exclusively of people of advanced years. Recently a number of younger people were attracted to this society, perhaps as a result of the increasing disillusionment of the younger generation with the socialistic ideas which probably was the result of Mr. Palmer's activities. He talks and thinks in terms which most people in England no longer understand, and criticism of him is that he merely repeats outworn doctrine and does not adequately meet new arguments. What this means is that on the whole he is probably more forthright than the people in England are prepared to accept and as a consequence has achieved the reputation of being an impracticable extremist.

For American audiences he would probably be very effective in explaining the British experience with socialism and he probably would be received more sympathetically here than in England.

We would have some interest in bringing Mr. Palmer to the States, but we certainly are not in position to underwrite the entire procedure. We see no reason why some support for his activities could not be raised from other sources. The writer is of the opinion that here of late you are inclined to look to this source for more than our share just because we are probably more alert to the circumstances than others, but our programs are too broad for us to carry the entire load of this particular enterprise. Our total interest in bringing Palmer to the States would probably not exceed a thousand dollars.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

OCTOBER 25, 1948.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,

Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Thank you very much for your letter of October 22.

Incidentally, I wrote to Cecil Palmer on October 13 outlining the kind of a proposition I was working on—namely, to bring him to the United States—paying his passage both ways, his expenses while in this country, and giving him \$100 a week; the understanding being that any fees collected because of his addresses would be credited against the total expenditure, and if there were any excess of receipts over expenses it would be divided 50-50 between Mr. Palmer and the National Economic Council.

Mr. Palmer had expressed the wish to me previously that he be permitted to bring his wife, presumably at our expense. I told him that we could not be responsible for that. You will see from the enclosed copy of letter received today that he wishes to bring his wife at his own expense, which, of course, will be quite all right.

I am sorry that you feel that we are inclined to look to you for more than your share of what we are spending. You have been generous, and we deeply appreciate it, as I think you know. Perhaps it is natural for us to tend to rely on those who show the deepest understanding of the dangers threatening our country. There are in truth some half dozen individuals and corporations from whom in recent years we have received in some years amounts running as high as from \$5,000 to \$10,000. But please be assured that we leave no stone unturned to bring our needs to the attention of many people. We pay no one any commission for bringing us money, which is the usual way of most organizations, but rely on our own efforts. Perhaps I should qualify this by saying that three times in the past (in 1932, 1933, and 1946) we had special arrangements for hiring men to get us money. In all other cases we have got it ourselves, and that means, in most of the larger cases, I have had to go after it myself.

We try to keep our expenses as low as possible. We have substantial offices in this very excellent Empire State Building, but I may say, confidentially, that we are paying only a fraction of the regular rent, due to the fact that the owners are deeply sympathetic with what we are doing. I do not believe anybody in the organization is overpaid, and they are certainly hard workers.

I shall communicate with two or three other people to see if we can interest them in a substantial contribution toward the \$5,000 necessary to bring Mr. Palmer here.

I expect to be in Chicago Wednesday and Thursday of this week, and perhaps can get some one or two subscriptions there.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JANUARY 3, 1940.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
230 Main Street, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: We have now raised slightly more than \$5,000 toward the bringing of Mr. Cecil Palmer to the United States as a speaker, and we have just cabled him asking him to arrange to reach the United States by late January. Enthusiasm is growing among all those whom we have consulted about bringing Mr. Palmer over here, and I am glad to say that everybody seems more and more of the opinion that he can make a very valuable contribution to the solution of many of our problems.

We shall be glad to receive your check for \$1,000 at your convenience.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 6, 1940.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,
Box 108, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: We acknowledge with thanks receipt of the check of the William Volker Charities Fund for \$1,000 for the Cecil Palmer Fund.

I shall keep you informed about developments with respect to Mr. Palmer. I think he will arrive here sometime during the first week of February, but I will know definitely within a week.

He is looking forward to the trip, and I find the interest of all our friends in what Palmer can do for America is growing.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 6, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Outside of moving my records and files for temporary storage in Mr. Wigglesworth's store-room, I have been, and still am, devoting all my time and energies to your interests. I expect to get moved sometime today, and will then let you know when to start addressing me at Room 1000 National Press Building.

Clarence Cannon managed to get most of the committee staff to resign; but I have been advised to sit tight and wait for the committee to meet and organize before foreclosing myself on any separation pay they may allow in the final analysis. Those advising me are well acquainted with our arrangements, and approve entirely.

I do not expect that I will be called upon to assist any minority members of the committee other than Wigglesworth; and that will make it much easier under our arrangements.

Vursell, of Illinois, has told me he wants our help on housing (which he expects to oppose), but, as you know, the data is prepared and well in hand, and will take no great amount of time.

Word comes to me from a prominent Democrat that Mr. Cannon is likely to run into opposition to his way of doing things, because he does not stand too well with a great many of the majority.

If you have a 1947 Congressional Record, you might look at Cannon's "obituary" therein (one of the longest on record), and see where he claims credit for having eliminated dilatory tactics in the House, and for establishing the investigative staff which has saved many millions, etc. A lot of pure bunk.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. DARGER.

WILMINGTON, DEL., January 7, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York City 1.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of January 3, according to my record (see your letter of November 12), the \$3,000 gift of stock mentioned in the second paragraph of your letter was for the purpose of sending books to various educational institutions. Now I find that I have received from you only 800 names of recipients of the educational books and that none have been received for the \$3,000 of last January. To keep my record for tax purposes, I should have these names available when my accounts are audited by the Government. Would be obliged to you if you will send the names in question.

Yours very truly,

IRÉNÉE DU PONT.

JANUARY 8, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Mr. Brand and I talked for about an hour this forenoon. He's a very able and sound person, and, as I thought, we speak the same language.

He mentioned plans for a dinner to raise council funds, and I made such suggestions as I could as to persons it may be well to invite. Hope they will be worth something to you, him, and the council.

It was also suggested by Mr. Brand that I mention to you the use being made of the Interior Department auditorium and the Labor Department auditorium. The former has been used recently for showing Russian films, and has been used in the past for other gatherings of questionable kinds. The latter is frequently, and long has been, used for radical gatherings attended by persons of questionable reputations. Such uses, of course, are at the expenses of the taxpayers for light, cleaning, elevator, and other services. Mr. Brand thought you might at some time be able to use these facts as a "filler" in council letters or otherwise.

I am to keep in touch with Mr. Brand from time to time, and he is to contact me with any advice and suggestions he may have.

Nothing was found here, either in the press or on the radio, concerning our release on housing; and, while I did not expect much, if anything, in the local papers, I had hoped that one or more commentators might mention the matter last night. Both the radio and the press were completely taken up with the resignation of Marshall and the appointment of Acheson as his successor—a helluva shame, if ever there was one.

Acheson's appointment, in the face of facts showing him to have headed the pro-Russian group when he was in State before is an insult to the Un-American Activities Committee, to Congress, and to the self-respecting public. Truman's attitude is one of completely backing up his "red herring" cry; yet some so-called and self-styled Republicans in Congress hailed it as a good appointment.

You'll recall the definition of proof of treason in the Constitution: Testimony of two witnesses, or confession in open court. And there's another rule of evidence that some things may be proven only by the testimony of two witnesses or one witness and corroborating circumstances. Well, High Tax Harry has almost brought himself within both of those definitions and rules of evidence.

He's very defiant, for a minority President. But he's as cocky as any rooster ever hatched in the Ozarks of Missouri.

Few people mention it, but, to my mind, here's about the most significant fact coming out of the November 2 election: That seven hundred thousand-odd voters who voted failed to vote for either Presidential candidate. That seems to me to reflect the attitude of protestant voters—those who recognized the sameness of both candidates, and said "a plague on both your houses," and refused to support either. They were using their heads; and, if it were possible to reach those voters, some good may be accomplished in getting them to spread the gospel for the future.

TRUMAN'S PROGRAM

His program is a reproduction of the blueprint laid down by Fred M. Vinson in his last report as Administrator, War Mobilization and Reconversion, wherein

he suggested, in substance: Continued high taxes, and enforced buying of Government bonds, as a means of "siphoning away," as he put it, of the excess purchasing power of the people, so that inflation or deflation, whichever threatens, could be controlled. His was a blueprint for a completely managed economy and all-out regimentation.

I have a complete analysis of that report, and will send it and the report, if you happen to want them.

The New Deal has usually given lip service to private industry; but the lip service gets weaker day by day, and will soon pass out altogether.

The plans and propositions advanced are conflicting in their terms, as well as in their purposes; and Mr. Truman has now gone so far as to seek to put the United States Government into the steel business on a grand scale. If that happens, other industries will suffer a like intrusion; and the end will not be distant.

Why industry falls for these things, and why the market should respond favorably on the mere hope that Truman will not get everything he wants, surpasses my weak understanding.

Truman's Economic Council, as it did when advising on the Marshall plan, once again suggests that Government spending is inflationary (as Truman himself did in August 1946), but the Council then puts its foot into the pie by going along with many schemes for governmental interference and regimentation that the warning becomes a joke.

The whole thing calls to mind a book by Garet Garrett, written in about 1936, entitled, "The Revolution Was," wherein he described the screwball things done by the New Deal as a peaceful revolution that had slipped up and passed without recognition as a revolution. Truman's plans and schemes merely adds new nails to the coffin of that revolution, and accentuates it and its peaceful passage.

Am enclosing a few clippings that may furnish you some additional lights on current events, to which I have attached a few brief comments.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. RABER.

JANUARY 10, 1949.

Memorandum to: Mrs. Dall.

From: Mr. Hart.

Please note attached copy of letter of January 7 from Mr. Irénée du Pont.

Mr. du Pont sent us four separate checks in 1948. In January he sent one check for \$2,000 and another (this was not a check, it was 50 shares of petroleum stock) for about \$3,000. The stock sold for between \$2,900 and \$3,000.

Then in July he sent us \$3,000 and in late November he sent us \$3,000.

We understood that his \$2,000 check of January was for the purchase of 200 subscriptions but that the 50 shares of petroleum stock was a gift—a regular contribution. We assumed also that the \$3,000 he sent us in July was a contribution—just like the \$2,000 he sent us in January.

When he sent his \$3,000 in late November, he made clear that this was for the purchase of 300 subscriptions. Just prior to sending this late November check, he notified us that it was his intent to make the \$3,000 in July a payment for 300 subscriptions to our publications. We corrected our records to conform with this statement of his intention.

By his letter of January 7 (copy attached), he indicates that when he gave us the stock certificate in January of 1948, he intended that also to be for the purchase of 300 subscriptions.

In other words, he wants the whole \$11,000 which he sent us in 1948 to be for the purchase of 1,100 subscriptions.

We must be governed by what Mr. du Pont tells us was his intent—even though in sending the 50 shares of petroleum stock last January, he erroneously stated, as I think he did, that it was a contribution.

Mr. du Pont is an extremely busy man and might easily have become confused on such a matter. Therefore, it becomes our duty to find 300 subscriptions to charitable, educational, and religious corporations, which subscriptions have been in force since January of last year, and allocate them to Mr. Irénée du Pont.

Mr. du Pont brings this matter up in response to my letter requesting him to give us \$5,000 in January 1949.

If we can't find 800 of these subscriptions, then we will have to find as large a proportion as we can. My impression is that there are 150 subscriptions which Mr. Earhart did not renew last year and which started about the same time or a little later. If that is true, we can begin with those.

Mr. du Pont is accustomed to leave a little later in January for Cuba, to be gone for 3 or 4 months, and hence it is important to get him this list as soon as possible.

MERWIN K. HART.

JANUARY 6, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Thank you for sending me Howard Rhoades' letter of December 29.

Rhoades, as you could see, is one of our very warm friends. He spent most of his life in the American News Co., rising to a position of considerable importance. Then a dozen or more years ago he was stricken with tuberculosis and had to go to Saranac. The disease was arrested, but he was unable to resume work. He gives all of his time to conducting a 1-man campaign to save the country, and he accomplishes something, too.

Now as to the answer to his question: I am sure it lies in the greater activity, in an organized way, of citizens. Organizations like the National Economic Council, Committee for Constitutional Government, Cathrine Curtis' outfit and numerous others, do very real work, but the aggregate of their work is not enough.

The business of socialistic bureaucrats of seizing this country, either for them or their Communist successors, has become big business. The effort to hold the country for those of us who believe in private enterprise—and I am convinced they are a large majority of all people, is not commensurate with that of the Socialists.

Having this in mind, I got some 15 men together in my office one day in late November. I asked you to join us but you were unable to do so. Those present included Senator Albert W. Hawkes, Congressman Howard Buffet of Nebraska, and a dozen or so additional men all of whom, including Earl Harding who is one of the most thoughtful students of affairs I know, Rogers Dunn of the Little Dunn Survey, etc., are men of action.

I urged this crowd that the time had now arrived to develop an adequate movement to stop socialism—that I thought the country was ready for it; the potential followers are ready for it; adequate money could, I think, be obtained—all that is needed is adequate leadership, and I urged Senator Hawkes to take the lead.

We talked for some 8 hours, and then appointed a committee of 6 who met 10 days later and sat for 6 hours. When we got through we had agreed on two things: First, to ask Robert B. Dresser, of Providence, to draft a statement addressed to the country, that could be signed by 200 or 300 100-percent Americans calling upon the country to follow; and, secondly, that Senator Hawkes, on his return from a much-needed vacation on which he was just starting (and from which he is now about to return) would give a small dinner in Washington, inviting carefully selected Senators and Congressmen of both political parties and a few of us laymen, and he intimated that if he received indications from these legislators of their willingness to cooperate and support such a movement, he would probably take the leadership of it.

Now of course Senator Hawkes has his enemies. But no man who has taken a stand on behalf of America has failed to be smeared. We cannot pass a man over because he has been smeared. The very fact that he has been smeared and has stood up under it would indicate that he will stand up under further smearing.

Senator Hawkes, I am sure, knows his own limitations. He is 70 years of age, though still exceedingly vigorous. He has been identified with big business. He has been president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. But all these points which might be considered by some people to be disadvantageous, are to my way of thinking all in his favor.

Senator Hawkes, more than any man I know who has been active in the game of fighting in the open for private enterprise, will be able to raise money in a large amount. My guess is that it will require as much as \$10,000,000 a year for 5 years. If the United Jewish Appeal can raise \$150,000,000 in a year, it would seem as though a movement to save America could raise \$10,000,000.

But it all depends, I think, on our ability to present the American people with a program and leadership which they will readily recognize as adequate.

The formation of this sort of group need not in the least interfere with the activities of organizations like the Economic Council, the Committee for Constitutional Government, etc. Indeed, this over-all group could see to it that those organizations got more adequate funds. They could set up a policy committee which would be a kind of general staff, and whose business it would be to formulate broad policies, to raise the money, and to see that the entire pro-American front was manned adequately.

I am waiting daily for word from Senator Hawkes on his return from the South. When I have further information I will advise you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

WILMINGTON 08, DEL., January 10, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of January 6, in regard to discussions and plans for further public education was duly received.

All you say sounds good to me, but I cannot refrain from raising the usual question: "To whom is the new organization going to talk? Who are they going to educate?" Obviously, the answer must be "the public," but just how is a group, such as you suggest, going to talk to the man on the street in such a way as to have him listen. Unless you have the answer to this question, I think you will probably be wasting money.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

Personal and confidential

JANUARY 12, 1949.

Memorandum to Mrs. Dall.
From Mr. Hart.

I have thought of a way to handle the matter of those 300 subscriptions which Mr. Irénée du Pont thought that he was purchasing a year ago by giving us 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock.

You showed me the other day complimentary subscriptions totaling about 150 of various public libraries, colleges, and churches, and we will consider that they were paid for by Mr. du Pont's stock certificate.

This leaves 150 subscriptions unprovided for and to meet this situation please have Miss Schilling make up an additional list and send our publications to them for a year commencing January 1, 1949.

When this list is made up, please let me have it and I will send it in a further communication to Mr. du Pont.

In the meantime, notice attached copy of letter to Mr. du Pont.

MERWIN K. HART.

JANUARY 12, 1949.

Mr. IRÉNÉE DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: I called you on the telephone this morning to discuss the contents of your recent letter in which you told us that both contributions which you made to the National Economic Council in January 1948 were intended to purchase subscriptions.

We got an erroneous impression of your desire in the matter because you, apparently inadvertently, in your letter of January 7, 1948, mentioned the 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock as "a contribution to the work of the council."

Accordingly, we have altered our records to conform to what we now know was your desire, namely, that the proceeds of the Phillips Petroleum stock, as well as the \$2,000 for which you sent your check, were intended to purchase subscriptions.

We have about 150 subscriptions which we have been considering of a complimentary nature, and which have been going to colleges, public libraries and

churches for something more than a year. It will be entirely proper to consider that these were actually paid for by your subscription.

This would leave about 150 subscriptions which we cannot properly credit to your subscription. Hence, if you so desire, we will immediately allot 150 fresh institutions of the three kinds indicated to your account and will consider that they were paid for by the other half of the proceeds of the 50 shares of Phillips Petroleum stock which you gave us a year ago. If we do not hear from you to the contrary, we will send you this additional list within a few days.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING,
New York 1, N. Y., January 12, 1940.

Mr. HARRY S. BARGER,
246 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARGER: When we got your letter two days ago, we changed your address and have been sending material to 1060 National Press Building. Do you want us to continue sending mail there, or to send it to the Old House Office Building?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Copy to 1060 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

JANUARY 15, 1940.

MR. HART: Send all mail in future, and until further notice, to room 1060, National Press Building. The telephone there is NATIONAL 2472.

H. S. B.

Hereafter, I'll be in and out around the Capitol, and, in event of urgency, I may be reached at Mr. Wigglesworth's office, NATIONAL 3120, Extension 770, and you might also have the operator ask at Extension 1065 until further notice. However, the Press Building will be headquarters.

RALPH W. GWINN,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 19, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART, *President,*
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: We are having a meeting of the minority side of the Education and Labor Committee on Monday morning at 10:30, a good time to discuss strategy.

I think most of our efforts will be directed toward saving what provisions we can in the Taft-Hartley Act. There's not much of a chance of repealing the act.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH.

JANUARY 17, 1940.

Dr. ROY R. KRACKE,
Dean of the Medical College of Alabama,
620 South Twentieth Street, Birmingham 5, Ala.

DEAR DR. KRACKE: The National Economic Council, an organization of citizens that are a cross section of all States of the country, has published the enclosed Council Letter (its regular semimonthly publication) on political medicine. Already this has been widely circulated. Copies of the original letter, or of reprints from the letter as inserted in the Congressional Record, have been printed and mailed to the number of over a half million and the total number is likely to exceed a million.

The National Economic Council stands for the maintenance of private enterprise and what we call the American way of life. The enclosed letter gives the story of the council. It states its objectives and lists its officers and directors.

The purpose of this letter is to say that we would like to get copies of this letter into the hands of every medical student in your school. We are able to make a price of .020 each on copies sufficient to go to all of your medical students, provided you simply state the number of students and tell us to whom they should be sent.

The vast number of practicing physicians and surgeons believe in the maintenance of private enterprise, we find, and certainly are opposed to socialized or political medicine, such as they now have in England.

By the same token, it seems to us that your men and women studying medicine will wish to be informed about "the other side" of the argument with respect to political medicine.

Let me say that the price quoted above for this publication is a price that has been specially made for medical-school students.

We shall be glad to hear from you as promptly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

South Norwalk, Conn., January 19, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

THE ROCK LEDGE INSTITUTE, INC.,

DEAR MR. HART: At the request of Mr. James H. Rand, the trustees of the institute, which was organized for medical research, have considered the matter of contributing to the National Economic Council.

Due to the fact that the institute was organized for medical research, they feel that such a contribution is not proper. However, they are making an exception this year and have approved a contribution of \$500. The trustees feel that they should not be asked to contribute any further.

Accordingly, there is enclosed herewith check in the amount of \$500, payable to the National Economic Council, Inc.

Sincerely,

W. C. HOYT, *Treasurer.*

JANUARY 20, 1949.

THE ROCK LEDGE INSTITUTE,

Highland Avenue, South Norwalk, Conn.

(Attention Mr. W. C. Hoyt, Treasurer.)

DEAR MR. HOYT: We acknowledge with thanks the institute's check for \$500 for the National Economic Council.

We greatly appreciate this, and note the statements of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

1060 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: Congressman Vursell and several others have made most favorable comment on your "Political medicine" council letter, and I'm told some of them are getting ready to make opposition speeches along the lines of the letter. I told Vursell I didn't think you'd get very angry if he inserted the letter in the Record.

Today I sent you a list of the doubtful Members of the House and Senate, as I remembered them. Tomorrow, I will get a better and more concise list. Vursell has promised to collaborate on it.

He has also promised to get for me a list of the House Members who make radio recordings or "platters" and then have them broadcast over radio station in their districts. Such a list might assist in your work.

Several doctor friends have commented, also, on the council letter, and one or two have promised to furnish me some data on the subject of state medicine. I'll send it along as soon as I can get it.

The enclosed clipping, William Phillip Simms' column of January 14, 1949, Marshall Plan Disillusion, is interesting and, I believe, true. But will our go-

along Congressmen do anything toward stopping it or safeguarding American interests?

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

JANUARY 14, 1949.

MARSHALL PLAN DISILLUSION

(By William Phillip Simms)

Those who believe the 4-year \$18,000,000,000 Marshall plan will of itself put Europe on its feet are in for a bitter awakening.

The experts who last year said it would do that, today are saying it won't. Instead, they say the United States faces further enormous sacrifices to prevent European collapse.

"The situation," observes the authoritative London Economist, "will still inevitably require deep drafts on American generosity and breadth of mind." It admits that "America was solemnly assured that 4 years would be enough," but the experts were wrong.

The British weekly concedes further dollar grants may not prove feasible. Even so, the United States won't be able to wash its hands of the matter. Four years hence, as well as now, it will have to contrive to go on if only for its own sake.

Europe still will not be self-supporting. At least not without Eastern Europe—which means the Soviet bloc—and there isn't the faintest sign of help from that direction. Raw materials and food especially will be needed, and without dollars Europeans are wondering where these will come from.

An alternative is suggested. Nondollar sources might be developed. "American capital," says the Economist, "may be invited to assist in the development of natural resources—in Africa, for example—which are at least in part substitutes for American sources of supply." The United States may have to make "a permanent and painful adjustment in its own economy."

In other words, we may have to provide capital to build up or expand foreign enterprises which would cut the ground from under some of our own commerce. We may be "invited" voluntarily to share our export business—say in South America—in order to build up Europe's exports.

The interim report submitted by the Marshall plan countries is due for a going-over when Congress takes up the \$4,500,000,000 aid item in President Truman's new budget.

Instead of being a master plan in which the 19 beneficiaries try to make their individual programs dovetail in a single blueprint, the report sets forth what each nation would like to do rather than what it probably can do. It would leave Europe 4 years hence annually about \$3,000,000,000 in the red.

Robert Marjolin, secretary-general of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, warns that unless the beneficiaries stabilize their currencies and make other necessary reforms, "a series of economic and political crises" lie ahead. He indicates failure might have "catastrophic" results.

The Economist says frankly that "as long as free dollars are forthcoming, there is something less than the maximum pressure on European nations to cut their imports to the bone. And so long as European purchasing power in world markets is buttressed by Marshall dollars," the odds are lengthened against painful but necessary readjustments.

Many in Congress are likely to agree with this British view. Congress was—and probably still is—overwhelmingly in favor of the European recovery program. But Members are almost certain to insist both on a program and on its being European—not just a jumble of relief projects for individual nations which may collapse, one by one, as soon as the aid is withdrawn.

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: Exactly 8 hours from now High-Tax Harry will take an oath (on two Bibles) that he will uphold and support the Constitution and laws of the United States. What a travesty.

He's already listed and proposed 20 measures or programs of sociological, paternalistic slants which in almost every instance will do violence to every-

thing we have understood the Constitution to mean. (See Congressional Record, January 18, 1949, p. 466, sent today under separate cover.)

Truman gives every promise to relegate to the deep shadows everything Roosevelt did in the squandering line; and it seems certain the galloping hounds of waste have a good chance, during the ensuing 4 years, to drive this Nation into complete bankruptcy or worse.

Of course, the schemes of Truman for spending and an expanding bureaucracy are tentative; and he assured that others will be added as the fertile brains of the bureaucrats and the intellectuals can conjure them up.

Yea, verily, the oath to be taken today will be a hollow mockery, as it has been during the past 15 years.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

GREAT FALLS, MONT., January 21, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
903 First National Bank Building, Utica 2, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have just read your January 15 council letter No. 207 which must stir the heart of every true American who may have the opportunity to read it. I most heartily congratulate you.

In the letter referred to, you mention the pressure group and the conspirators, but you do not say who. Why?

Should the people not be advised as to why, apparently, Communist spies cannot be prosecuted in this country?

I subscribe to a paper, London Tidings, published in London, England. Several months past the editor of said paper in his estimate of Communists in England, Australia, Canada, and elsewhere, stated that there are about 400 Communists in our State Department. If true, is that the power group?

A direct reply to this communication is neither expected nor requested; but some mention of such questions now confronting every thinking American would, I feel quite sure, be appreciated if set forth in one of your council letters.

Herewith enclosed is my personal check for \$2 for which please send me additional copies of the January 15 council letter No. 207.

With much appreciation of the good work you are doing, and most sincerely hoping it may serve the purpose intended before the same kind of a mob who shouted for Julius Caesar, Hitler, Mussolini (you spell it), Stalin, and one or two during the past 16 years in this country, and who shouted to Pontius Pilate to deliver the Christ rather than Barabbas, have sold their liberty for a political promised pittance in comparison.

Very truly yours,

RALPH E. CHAMBERLAIN.

ATLANTA DENTAL SUPPLY CO.,
Atlanta 1, Ga., January 19, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Please quote price on 2,000 reprint copies of your letter No. 206 on the subject of political medicine, also advise time necessary to deliver and oblige.

Yours very truly,

ATLANTA DENTAL SUPPLY CO.
P. L. BLACKSHEAR.

JANUARY 21, 1949.

Mr. P. L. BLACKSHEAR,
Atlanta Dental Supply Co., Candler Building,
Post Office Box 1680, Atlanta 1, Ga.

DEAR MR. BLACKSHEAR: Referring to your letter of January 19, the price for copies of council letter No. 206 is at the rate of \$40 per thousand for 2,000 (postage included).

We can ship these to you at once upon receipt of your order.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

WASHINGTON OFFICE

1302 Eighteenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

JANUARY 21, 1949.

BULLETIN No. 2

BILL LOG JAM

This is our second bulletin reporting briefly upon bills introduced in the Eighty-first Congress. Because all committees, under the Reorganization of Congress Act, must file all bills of the last Congress with the Archivist, many of last year's bills have been reintroduced for the purpose of preservation. This volume of old bills, added to the normal flow, has thrown a heavy burden of work upon the Government Printing Office, causing a log jam. Other health bills have been introduced in both Houses, but have not been printed as yet. They will be reported in a later bulletin after we have had an opportunity to study the printed copies.

PERSONNEL OF COMMITTEES

The membership of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has now been officially announced as follows:

Democrats:

Elbert D. Thomas, Utah, Chairman
James E. Murray, Montana
Claude Pepper, Florida
Lister Hill, Alabama
Matthew M. Neely, West Virginia
Paul H. Douglas, Illinois
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota
(Garrett L. Withers, Kentucky)

Republicans:

Robert A. Taft, Ohio
George D. Aiken, Vermont
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey
Wayne Morse, Oregon
Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri

NEW BILLS INTRODUCED

Senate

S. 120, Federal Assistance to State Aid Programs. By Mr. Hill, of Alabama, January 5 (for himself and Mr. Sparkman).

Increases Federal assistance to State aid programs for the aged, dependent children, and the blind. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

S. 205, Amending Hospital Construction Act. By Mr. Downey, of California, January 5.

Extending time for employing Hospital Construction Act funds having a retroactive effect. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

This bill is similar to S. 231, which was reported in bulletin No. 1.

S. 247, Establishment of National Science Foundation. By Mr. Thomas of Utah, January 6 (for himself, Mr. Kilgore, Mr. Fulbright, Mr. Smith of New Jersey, Mr. Cordon, and Mr. Saltonstall).

Providing for the establishment of a National Science Foundation, this bill is the new version of S. 526 of the Eightieth Congress which passed both Houses of Congress last session but was pocket-vetoed by the President. Several changes have been made in the bill which will be commented upon later. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

S. 522, Amending Public Health Service Act. By Mr. Hill, of Alabama, January 17 (for himself, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Cordon, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Smith of New Jersey, Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Malone, Mr. Kefauver, and Mr. Knowland).

Authorities assistance to States and public subdivisions in the development and maintenance of local public health units. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This bill is similar to the committee bill (H. R. 5044) of the 80th Congress.

House bills

H. R. 352, Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. By Mr. Celler, of New York, January 3.

Enlarges upon terms such as "injury" and "employee," provides for a medical fee schedule set by the Commissioner, and provides increases in compensation. Will be commented upon later. Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H. R. 440, Health Expense Income Tax Deductions. By Mr. Keating, of New York, January 3.

Providing additional tax deductions from gross income, amending section 23 (x) internal-revenue laws permitting medical expense deduction from adjusted gross income. Referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 790, Cancer Research. By Mrs. Douglas of California, January 5.

This bill is similar to S. 68 reported in Bulletin No. 1. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. R. 857, Antivivisection. By Mr. Lemke of North Dakota, January 5.

Antivivisection. Prohibits experimentation on dogs in the District of Columbia. Referred to the District of Columbia Committee.

H. R. 991, Amending the Public Health Service Act. By Mr. Keefe, of Wisconsin, January 6.

Extending coverage including hospitals furnishing primarily domiciliary care. Referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 1181, Dispensary Treatment and Hospitalization for Retired Servicemen. By Mr. Boggs, of Louisiana, January 10.

Providing free dispensary treatment and hospitalization in Army and Navy hospitals for retired Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard personnel, including subsistence without cost. Referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 1375, Multiple Sclerosis. By Mr. Javits, of New York, January 13.

Providing research investigation respecting the cause, prevention, and treatment of multiple sclerosis. This bill is similar to S. 102 as reported in Bulletin No. 1. Referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

NEBRASKA LEGISLATURE PETITIONS CONGRESS

The Honorable Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska, extending his remarks into the appendix of the January 17 Congressional Record, had this to say (quoting from p. A212, Congressional Record, appendix, January 17, 1949):

"Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, one of the early actions of the Nebraska State Legislature was the passage of the Legislative Resolution 2. This resolution takes a firm position against compulsory health insurance.

"I wish to extend my remarks by including herein a copy of said resolution:

"LEGISLATIVE RESOLUTION 2—RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO A NATIONAL COMPULSORY SICKNESS INSURANCE PROGRAM

"Whereas the American people now enjoy the highest level of health, the best standards of scientific medical care, and the finest medical institutions ever attained by any major country in the world; and

"Whereas these accomplishments of American medicine are the results of a free people working under a system of free enterprise; and

"Whereas the experience of all countries where government has assumed control of medical care has been a progressive deterioration of medical standards and medical care, to the detriment of the health of the people: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in sixty-first session assembled:

"1. That the Legislature of the State of Nebraska respectfully request the Congress of the United States to refrain from imposing upon the citizens of this Nation any form of compulsory insurance, or any system of medical care designed for national bureaucratic control.

"2. That Nebraska Senators and Representatives now in the Congress of the United States be and are hereby respectfully requested to use every effort at their command to prevent the enactment of such legislation.

"3. That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the clerk of the legislature to the President of the United States, the presiding officers of the United States Senate and United States House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Congressman from Nebraska."

CONCLUSION

The above resolution from a State legislature is indeed pertinent. By far the majority of the bills introduced in the National Capitol to date have approached the health problem by proposing the granting of Federal assistance through the several States. It would certainly be well for other State legislatures to make known the feeling of their people in respect to the compulsory health features of the few bills now pending before the United States Congress in which that subject is made a part of the bill.

ADDITION TO STAFF

James W. Foristel, executive director of Select Committee on Small Business of the United States House of Representatives of the Eightieth Congress, has joined the staff of the Washington office as legal adviser. Mr. Foristel is a graduate of St. Louis University (LL.B. degree, 1934) and engaged in the general practice of law until 1942. After serving 4 years in the Navy, he became congressional secretary to Hon. Walter C. Ploeser in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

JOS. S. LAWRENCE, M. D.,
Director, Washington Office.

JANUARY 17, 1940.

MR. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: We continue almost daily to get additional checks from those to whom your letter of December 10 went. We will make you a report a little later as to those persons who gave since our last report to you.

The January letter will go out this week and will be addressed to about 4,000 names. Scrupulous care has been taken to avoid duplication.

In this connection, several of us in the Economic Council have been talking, and we think it would be an excellent thing if you would be willing to join our board of directors and become chairman of our finance committee.

Membership on the board would not be very burdensome, for the board, as such, meets only once or twice a year.

The work of the chairman of the finance committee would likewise, I think, not be very burdensome. Requests for money going out over your name as such officer would have great weight with many thousands of people in all parts of the country. When letters go out over my name as president, many of the recipients probably think that I am getting a very juicy slice of what comes in. As a matter of fact, my salary, which is supposed to be \$10,000 a year (much less than half of what I formerly earned in other work), is always in arrears. I do not think there has been a single year when I have drawn the full amount.

But letters going out over your name would inspire people with confidence, for they would know that you had no financial interest in it.

It would greatly hearten us if you would give consideration to this suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON, DEL., *January 20, 1940.*

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of January 17, inviting me to become a member of the board of directors of the Council, was duly received.

Since my retirement from executive work, I have endeavored to reduce my responsibilities and commitments, so am very loath to take on additional responsibilities. Further, I believe that I can do the Council more good by not being a member of the board, than by being a member. You certainly have my interest, and I believe you will continue to have my support.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

JANUARY 24, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
du Pont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: As you may imagine, I am chagrined at the error in the mailing of a considerable number of your envelopes from this office, stamped and addressed, but with no contents.

We have not been able to ascertain just how it happened. But we have taken steps that will prevent such a thing happening again. I greatly regret the inconvenience and annoyance to yourself.

We received on Saturday the envelopes you sent us that had been received by you, and immediately we mailed freshly addressed envelopes with the proper contents to all of those names. We shall follow this course in the case of any further envelopes that may be received from you, and we shall be obliged to you if you will forward to me promptly any that come.

Probably no explanation to the recipients will be needed, for the receipt of a letter with contents within 2 or 3 days after receiving the empty envelope will probably clear up the matter in the minds of the addressees. I regret, too, the inconvenience it has caused them.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 27, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
du Pont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Confirming telephone conversation today, we are especially pleased to receive a check this morning from the Beech Aircraft Corp. of Wichita, Kans., for \$5,008.05. The accompanying letter tells that this represents 1 penny per share for each share of issued and outstanding stock.

On the face of the check are the words,

"Payment for work in opposing socialism and communism in America, and for the maintenance and strengthening of American private enterprise, private property and individual initiative."

It would be a splendid thing if we could enlist other organizations to pay us for our "work" on this same basis.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1940.

MEMORANDUM

Subject: The administration's plans for political medicine.

Herewith is Bulletin No. 2 of the American Medical Association analyzing bills on the captioned subject. It's a very good analysis.

Looks like screw-ball bills are so numerous the Government Printing Office has a "log jam" which delays getting them out.

Note the bill by Keefe. Such things as this prompted my recent comments concerning this pompous Republican.

(NOTE.—The resolution of the Nebraska Legislature memorializing Congress to opposition to "any system of medical care designed for national bureaucratic control" is particularly apropos. If more State legislatures would do likewise, it might help stem the tide.)

These Federal health measures predominantly propose Federal assistance throughout the several States. Well, it has always been, and always will be, that whatever Federal funds finance, there will inevitably be Federal bureaucratic control and domination, whether laws provide for such control and domination, or not.

Furthermore, no such system can be devised that will prove of equal burdens and equal benefits for all people, as required by the welfare clause of the Constitution; hence, basically and theoretically, any such system will be invalid. Some States and some people will bear more of the cost than others, and some people will receive more for less cost than other people—inevitably.

Truman has been quoted as saying "the Soviet Union is not a true Communist state but merely a dictatorship," and as having explained that "in a true Communist state people are more or less equal and that profits are equally divided."

Marquis Childs, an administration back columnist, reports this sentence as having been blue pencilled in Mr. Truman's draft of his inaugural address:

"This proposal (to make available to other nations the benefits of American industrial organization, to raise living standards around the world) is intended to take up where the Marshall plan leaves off."

Then the explanation for the deletion is given:

"One reason the blue pencil crossed this out was because the President did not want to leave the impression that he was talking *only about Marshall plan countries*. He was extending the *Truman Fair Deal not merely to western Europe but to the world.*" (Emphasis added.)

Communism calls itself a democracy; Truman says we have a democracy; each wants to do the same thing, according to their lights, to wit: Raise living standards in the world. Looks like the difference is another case of Roosevelt tweedledee and tweedledum.

If Russia, as Truman says, is "merely a dictatorship," and true communism means "more or less equal" people, with "profits equally divided," it looks like Mr. Truman is striving for what he defines as "Tru-man" communism, and that for the entire world.

If Truman gets what he professes to want, he will be lacking only a politburo; and the creation of that, with himself as dictator, will be a simple matter.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Post, Saturday, January 22, 1949]

TRUMAN'S PLAN ON HIS MIND FOR MONTHS

AID TO IMPOVERISHED COUNTRIES DISCUSSED WITH FAO CHIEF DODD

(By John W. Ball, Post reporter)

President Truman's bold new program for making American scientific and industrial abilities available to underdeveloped countries of the world, has been a top subject with him for months.

It was revealed yesterday that he has discussed such a program at length with experts in world economics. Not only does the President believe that improvement of those areas would mean a long period of prosperity for the United States, as he told the Missouri congressional delegation at breakfast yesterday, but he thinks the promise of aid will divert any inclination of those areas toward communism.

Mr. Truman is believed to have studied the matter thoroughly with Morris E. Dodd, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, just before Mr. Dodd left for a trip around the world last Saturday. In fact, recent discussions have been only a part of a series of talks on the same subject with Dodd since the latter became head of FAO early last summer.

Mr. Truman's reference to this program in the inaugural address Thursday was only a more detailed statement of aims he expressed on November 24 before the FAO conference at the Shoreham Hotel. At that time the delegates of the 57 nations in FAO were discussing the FAO program to aid underdeveloped areas technologically, Mr. Truman, at that time, said:

"Underdeveloped countries offer a challenge to the ingenuity of those nations which have greater resources. FAO has clearly recognized the importance of this problem and the responsibility of all countries in helping to solve it.

"The United States is happy to join with other countries in FAO in giving freely of our technical experience and knowledge in the job of agricultural improvement—making grass grow where it never grew before—irrigating dry land—developing crops for special purposes—and combating crop plagues and pests.

"I can promise you," the President declared, raising his voice for emphasis, "that this country will continue to send its experts wherever FAO believes they are needed."

TALK WITH M'CLOY REPORTED

Dodd is also believed to have reviewed a world program along these lines with John J. McCloy, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at meetings he had with McCloy before starting his world trip.

Dodd's itinerary and the meetings he plans to take part in on his trip indicate he may be laying the groundwork—or at least getting a closer look-see—for a report back to Mr. Truman.

Dodd will spend much of his time in many countries that may be considered underdeveloped. On his itinerary are Australia, Burma, China, Egypt, Greece, India, Italy, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal, Siam, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

At the FAO conference both Australia and the United Kingdom took an active role in discussions about lending technical knowledge to peoples who are limited in that regard. Both countries have large areas of underdeveloped colonial lands. Australia not only has such areas within its own continent, but some in New Guinea and elsewhere that can use such assistance. The United Kingdom is attempting programs like Mr. Truman proposed in several parts of Africa.

LONG ASIA VISIT PLANNED

Most of Dodd's 3 months' trip will be spent in Asia. He will arrive at Karachi, Pakistan, February 9. On March 7 he will open the International Rice Commission in Bangkok. On March 24 he will open the first organizational meeting of the FAO-sponsored Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council in Singapore. He also hopes to attend the International Forestry and Timber Utilization Conference for Asia and the Pacific to start at Mysore, India, March 28.

While in Bangkok, Dodd will consult with William H. Cummings, FAO regional representative for Asia and the Far East, on plans for the newly established office there to serve the Far East.

In London, Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Athens, Istanbul, and Ankara, Dodd will give particular attention to (1) restoration of the livestock industry in war-devastated lands, (2) reestablishment of trade between eastern and western Europe, and (3) increased output of forest products.

At Cairo he will confer with FAO Representative M. T. Hefnawy Pasha and government officials from FAO member countries in the Near East on problems of irrigation and drainage, insect control, improved seeds, and more adequate supplies of fertilizers and other agricultural requisites.

In the Far East his attention will center on the principal agricultural problem in that great area—increased production within the region itself to overcome its chronic food shortage.

Dodd will meet with the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which is working jointly with FAO in discovering and reporting on the need for agricultural aid.

MEETING FIT PATTERN

Problems Dodd expects to discuss with government officials on all points include means for financing projects, control of animal disease, improved transport and betterment of the nutritive value of rice and rice diets.

All meetings that have been arranged for the FAO chief deal with matters that would fit into a program such as Mr. Truman proposed Thursday.

Further, at the recent FAO conference, several American speakers—officials in the administration—discussed the benefits that might result in extending the Agriculture Cooperative Extension Service, that has proved so successful an agricultural educational medium between the Federal department and the States—to foreign countries.

It was proposed that experienced extension workers be sent abroad to help set up similar agencies in foreign countries. Modern methods and the adoption of improved insecticides, fertilizers, land-use practices, and soil and moisture conservation measure would result in vastly increased yields in many areas not now self-sufficient in food production, experts declare.

President Truman's recommendations fit in perfectly with many of the FAO programs developed in recent years.

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: Herewith is an inspired article describing Truman's "World Plan," and how he's been studying it for months.

Woodrow Wilson (8 years in office) took us into World War I to make the world safe for democracy (some facetiously say "for the Democrats"); it took

Roosevelt 10 years to take us into, and through, World War II, now clearly apparent, to make the world safe for the Communists, which he recognized in November 1934; and it looks like Truman will use the next 4 years (or more) in the equivalent of communizing the world.

In other words, it took six or more Democratic administrations to get this country to forsake the sound advice of Washington to remain free of entangling foreign alliances. Now, we're in 'em up to our eyebrows, and seemingly for all time.

The conclusion is inescapable that the aspirations and desires of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman have been the cause of these things—each wanted to be the very biggest man in, and the leader of, the entire world.

Such, too, was the ambition of Napoleon, Cromwell, and others, all of whom failed.

What's the harvest to be, now that political Zionism is so strongly in the picture? They say they're God's chosen; and some hint that He may have made a poor choice.

To recent times, Republicans have been free of these evils; but it looks like they're failing, too.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 24, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: Herewith are my file copies of memoranda concerning the reciprocal trade agreements, and a copy of the questions prepared for Representative Reed, at his request.

The paragraphs marginally marked with red pencil are based upon information obtained from Mr. Wigglesworth, though the memorandum containing them does not so state.

You will find, too, that the questions prepared for and at the request of Representative Reed contain other factual data in the suggested questions.

If you wish, you may return these to me when they have served your purpose.

Not until today was I able to get data on imports of watches from the Tariff Commission; but it is enclosed herewith.

I believe you will find the enclosures self-explanatory; and, with hearings scheduled through Friday of this week, you may be able to send something down and get a hearing, or, at least, have your statement put into the record.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

JANUARY 21, 1940.

MISS CATHERINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C.

DEAR CATHERINE: I just talked with you on the telephone, and am glad you liked our Political Medicine. We are sending you 25 copies today.

We will be glad indeed to have the list to which you refer.

It really is a hell of a situation in Washington, isn't it?

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

JANUARY 24, 1940.

MISS CATHERINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C.

DEAR CATHERINE: Ain't it hell the way false stories get around? I refer to the story of the "famous broadcast" of January 18.

It astounds me that the Times-Herald cut out the Pegler column which appeared in the Journal-American. Frank Waldrop must be completely in the hands of the left-wingers, or certainly under their substantial influence.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C., January 19, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: At last I found time over the week end to read your recent letter on Political Medicine. It is a peach; one of the best you have done, I believe.

I wish you would send me about 25 copies and I will get them in good spots immediately.

Would you like to have a list of names to whom you could send this letter? They will not be people of means, but rather middle-class individuals, members of labor unions, school teachers, etc. They will be small-town individuals who probably do not see metropolitan newspapers and know little of socialized-medicine problems. I will be glad to send it to you if you would like to do a mailing.

Hell is certainly popping in the House Labor Committee. Lezinski is throwing all law and regulations to the wind in naming staff, etc. He hopes to have former Congressman Hook, of Michigan, act as general counsel. This would be a direct pipeline to the radical groups.

If business had any idea that Mr. Truman's program is going to be an easy one and not harmful to industry, they had better wake up—and quick.

I have not been able to get a copy of Fulton Lewis' broadcast, but they promised it to me any day now.

Best wishes,

CATHRINE.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C., January 22, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Here is the famous broadcast of January 18. You do not appear in it.

Now who is crazy? Guess it's just another evidence of how people can misunderstand the spoken word.

I'll get the list along to you shortly.

Sincerely,

CATHRINE, President.

The South is up in arms over Harry's insult to southern womanhood. Not one Washington paper has carried the story. The Times-Herald even cut the Pegler column which appeared in the Journal-American.

JANUARY 10, 1949.

Hon. HOMER E. CAPEHART,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We write to compliment you on voting in opposition to the confirmation of Mr. Dean Acheson as Secretary of State.

We have felt that Mr. Acheson's long left-wing record, and his apparent lack of a realization of what close association with left-wingers and left-wing policy means, unfitted him to be Secretary of State.

As a matter of fact, I telegraphed Senator Connally the day before the hearing last Thursday, stating that I wished, on behalf of our some thousands of members, to appear before his committee and state our reasons for believing Mr. Acheson should not be Secretary of State. When I appeared in the committee room the next day, Senator Connally flatly refused to let me appear. It was apparent that they wanted no real opposition to appear.

Again congratulating you on your courageous vote.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., January 21, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you very much for your letter of January 19, in which you give your stamp of approval of my vote against confirmation of Mr. Acheson. Your thoughtfulness in writing is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely,

HOMER E. CAPEHART.

JANUARY 20, 1949.

HON. TOM CONNALLY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CONNALLY: I telegraphed you last week, Wednesday, requesting the opportunity to be heard by the Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the confirmation of Mr. Dean Acheson as Secretary of State.

The following day I was in Washington, and sat throughout the hearing. Twenty minutes before the hearing started I introduced myself to you, said I had sent that telegram and desired to be heard. You flatly stated that the committee would not hear me. You said to me, in substance, "If we were to hear all the civilians that wanted to be heard we would be here 3 weeks." I replied that I believed not as many as three civilians had even asked to be heard. The papers stated the next day that one other person besides myself was ready to be a witness.

I want to tell you, Senator, that I think your action was high-handed and about as un-American as anything I have seen. What in heaven's name are public hearings for if not for the public to present facts for consideration of its elected representatives?

This organization represents many thousands of citizens in all parts of the country, and we had a right to be heard.

I think you made a serious mistake.

You said to me, in substance, in our brief conversation, "I know you—I have heard you testify before." And you added you believed I was merely looking for a sounding-board, or words to that effect.

The only time you ever heard me testify was on the lend-lease proposal 8 years ago, when I strongly opposed lend-lease, believing it was in effect a declaration of war—as, indeed, it proved to be. In my statement I remarked that if we were to get into the war we would within 2 or 3 years be spending \$250,000,000 a day. You challenged this remark, and indicated you thought it was an unfair thing (I think you said "a contemptible thing") for me to make such a statement. I stood by my statement, adding that this figure was indicated by the amount of money Britain was then spending per day, considering the difference in population.

Two or three years later when our Government spending actually passed \$250,000,000 a day, I wrote you quoting from the record and calling attention to your remark. I told you that I did this, not in any I-told-you-so spirit, but to show that I had not been wrong. You never answered my letter.

I do not believe the people of the State of Texas would be very proud of your action last Thursday with respect to my testifying. It was the kind of thing that might have happened under Hitler.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 25, 1949.

MR. H. W. LUHNOW,
230 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: In our morning mail we received a check for \$25 from Carl R. Davis, of your organization in Seattle, and are greatly pleased to have this.

The last two or three council letters are having an extraordinary run. That on political medicine was put into the Congressional Record by two different

Congressmen, and reprints of that, coupled with our own sales (we are arranging for the fifth printing now) already total about half a million copies.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: In addition to the high-handed, one-man rule indicated for the House Appropriations Committee, a very healthy fight has developed in the House Labor Committee which indicates a purpose and intention to do everything possible to railroad and steam-roller all of Truman's "mandated" plans into law just as fast as possible.

Lesinski, of Michigan, chairman of the latter committee, fired the former staff, and, without consulting any members of his committee, installed another staff with lame-duck Hook, of Michigan, as committee counsel. Yesterday his committee was called to meet, and he presented a bill for repeal of the Tart-Hartley Act, whereupon great excitement prevailed. Democratic members reminded Lesinski that he was not the only member of the committee, and warned him that they proposed to have a voice in its business and affairs.

Result: The other members called ex Mr. Hook before them and gave him a severe quizzing, and then did likewise with the rest of the staff selected by Lesinski. They are to meet again tomorrow, and, if one member stands up, it looks as though Lesinski's staff selection and some others of his actions will be upset.

Lesinski is a rank pro-labor man from Michigan, and wants to railroad through everything labor asks. As soon as I get a chance I shall get a list of the House and Senate Members, and, using reports of contributions to the last campaign, see what I can find in the way of funds given to Lesinski and others by the CIO organizations.

There can be no doubt that the Democratic Congress means to do all within its power, by hook or crook, and by fair means or foul, to get Truman's programs and schemes enacted as quickly as possible, and appropriations made for them without undue delay.

We shall soon see whether any coalition develops against his proposals, or whether he and his leaders will be able to hold the line and force them through.

Just as soon as they are obtainable, I shall get and send you a list of the committees of both Houses. Sometimes I believe they delay getting such things out to the latest date possible.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARBER.

JANUARY 25, 1940.

MR. CECIL PALMER,

26-A The Broadway, Stanmore, Middlesex, England.

DEAR MR. PALMER: We have not had a letter from you in about a week, which I assume is due to the bad weather over the Atlantic which may have interfered with Atlantic flights. Then, too, you are, of course, very busy getting ready for your trip.

I did not hear anything further from the Association of Public Relations Counsel who had hoped that you could address a meeting which they are to have in New York on the 3d of February. I wrote you about this several days ago, explaining that you might hear directly or indirectly from them urging you to come earlier to the United States than February 2, your expected date of departure, and I wanted to be sure that you knew I was not pressurizing you. They perhaps concluded there was not sufficient time to arrange for you to speak on that day. At any rate, we are looking forward to your arrival on the 3d.

In this connection we are making plans for your reception at the airport by the press. One of my associates, Mr. Harding, himself a public relations man, is taking the matter up with the public relations man of American Overseas Airways, notifying him that you are due to arrive on that early morning at LaGuardia Field. He is explaining that you are a noted publisher, author, and lecturer from Britain, and that you are coming to the United States to tell the people of America about Britain's experience under socialism.

Both Mr. Harding and I feel that you might get a much better reception if you appeared to be coming to America of your own notion. You could readily say, if you were asked how you happened to come, that you have several friends in America who had urged you to make this visit. You have yourself told me about friends in Canada, and I know, too, that you have heard from Mr. C. T. Keever, of New York. Therefore it would be entirely truthful for you to say that.

We will have, off the press tomorrow, copies of the circular which we are going to use to make speaking engagements for you, but we do not want to release this, except in a few instances confidentially, until you have got past the press at LaGuardia Field. We want you to get as good a break as possible in papers like the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune. When they find that you are opposed to socialism in Britain, they may not give you much space, but they would give you more if they did not know that you were coming under our auspices. Of course, if you are flatly confronted with the question as to whether you are going to speak under the auspices of any organization, you may have to tell them. This will be all right with us; but as I say, you would probably get a better break if you could prevent the fact of your connection with us becoming known until after you get the first notice in the newspapers.

I suggest that you bring with you half a dozen glossy prints of your photograph, together with a couple of dozen copies of the brief statement I suggested you prepare, as you may have need of these at LaGuardia Field. We will have glossy prints ready for your use in this country.

I shall aim to be at the airport with my car, but will try to keep out of your way until after the press has interviewed you.

Arrangements have now been completed for the dinner at the University Club on Thursday, February 24, in joint honor of yourself and Mr. Fred G. Gurley, president of the Santa Fe Railroad. Mr. Gurley was greatly pleased at the prospect of speaking with you, and when I told him that I would like to invite the members of his board of directors which is meeting in New York that day, he seemed especially pleased. The Santa Fe, as perhaps you know, is one of the great systems of the country, running from Chicago through Kansas City and into the Southwest to Los Angeles, and having many branches. I very much hope that before you leave America you can ride out over this road which passes through such interesting places as the Grand Canyon. Mr. Gurley is one of our best friends.

We shall invite other railroad presidents in the general vicinity of New York, as well as many businessmen, and various writers and commentators to the dinner. It will be an audience of not over 80 or 100, I should say. We have several of these dinners a year, and they have become fairly well known, and those who attend always seem to enjoy them. There will be opportunity for informal discussion and for questions after the formal speaking.

The New York Board of Trade desires you to be their guest, and we have several other engagements lined up in the vicinity of New York.

I will send you tomorrow two or three copies of the circular that we have prepared, and hope that it will please you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 25, 1940.

Mr. RALPH E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Box 1474, Great Falls, Mont.

DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Thank you very much for your letter of January 21 forwarded to me from our Utica office. We greatly appreciate your favorable comment.

The pressure groups and conspirators to which we referred are those left-wingers, many of them, alien born and all of them with alien ideas, who, guided the Roosevelt administration throughout its history, and appear to have great influence in the Truman administration.

We have no idea as to whether there are 400 Communists in the State Department or more. There could easily be 400. The almost unvarying policy of our government for 16 years has been to let aliens in, particularly Russians and other extreme left wingers. Recently the State Department let Dean Hewlett Johnson of Canterbury into this country. At first the Department refused, but when pressure was brought from these same alien-minded individuals some of whom I am convinced are high up in the State Department, they relented and let him in.

Thank you very much for writing.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

E. F. HUTTON & Co.,

61 Broadway, New York, N. Y., January 25, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HART: The enclosed article may be of interest to you.

This country belongs to all of us. We all have a stake in it. There are those who want to capture all private property and socialize all wealth. When that day arrives, they will appoint themselves custodian of our liberty. It will then mean that the Government has made itself our owner, holding our security in its hands, and controlling our every liberty and freedom.

Very sincerely yours,

EDWARD F. HUTTON.

[From the New York Journal-American, Monday, January 10, 1949]

HUTTON ASKS BUSINESS TELL ITS STORY

BUSINESS URGED TO TELL ITS STORY

(By E. F. Hutton)

When the campaign promises of our President are put into action, it will be the realization of the dream "to take complete control of the conduct of every citizen." So the timetable for a socialized United States of America will develop. Without offensive indictment of the management of our industry and service activities, it might be well to view the critical times ahead in light of what management is in the United States.

Management is not the ownership of the American free enterprise system. The men of management are hired help paid by those who have their savings in American business, and who own American business. Managers are the trustees, guardians, and administrators of the moneys in the business, and they should assume their obligations to social, moral, and public issues, which are not political.

The vindictive attitude of bureaucrats in Government since the beginning of the New Deal has been characterized as an attack on management. It is time that the people of America realize the attack is not really against management but against every individual who has savings in any business, or any life insurance policy. Consequently, the vindictive attitude is against the men and women of this country who have saved out of their earnings and put the savings to work, creating jobs for others.

One of the main reasons for the timetable of socialization is that management, itself, has failed to exercise its full responsibility to the three groups of people it has been elected to serve. Management may feel that it is entrenched in its position, and that nothing can interfere. This is an error. The people who have their money in any business can remove management from its position by concerted action.

MANAGEMENT'S JOB

It is the responsibility of management to concern itself with the interest of those who own the business; with the interest of those who, along with management, are paid salaries and wages to create the goods and services that make a business profitable; and, finally, with the consuming public, who should know and feel they are the ultimate reason for the existence of any and all business—and not apart from it.

Senior management displays one of the characteristics of the Communist in that it wants others, "with lesser interests," to save business from its perils. In other words, management wants something for nothing. This is not to say management is communistic. But it is to say that the Communist wants not one thing, but everything for nothing. The Socialists and Communists, in their attack on business, are primarily aiming their attack at management. They are attempting to disguise their objective by making management a red herring.

What the Socialists and the Communists want for nothing is the total savings of the majority of the people who have financed business, and who own business. That is the insidious part of the scheme. The people having money in business and in life insurance do not yet realize that it is their money and their security the Socialists and Communists want to grab.

At large, and with few exceptions, the men of management want someone else to do their most important job—that of selling all American people on the great

spiritual and material values of our economic system. They feel that others of less interest should do this for them. They want "something for nothing."

How can we, the people, recapture the freedoms already lost and protect those that are now in danger? The press and magazines could be of greater assistance in setting forth the value of liberty than many of them are now doing—the "man on the street" should be told what a socialized state would do to him, and not for him. The press should make a sincere effort to deal dynamically with this public question, and not treat it as an academic editorial item.

The people whose money is in a business should demand of management that public questions be made a part of managerial activity.

QUESTION OF LIBERTY

Among the many questions facing us today respecting liberty, all can be reduced to simple terms. Every single one of them is a public, and not a political question. If management remains silent and waits for somebody else to defend liberty and freedom, then all will be lost.

Management could concern itself with advertising that would reach all people in words that would bounce along the sidewalk and into the mind of every man and woman in this Nation. Management could do it so quickly that a complete change of opinion could be achieved in a very short space of time. Who is using the radio every hour of the day and night to sell merchandise, goods and services? Who is using television? Who is using the pages of every newspaper in the land and the pages of every magazine that carry advertising? Management.

Management could be in touch with every adult in this land. It could be done immediately. Why is it not doing it? Obviously, it is waiting for "others of less interest" to do it. Meanwhile, the majority of the people of this Nation who have their savings in all kinds of American businesses wait for their elected officers, the custodians and protectors of their savings to do something. So we witness the minority, who are vociferous, getting ready to take control.

The responsibility of management in respect to the savings of the people, as partners in our free-enterprise system, will be destroyed unless this trend toward a socialized state is checked. The press will also lose its freedom—then advertising stops. Advertising is the lifeblood of the press and magazines. So they, too, should tell the people the truth. Or, must the socialized time table go full steam ahead before we arouse ourselves?

Are we to justify the contempt expressed about us by the ruzzle-brain intelligentsia—that it will "be comparatively easy to dynamite the industrial system," as was said by Rexford Guy Tugwell?—which means the concepts of our bill of rights now face this time-table of dictatorship.

E. F. HUTTON & Co.,
61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y., March 21, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your confidential letter has come to Mr. Hutton's desk during his absence from the city, on a much-needed rest. Please be assured, however, that this letter is today being forwarded to him.

Sincerely yours,

HELEN E. WESTHOFF,
Secretary to Edward F. Hutton,

JANUARY 25, 1940.

HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOUGHTON: The National Economic Council urgently opposes further extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, including any amendments thereto which would have the effect of taking the tariff-making power out of the hands of the people's elected representatives where the Constitution wisely placed it.

In the interest of the people, we believe that the Congress should take back many of the powers previously handed over to the Executive, rather than further surrender powers placed by the Constitution in the control of Congress.

The case of the Waltham Watch Co. is symptomatic of the effect these agreements have upon our economy, especially in their effect upon the technical skills needed in the event of war.

This company suspended operations at the end of December 1948, after 93 years of operation. Twenty-four hundred people were at once thrown upon public relief, and the number was shortly thereafter increased to 4,000. It is eventually expected to rise to five or six thousand as workers for independent businesses lose their jobs. Owners, managers, and union officials stand together in their indignation at the shutdown.

At the end of World War I, there were 22 watch companies in the United States. At the end of World War II only three of these remained: Waltham, Elgin and Hamilton. We are advised that the latter two are now using a substantial part of their facilities and labor in manufacturing cigaret lighters and women's compacts.

The fact is that during World War II our watch manufacturers were engaged in manufacturing precision instruments for the Armed Forces, with only a minor emphasis upon watches. Of the watches manufactured, most, if not all, were taken by the Armed Forces. For the duration of the war, therefore, and sometime after, the American watch manufacturers were, by Government action, taken out of the American market. They had no watches to sell.

But the market was still there. Under the reciprocal trade agreements the watchmakers of Switzerland, a neutral and not subject to the exigencies of war, flooded the American market with their product. Helped on by expensive advertising campaigns, particularly by radio, they came to dominate the American market—and still do.

This has nothing to do with any theoretical argument about the respective over-all merits of high or low tariffs. American watch makers were in no position to meet such competition because they had already, by Government action in both world wars, been taken out of the market. And it was as a result of this situation, made possible by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, that they have lost their market and the Waltham Company has been thrown out of business.

This situation has grave implications, not only for other manufacturers who may so be taken out of the domestic market by Government action, but also for our national safety.

In preparation for, and waging of, modern war, precision instrument workers are an absolute necessity. War could be lost without them. But the effect of the present emergency in the watch business, brought about by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, is both to dissipate the supply of precision workers as well as to reduce the available facilities for the manufacture of precision instruments. This deserves, and should receive, the remedial action of the Congress, both as to the effects and the underlying causes.

The making of reciprocal trade agreements by the Executive means, of necessity, that they are made by bureaucrats. These latter are prone to proceed on theory, following some idealistic paper pattern they think good. Usually they lack that practical experience available to the Congress through the testimony of men possessing first-hand acquaintance with the industries affected. It is notorious that reciprocal trade agreements have been made with other countries without prior information to such industries as to the contents of such agreements. Thus some of our vital American industries become the catspaw of international politics and international Socialism.

It took a long time to build up the American watch industry. It has been of vital usefulness to the country. But it has taken only a few years for international theorists to destroy it. Such destruction may be laid at the door of that strange theory that America must consider all other nations first, though it is well known that every other nation considers itself and its vital interests first.

We believe the present misguided policies are the work, not of American thinking, but of those who are scheming to destroy American private enterprise.

The watch industry is only one of the American industries that have been sacrificed to alien, international interests, and others will be sacrificed if the Congress does not assert its lawful power and right on behalf of free American citizens.

Not only does the principle involved have wider implications for the whole of our economy, but there is a serious question as to the constitutionality of such legislation. The Constitution places the tariff-making power in the hands of the Congress, (art. 1, sec. 8, par. 1 and 3.) Nor is there any permission in that supreme law of the land for Congress to abdicate its constitutional duty and

function in favor of the Executive branch of the Government. This, in effect, substitutes international machinations for normal competition and the judgment of the elected representatives of the people.

We ask you and your associates on the committee, in obedience to your oaths, to defend and maintain the Constitution, to retain the tariff-making power where the Constitution has lodged it, not placing it either in the hands of the Executive branch alone, or in the hands of a combination of the Executive branch and any international organization.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JANUARY 26, 1949.

M. JEAN-PIERRE RENOARD,

Raffineries de Pétrole, De la Gironde, Paris, France.

DEAR JEAN-PIERRE: I am glad you liked our council letters. We do not always deal with economics, but in these days it is impossible, to divorce economics from the political aspects of things.

You remark that our council letters are so small, and I suppose you mean small in size. But we aim to furnish something of value and importance that is boiled down to the briefest possible space. It may surprise you, but most of the press here is controlled—not controlled by statute or anything of that kind, but by left-wing influence. Most of our news writers and many of our editorial writers are in greater or less degree left-wingers, and will play down anything that is unfavorable to the left-wing side.

That has given rise to a number of news letters of which ours is one.

You comment on the fact that I am writing these letters all alone. I am responsible for everything that goes out, and I frequently write all of it myself. But in all cases the letters pass through the hands of several men and women who are students and close observers of affairs.

The circulation of our publications ordinarily is somewhat under 50,000. Our council letter No. 200, however, including reprints from the Congressional Record (the daily doings of what goes on in Congress) already exceeds half a million.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

RAFFINERIES DE PETROLE DE LA GIRONDE,
Paris, January 24, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: The two Economic Council letters I have received deal with important problems of United States domestic policy. They are defending American traditions and liberties, and do not deal with economics, as I had supposed they would, before I started receiving them.

I believe that these traditions and liberties are more endangered than ever before in history and I congratulate you on your action.

Great efforts are required to stop the administration's expansion, budget increase, State control, and Communist influence.

I mean no criticism, but I cannot understand how the Economic Council letters are so small, and that you are writing them all alone.

Surely a great number of American citizens are interested in your efforts. I wish you can bring them to unite and help you, because their future, as well as the future of the free world is at stake.

I wish you success and remain, with warm regards,

Yours very truly,

JEAN-PIERRE.

1060 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 26, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: Apropos your request for a list of Republicans who may hold doubtful views and opinions on issues to arise during the present Congress:

Representative Charles W. Vursell (Illinois) has check-marked the accompanying "Official list of Members" showing the Republicans who, according to

his judgment, may be considered as holding conservative views and opinions. Those not checked, Democrats and Republicans alike, are considered more than likely to entertain radical views and go along with the administration's plans and schemes.

I shall get a similar list of Senate Members as soon as a printed one is available.

There are said to be 102 Members of Congress who utilize the radio in sending material back to their districts and constituents. Republican National Committee is compiling a list of those Members for me, and it will be forwarded as soon as it comes to hand.

Mr. Vursell has sent a questionnaire to his constituents asking their views on the proposed repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and he and I thought it may contain some matters of interest to you. So, a copy is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

BARGER.

P. S.—Reports current here have it that limited hearings only will be had on the proposed legislation, and that measures will be rushed to debate as soon as possible.

JANUARY 27, 1949.

Mlle. GABRIELLE BAUDOT,
Care of Caltee Co.,
7 Place Vendome, Paris, France.

DEAR Mlle. BAUDOT: I have had the matter you wrote me about the translation of the book and its publishing in France up with both the author, John T. Flynn, and the Devin-Adair Co., the publisher, and I enclose copy of letter I have received this morning from Mr. Devin A. Garrity, president of the Devin-Adair Co.

Please be guided accordingly, and you are authorized (without, I think, any liability to you on the part of the American publisher) to see if you can interest a French publisher and, if you can, have the French publisher get in touch with the Devin-Adair Co.

I am very hopeful that you will be successful, and I am sure that Mr. Flynn and Mr. Garrity will look to you to be the translator of the book on terms that you and the publisher will mutually agree on.

I am delighted at the course that this is taking, and I hope that it meets with your satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 28, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: The following enclosures will, I am sure, be of much interest to you:

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Text of document approved by assembly in Paris.

The flowery, argumentative, and verbose language furnishes enough meaning to convince that United Nations plans to take over the sovereign rights of its member nations. The growing unpopularity of the UN deserves to be accelerated greatly, before it will be too late.

2. The Development of International Law.

This document certainly is a hot one—but our Senate is to be asked to ratify it in 1949.

First, it is closely related to the report of Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, in that it provides for, and, if ratified will require, intermarriage of races, etc.

Second: It makes "genocide" a crime under international and United Nations law, although there is no such word, old or new, to be found in the dictionary.

The writer recently inquired of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, as to the meaning of the word "genocide," and the "punk" answering the question laughed and said: "It's an old word the use of which is being revived by current events." As I say, try to find it in the dictionary. The root-words used imply that it means, as Legislative Reference said, the extinction, or attempt at extinction, of an entire race of people, "as Hitler tried to exterminate the Jews."

There is no doubt that this making of genocide a crime in international law and under United Nations is like our war-crime trials, Jew-inspired from start to

finish; and both of these innovations are more likely than not to rise to haunt us in the future.

In other words, thanks to establishment of the war-crime trials, at the instance alone of the Jews, we fight future wars at our peril—and we'd better win 'em, or the conquering enemy will, under new international law, take us all out and slaughter us.

And, after catering still further to the Jews, and bestowing upon them an absolute right to have a nationality, we'd better never attempt to put them in their place, here or elsewhere, or United Nations will slit our throats, etc., etc.

Yea, verily, the rising tide of political Judaism, as From Smoke to Smother delineated it, is something startling.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

TAX NOTES

(Prepared by Committee on Publications, Section of Taxation, Joseph S. Platt, Committee Chairman)

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, JANUARY 1949

THE MARITAL DEDUCTION—PROPOSED REGULATIONS AFFECTING TRUSTS

The proposed new estate tax regulations under the Revenue Act of 1948 have been released. They relate in large part to the marital deduction allowable in connection with property passing from a decedent to his surviving spouse. This note will deal only with the proposed rules to be issued under subparagraph (F) of Section 812 (e) (1) of the code—the provision covering trusts for the benefit of the surviving spouse.

Generally speaking the marital deduction applies only to property which passes to the surviving spouse outright and in fee simple. Subparagraph (F) creates an exception in favor of property left in trust where the surviving spouse is entitled for life to "all the income for the corpus of the trust" with a power of appointment in the spouse exercisable in favor of herself or her estate. The meaning of this provision, particularly the language just quoted, is not clear, and the Congressional reports shed little light on the subject. The proposed regulations give us in some detail the Bureau's interpretation.

The income requirement will be satisfied if the effect of the trust is to give the surviving spouse "that degree of beneficial enjoyment * * * which the principles of the law of trusts accord to a person who is unqualifiedly designated as the life beneficiary of a trust." This general standard is amplified by examples indicating the line which will divide the qualifying trust in which the spouse is a real life beneficiary from the nonqualifying trust where the primary purpose is the accumulation of income, directly or indirectly.

Broad administrative powers will not disqualify the trust if subject to reasonable restraint under local law. The trustee may be authorized to allocate receipts between income and corpus, to determine charges to be made against income and corpus and to apply income for the spouse's benefit. The income requirement is met notwithstanding that the trust instrument contains the following common provisions: Stock dividends and proceeds of sales to be treated as corpus; bond premiums to be amortized out of income; depletion to be charged to income; provisions against alienation or attachment of the spouse's interest.

Unproductive property presents a problem. A power to retain a residence or other property for the personal use of the spouse will not disqualify the trust. Otherwise the critical question is whether the trustee is required to convert the property within a reasonable time and to compensate the spouse for income lost through any undue delay. If the primary purpose of the trust is to safeguard the property, for example where the trustee is required to retain the property without compensation to the spouse as life beneficiary, this test will not be satisfied.

The proposed regulations recognize that several separate trusts may be created by a single instrument and that an undivided interest in property may constitute the corpus of a trust. This will be important in determining whether the spouse is entitled to all the income "from the corpus of the trust."

The spouse must be entitled to all the income "for life" and it must be "payable annually or more frequently." According to the proposed regulations it is sufficient that income for the period between the last distribution date and the

spouse's death be subject to her power of appointment. At the other end the mere fact that income payments are not to commence until the trust property is distributed to the trustee will not disqualify, unless the executor is authorized to delay distribution beyond a reasonable period. The trust income need not be paid to the spouse. It is sufficient that she have the right to call for the income each year, even though the amount not drawn down is to be added to the corpus.

The other requirement of subparagraph (F), that the spouse be given an unqualified power of appointment over the trust corpus, is relatively clear and the proposed regulations do not deal with this phase of the statute in as much detail. The point to bear in mind is that the spouse must have the unrestricted right, exercisable alone and in all events, to take over the property (e. g., a power to invade corpus) or to appoint it to her estate at death or a combination of these powers. If such powers exist the designation of remaindermen to take in default of appointment will not disqualify the trust. Of course such powers will make the trust property subject to tax in the estate of the surviving spouse under section 811 (f).

The proposed regulations resolve many of the questions which have been raised as to the meaning of subparagraph (F). They should be carefully studied by any lawyer who undertakes to draft a testamentary trust for the benefit of the surviving spouse.

[The Development of International Law, Louis B. Sohn, editor in charge]

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, JANUARY 1940

UNITED STATES SENATE ACTION IN 1940 ON CONVENTION AS TO GENOCIDE

The Senate of the United States will be asked in 1940 to vote for or against the ratification of the proposed multipartite treaty or international convention to outlaw the extermination of racial, religious, or national groups as such, as a new crime under the generic term of "genocide." The house of delegates of our association is likely to consider recommendations as to our association's stand, at the midyear meeting on January 31-February 2.

The General Assembly of the United Nations approved the pact early in December; the first 20 signatures were attached by plenipotentiaries in Paris on December 11. Among the governments signing were Australia, France, and the United States. The convention will be subject to signature until December 31, 1940, by members of the United Nations and by nonmembers to which the General Assembly extends an invitation to sign.

The convention will be subject meanwhile to ratification and will come into effect on the ninetieth day after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification by signatory states. After January 1, 1950, the convention may be acceded to by members or by such nonmembers. If ratified, it binds the ratifying states for 10 years and thereafter during successive 5-year periods for such contracting parties as have not denounced it by written notice given at least 6 months before the expiration of the current period. The convention continues in effect unless and until 10 denunciations bring the number of adhering parties to fewer than 16. Any contracting party may ask for a revision at any time, in which event the Assembly is to determine what, if anything, is to be done about it.

Before the action of the 1948 meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, held in Paris, its Legal Committee (No. 6) completed 2 months of consideration and further revision of the convention, and sent it to the Assembly with its approval.

Before taking final action, the Legal Committee, which originally had stricken from the treaty the provisions for the possible trial of individual violators by and before an international court or tribunal, restored provisions which were regarded by many, but not by all, of the dissident nations as an acceptable compromise or formula of solution. Some nations which favored the principles and objectives of the convention looked on the proposed mechanics or procedures as still creating potentially dangerous and unworkable precedents. With the United States favoring the pact, the final vote in the Legal Committee was 36 to 0 in favor of approval and submission. The U. S. S. R. and other members of the Soviet bloc abstained or were absent from the voting in the committee on the submission of the pact, as did the United Kingdom and some other leading nations. On the final vote in the Assembly, there were no recorded abstentions, and the vote was announced as unanimous.

The convention covers direct genocide (the killing of members of a racial, religious, or national group as such with an intent to destroy the group, in whole or in part) and also biological genocide (the prevention of births, the kidnapping and transfer of children, the imposition of deleterious conditions of life, etc.). It does not take account of cultural genocide directed against the chief characteristics of a group, such as its distinctive language or religion, and involving the destruction of the cultural heritage of the group, of its books, arts, churches, historical monuments, etc. Conceivably the convention may be found to need elaboration or more exact definition of the acts covered by the new crime of genocide—the term originated as recently as 1944 by Raphael Lemkin, of the Yale University law school, in his book on Axis rule in occupied countries and first used in the indictments and during the trial of Nazi war leaders.

The convention has several aspects of long-run significance, which may well be pointed out here, in advance of the consideration of the pact by the house of delegates of our association, January 31–February 2, and by the Senate of the United States on the issue of ratification. William L. Ransom, chairman of our association's committee for peace and law through United Nations, has prepared the following preliminary statement for information:

"(1) The convention states and defines an international crime, which is new in its appellation if centuries old in its nature; and this creation and definition of a crime are formulated and initiated by the General Assembly of the international organization, and are to be made effective through international legislation by convention.

"(2) The contracting parties (i. e., those who sign and ratify or who accede after 20 have ratified) undertake to enact the necessary domestic legislation for the execution of the convention and to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of violations. Methods of enforcement and carrying out judgments for punishment, etc., have not yet been devised; the situation under the convention will not be analogous in most respects to that under the Charter for the International military tribunals.

"(3) The individuals who will be individually punished for these new international crimes are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals. The crimes generally described as genocide are not to be considered as political crimes, and there is to be no right of asylum for those accused.

"(4) Article VI of the convention provides for trial of the guilty individuals, by any competent tribunal of the state in the territory in which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to such contracting parties as shall have accepted the jurisdiction of such tribunal. There is no specific authority in the convention for United Nations action to set up, within the borders of the United States, for example, an international penal tribunal to try and punish citizens of the United States for alleged violations of the convention. The new International Law Commission is asked, by a separate resolution, to study and report as to a possible international tribunal; but the erection of such a body would require the ratification or consent of the United States and the other member nations.

"(5) Any contracting party may call upon 'the competent organs' of the United Nations to take appropriate action to prevent and suppress acts of genocide (art. VIII); presumably this would include the World Court, which in any event is to determine disputes as to 'the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present convention' (art. IX). A companion resolution suggests that a panel of the International Court of Justice could be constituted for genocide cases.

"It is evident that new and significant developments in the domain of international law, world law and individual responsibility, as well as in international enforcement of accountability and the punishment of individual offenders, are inherent in the proposed convention; and these aspects and implications are likely to be considered in the Senate of the United States.

"Basically, however, it must be recognized that the mass destruction of races, religions, ethnic cultures and loyalties, of the pride and spirit of peoples long free, did not begin with Hitler and did not end with the collapse of the Nazi regime. The pending convention aims at defining and outlawing genocide as a crime, and at the crystallization and mobilization of the strongest moral forces of world opinion against it. There will be earnest hopes on the part of many that ways can be found for accepting and implementing such a convention."

CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

THE CONTRACTING PARTIES,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1948 that genocide is a

crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognising that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required;

HEREBY AGREE as hereinafter provided:

ARTICLE I

The contracting parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and punish.

ARTICLE II

In the present convention genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (A) Killing members of the group;
- (B) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (C) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (D) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (E) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

ARTICLE III

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (A) Genocide;
- (B) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (C) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (D) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (E) Complicity in genocide.

ARTICLE IV

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

ARTICLE V

The contracting parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE VI

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to such contracting parties as shall have accepted the jurisdiction of such tribunal.

ARTICLE VII

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The contracting parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

ARTICLE VIII

Any contracting party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE IX

Disputes between the contracting parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a state for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE X

The present convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of ———.

ARTICLE XI

The present convention shall be open until 31 December 1949, for signature on behalf of any member of the United Nations and of any nonmember state to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present convention may be acceded to on behalf of any member of the United Nations and of any nonmember state which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XII

Any contracting party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that contracting party is responsible.

ARTICLE XIII

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification have been deposited the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each member of the United Nations and to each of the nonmember states contemplated in Article XI.

The present convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE XIV

The present convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years dating from its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such contracting parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XV

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of parties to the present convention should become less than sixteen the convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

ARTICLE XVI

A request for the revision of the present convention may be made at any time by any contracting party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

ARTICLE XVII

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all members of the United Nations and the nonmember states contemplated in Article XI of the following:

- (A) Signatures, ratifications, and accessions received in accordance with Article XI;
- (B) Notifications received in accordance with Article XII;
- (C) The date upon which the present convention comes into force in accordance with Article XIII;
- (D) Denunciations received in accordance with Article XIV;
- (E) The abrogation of the convention in accordance with Article XV;
- (F) Notification received in accordance with Article XVI.

ARTICLE XVIII

The original of the present convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the convention shall be transmitted to all members of the United Nations and to nonmember states contemplated in Article XI.

ARTICLE XIX

The present convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

TEXT OF DOCUMENT APPROVED BY ASSEMBLY IN PARIS

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in session in Paris on December 10, adopted and promulgated to all nations and their peoples a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which had been evolved from the earlier forms of such a Declaration that were published in our March 1948 issue (p. 202) and our October 1948 issue (p. 610). The document had undergone continual changes in the Commission on Human Rights and in Committee No. 3 (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) of the Assembly; and there was a final change on the floor of the General Assembly before the vote for adoption.

The final text was not available to the lawyers and people of this country for examination and study, as the Canadian and American Bar Associations had asked, before the final action by the Assembly was taken.

We publish here the full and final text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has not been offered as "a legal document" or as having legal effects, although its effects on the laws of many countries and the lives of their people will be considerable. By many persons in many lands the emphatic adoption of such a statement of declared objectives as to the rights of persons is being hailed as a great humanitarian advance. By others the promulgation of the Universal Declaration is looked on with sincere doubts and reservations, especially in that the "enumerated" categories of "rights" go far into fields of domestic social policy and legislation. No submission of the Declaration to the Senate or Congress of the United States for ratification or approval is anticipated. The American attitude stands on the votes cast for the document by the United States delegation in the Assembly.

The United Nations, on the initiative of the Government of the United States, will press vigorously in 1949 for the formulation and submission of a Covenant which would give contractual and treaty form to such "rights" as are stated in it; also, measures for implementation, to "put teeth into the Covenant" and assure international powers and means of enforcing it against states, groups, and individuals.

The text of the Universal Declaration, which is the background for our Association's consideration of the Covenant, is as follows:

"FINAL TEXT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

"PREAMBLE

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world;

"Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people;

"Whereas it is essential if man is not to be compelled to have recourse as a last resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression that human rights should be protected by the rule of law;

"Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations;

"Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom;

"Whereas the member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

"Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge;

"Now, therefore,

"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

"PROCLAIMS this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

"ARTICLE 1

"All human beings are born free and equal, in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

"ARTICLE 2

"1. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without discrimination of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

"2. Furthermore no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

"ARTICLE 3

"Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and the security of person.

"ARTICLE 4

"No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

"ARTICLE 5

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

"ARTICLE 6

"Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

"ARTICLE 7

"All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the laws. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

"ARTICLE 8

"Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law.

"ARTICLE 9

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

"ARTICLE 10

"Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

"ARTICLE 11

"1. Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

"2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

"ARTICLE 12

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his private family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

"ARTICLE 13

"1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

"2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

"ARTICLE 14

"1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

"2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

"ARTICLE 15

"1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

"2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

"ARTICLE 16

"1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

"2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

"3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

"ARTICLE 17

"1. Everyone has the right to his own property alone as well as in association with others.

"2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

"ARTICLE 18

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

"ARTICLE 19

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

"ARTICLE 20

"1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

"2. No one may be compelled to join an association.

"ARTICLE 21

"1. Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

"2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

"3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of Government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

"ARTICLE 22

"Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

"ARTICLE 23

"1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

"2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

"3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration, insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

"4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

"ARTICLE 24

"Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

"ARTICLE 25

"1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the

event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

"2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

"ARTICLE 26

"1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible on the basis of merit.

"2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, it shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

"3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

"ARTICLE 27

"1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

"2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

"ARTICLE 28

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

"ARTICLE 29

"1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

"2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society.

"3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

"ARTICLE 30

"Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any states, groups, or persons, any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein."

AMERICAN CYANAMID CO.,

30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., January 28, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Some time ago you wrote me asking if I had read your council letter No. 200 and, if so, what I thought of it. Actually I did not like it at all. I did not share your fears that the relations between employers and employees would pass from the Congress of the United States and our State legislatures to the ILO itself.

As a former member of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, I was rather closely connected with the ILO for some years and am at the present time serving as an employer representative of the Chemical Industry Committee of the ILO. I have learned that in general "the Senate is not disposed to ratify any agreement negotiated by the special agencies created under the UN Charter." As a matter of fact, the record on ILO conventions is very definitely to the contrary.

Since the United States became a member of the ILO in 1934 that Organization has adopted 38 conventions. The United States, however, has ratified only five.

The second paragraph in column two of your council letter reads as follows:

"Under the guise of promoting free association of 'workers and employers,' it actually provides unlimited freedom for labor organizations in member countries to do anything they please, as they please, when they please."

I do not believe that this statement is correct. Time does not permit me to go into all the details and aspects of the question but a competent lawyer who has full knowledge of the matter and who has studied it, concludes as follows:

"Insofar as procedural or public-order limitations are constitutional under our Constitution, they would, I believe, be legal under the ILO Convention. Insofar as they would be prohibited under the terms of the ILO Convention, they would, in my opinion, be equally barred as unconstitutional under the first, fifth, and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

On the other hand, I liked your council letter No. 200 entitled "Political Medicine" very much indeed. I agreed entirely with everything that you said in it and hope that you will continue to oppose such legislation in Washington.

In order to assist you in the distribution of this letter, I am glad to enclose herewith a check for \$500 representing a contribution from American Cyanamid Co. for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD HUSTON,
Assistant to the President.

BARD-PARKER CO., INC.,
Danbury, Conn., February 1, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
*Empire State Building,
New York 1, N. Y.*

GENTLEMEN: We are in receipt of your council letter No. 200, dated January 1, 1949, and the other literature enclosed therewith, and we certainly feel that we want to help you at least in a small way in the very splendid work you are doing to combat the bill shortly coming up in Washington, D. C., which might be termed "socialized medicine."

We are enclosing our check for \$40 and would appreciate your forwarding us a thousand copies of council letter No. 200 which we will use to best advantage in helping to publicize this matter.

Very truly yours,

BARD-PARKER CO., INC.,
A. R. OWEN,
General Sales Manager.

FEBRUARY, 8, 1949.

MISS OPAL ESSANT,
*13 West Eighty-eighth Street, Apartment No. 5,
New York 24, N. Y.*

DEAR MISS ESSANT: I received your letter of January 31 and am returning the letter to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

I do not recommend your sending it. I don't know that a letter of that kind does a great deal of good. It does not do good to write people an abusive letter.

I don't understand everything that Mr. Hoover does. I don't like at all his close association with Walter Winchell but, nevertheless, he has got a lot of good things to his credit. My impression is that if he had not been a very strong man with the people, Roosevelt would have been glad to get rid of him. I may be wrong.

But I am puzzled by the statement in your letter which seems to imply that this West Side Consumer Tenant Council is forcing you to pay \$6. What earthly power have they got to make you pay it? I would refuse absolutely and we would try to get you a lawyer to protect your rights.

I wish you would let me know about this as promptly as possible. I enclose Mr. Hoover's letter to you.

Under separate cover I am sending you 20 copies of letter No. 207 as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

P. S. I am also enclosing herewith copy of the confidential memorandum on my trip abroad last summer.

FEBRUARY 4, 1949.

C. R. DINWIDDIE, Esq.,
2338 Valley Vista Road, Louisville, Ky.

DEAR MR. DINWIDDIE: Thank you so much for your letter and the Kentucky directory. It will be most helpful, and will be returned as you request.

Did you succeed in having Morse's appearance canceled for your Lincoln Club banquet? I am not sure whether you will be able to get Knutson, Lemke, Schwabe, Holman, or etc. They are all good men. Lemke is the only one in Congress this term, as you know.

Two very good speakers you could get probably on short notice if you need them are Mr. Merwin K. Hart or Dr. H. McAllister Griffith. Mr. Hart is president of the National Economic Council, is an excellent speaker, and is an outstanding American. His address is 7501 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y. Dr. Griffith, who is Mr. Hart's assistant, might be able to come if Mr. Hart is not available.

You can get data about both of them from Who's Who in America. Regarding the cost, I doubt if there would be any beside actual expenses, but you would have to check with them personally about that.

Ex Senator Holman, of course, is in Oregon and he would be a little far away. Max Schwabe, who is a very capable man, was not reelected. His home address is Columbia, Mo. Harold Knutson's home address is care of Wadena Pioneer Journal, Wadena, Minn.

I am sorry we were late getting you this information, but we have been so snowed under that we haven't gotten to it until right now.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION,
A. E. GLEASON, *Executive Secretary.*

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co., OF MISSOURI, INC.,
Main, Second and Third Streets,
Kansas City 10, Mo., February 4, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Please send us 11,000 copies of your council letter No. 208 dated February 1 and along with it Rose Wilder Lane's review, volume 6, No. 2. Please have them folded together just as you would for your own mailing.

We get excellent service from the forwarding companies operating into Kansas City from New York City and if you will route this shipment via the National Carloading Co. we will probably get delivery of the shipment in about 8 days, which is prompt enough for our purposes.

Unless shipment weighs considerably less than 100 pounds so there would be a saving by parcel post, please discontinue shipments to us by parcel post. The shipments you have made, even by special delivery parcel post, have never come complete but have straggled in over a period of 8 days. Operation of our postal service is not of the best.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER & Co.,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

1000 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Herewith is clipping from last night's final issue of the Evening Star—the only thing I found in the local press about Senator Hawks' dinner and Mr. Palmer.

It looks like the press has finally and very conclusively determined that it will report nothing whatever that runs counter to the domestic and one-world schemes of the administration, and that they will help brand as something the cats drag in whatever may be said, by anybody, contrary to the scheme of things.

I hope, however, this episode will not discourage Mr. Palmer from speaking his piece. Maybe a few people are possessed of flashes of human intelligence, and will understand, and care, where the brilliant Senator Hickenlooper damns and condemns.

It's possible, however, that Hickenlooper is seeing his error in supporting foreign aid, but hasn't the intestinal fortitude to admit it. Maybe he has a case of inferiority complex, after all. I've always regarded him as small potatoes, and this happening don't increase his stature in my estimation. To say the least, it was a horrible example of bad manners and a lack of courtesy expected in Senators.

I still say we have the immortal Teddy Roosevelt to "thank" for the low order of humanity we have been, and are, getting in the Senate—the direct election of Senators, which makes 'em grovel in the dirt and slime of gutter politics to get elected. Let's return to the old way.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

—
LONE STAR CEMENT CORP.,
342 MADISON AVENUE,
New York 17, N. Y., February 2, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your idea of extending some real effort toward unification—or at least cooperation under a steering committee of a number of the various organizations which are now operating and trying in their different ways to preserve what we like to call the American freedom—would, if you are able to carry it through, be a "ten strike."

I am enclosing herewith a list of a number of organizations which, in addition to your own, I am now or have from time to time in the past been tangled up with.

Great economy and much better results could be arrived at if real cooperation could be obtained. There are unquestionably several others, and possibly all could not be included, but certainly a great many could cooperate.

I wish you the best of luck in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. HUMMEL, President.

P. S.—I am enclosing an ad for a book Ordeal by Planning, by John Jewkes, which I have not yet read but understand is most interesting. I suppose I am just calling your attention to something with which you are already familiar.

R. A. H.

—
FEBRUARY 4, 1949.

MR. R. A. HUMMEL,
Lone Star Cement Corp.,
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

DEAR MR. HUMMEL: Thank you for your letter of February 2.

Ed Rumely lunched with me yesterday, and we discussed the matter about which I had spoken to you. I am going to see if I cannot get something going along these lines.

We know John Jewkes' Ordeal by Planning. It was reviewed in the Economic Council Review of Books for October, copy of which I enclose
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS,
407 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET,
Chicago 5, Ill., February 11, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: I have just come from a luncheon in the Union League Club with our mutual friends, Senator Hawkes, during which your council letter No. 208 of February 1 was discussed at considerable length, and may I state that I believe this is one of the finest of your series of letters. I wish 10,000,000 copies of this could be distributed.

The international affairs committee of this conference, which will meet in Washington February 21, 22, and 23, will have before it three vitally important questions—among them the International Labor Organization Convention, as well as the International Trade Organization Charter—and I anticipate a strong resolution to the Senate opposing a ratification of both of these vicious propositions.

In your letter No. 208 you speak of council letter No. 200 entitled "World Government—By the Back Door," and I wonder if you would not kindly let me have a copy of that analysis to place before our committee? Please send it addressed to me in care of the Wardman Park Hotel, Washington.

If you should happen to be in Washington any time between February 17 and 23, I should like very much to have you get in touch with me at the Wardman Park Hotel.

With very best wishes, believe me,
Cordially and sincerely,

FRED A. VIRKUS, *Chairman.*

FEBRUARY 14, 1949.

Mr. FRED A. VIRKUS,
*Chairman, Conference of American Organizations,
407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.*

DEAR MR. VIRKUS: Thank you for your letter of February 11.

I shall certainly get in touch with you if I am in Washington between February 17 and 23.

I am enclosing letter No. 200 and also No. 202.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

FEBRUARY 10, 1949.

Miss CATHERINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street SE., Washington, D. C.

DEAR CATHERINE: Last night's dinner of Senator Hawkes' at the Carlton Hotel was a grand success. He had 82 Senators and about 25 Members of the House. Hawkes was greatly pleased, and I think every one of the diners liked Palmer.

I report this to you for such value as it may be in connection with your plans for next Tuesday and possibly Wednesday.

Keep us informed.
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.,
224 SECOND STREET, SE.,
Washington 3, D. C., February 24, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
Care of Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Now with the teeth out I am coming up for air and already feel so much better.

Could you send me about 25 copies of the article you did on ILO? I am getting some of our women busy on it.

Know your dinner tonight will be a big success.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

CATHERINE CURTIS, *President.*

FEBRUARY 15, 1949.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
*Care of Mr. Morgan Padelford,
385 North San Rafael Avenue, Pasadena 2, Calif.*

DEAR AL: I asked you casually before you left if you would be willing to write a letter to several hundred individuals and business concerns, urging them to subscribe to the work of the National Economic Council.

You indicated that you would do so and I was to send you a suggested draft of letter, which I do herewith. The list of names that we propose sending this to are the directors and committee members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, together with whatever additional list of names we may submit to you and which you may approve.

I very much hope that you can pass on this matter at your early convenience. We would like to get the letters out as soon as possible. In whatever form you approve the letter, I wish you would kindly have it typed on one of your letterheads, signing it yourself and sending it to us, and we will have facsimile copies made with the names filled in. If possible, the letterhead on which the text appears should not be folded but should be sent unfolded.

I hope to reach Mr. Hartley this afternoon with the inquiry as to whether the balance of his time, in addition to two or three acquaintances he now has, could be made available to the work of the National Economic Council for the balance of the congressional session and on what terms.

I have talked with Howard Buffett, of Nebraska, and inquired if his time would be available for a number of months and, while I think it doubtful that he can comply with our request, yet he is to give the matter consideration and let me know in a few days. He is also going to suggest the names of other men who were in the lower House of the Eightieth Congress and might be available for this work.

Then we propose to go to work as rapidly as possible to build up the "general staff" that we have been talking about in Washington and a field force to work in various key centers.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE,
February 24, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: I note from your letter of February 15 that you have made an arrangement to meet Congressman Hartley in New York on February 25. I hope something can be accomplished at your interview.

I also note what you have to say about Howard Buffett, of Nebraska. I think Howard is a splendid, two-listed American, but I doubt if he can do very much good unless he can separate himself from his own business in Omaha for the number of months that he would be called upon to be active in Washington. Divided attention in these days does not accomplish much in any of the places where one works.

I also note what you say about building up the Washington staff, and I think that is important if your work is to be successful and effective.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE,
February 24, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MERWIN: Answering your letter of February 15, which contained the suggested "John Doe" letter, I have rewritten the letter so as to get it on one page, and I believe it covers all the vital points.

I have signed this letter and am enclosing it herewith without folding so you can have it reproduced and used along the lines we have discussed.

I have been extremely busy, otherwise I would have done this 2 or 3 days sooner. Won't you kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

FEBRUARY 17, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,

Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Our work continues to increase. In January of this year I think we had twice as many subscriptions and purchases of publications as in any previous month of our history.

One man in Kansas City has purchased from 11,000 to 12,000 of each of our last two or three council letters and of our last book review, for circulation to his customers. Increasing attention seems to be paid to our publications by men in Congress. The morning mail brings in a reprint of one of our recent council letters published in South Africa.

You were impressed, I think, as I was, with the subscription that came to us from the Beech Aircraft Corp., of Wichita, Kans., which was a subscription of 1 penny for each of the nearly 600,000 shares of stock outstanding. This subscription was in response to your January letter.

It has occurred to me to wonder if you would consider addressing a letter to perhaps 100 or 200 carefully selected corporations, mentioning our work and stating that one moderate-size corporation has subscribed in that manner (1 cent for each share of stock), and asking them to consider making a subscription on the same basis. If we got only a few subscriptions out of such a letter it would be well worth while.

If you think well of this, would you be willing to draft such a letter which might contain, for instance, council letter 207, a copy of which I enclose, or if you prefer I would be glad to submit a suggested draft of such a letter.

Yesterday I received a letter from Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, retired, now vice president of the International Telephone & Telegraph, in which he said he considered letter 207 the most important document that had been published in America in the last two decades. That is going pretty strong, but the letter was very well received.

Cecil Palmer, our English lecturer, is making a great hit, and we are being flooded with applications for him to speak. He made a profound impression at a dinner Senator Hawkes gave in Washington on February 9, at which 32 Senators (about one-third of the Senate) and about 25 Representatives were present. We will be able to arrange good dates for him in all parts of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

WILMINGTON, DEL., February 21, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Your letter of February 17 was duly received.

I cannot consent to your suggestion that a letter of mine be sent to 100 or 200 selected corporations, mentioning the work of the council and suggesting subscriptions.

There are two reasons which compel my taking this position: First, you have just recently been following a similar effort, addressed to individuals. It is too early to repent the performance, even to a different mailing list; second, and most important, I cannot individually solicit contributions from corporations when I well know that the company with which I have spent most of my working life—namely, the du Pont Co.—would, in all probability, not comply. The reasons why I think the du Pont Co. would not comply require considerable explanation, and I do not believe need be given.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF, CHEMICAL CORPS,
February 28, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: A number of us—those to whom I pass my copy—were very much interested in your last issue of the council letter.

I was especially interested in the slip about Mr. Cecil Palmer and his talking at Senator Hawkes' dinner on February 9. It happened that the night before Senator Hawkes was the guest speaker at our meeting of the Armed Forces Chemical Association. I had secured him for the occasion, and very inspiring he was. I enclose a practical exhortation which he recited that February 8, and for copy of which some of our members wrote in.

I am writing especially to ask you whether you would let me know if there happens to be a meeting in New York at which Mr. Palmer will speak, free or for the charge of a dinner. Thanks.

I had lunch with Jim Emery last week, with much interesting talk of labor unions, etc.

Please remember me kindly to Margaret.

Cordially yours,

(MRS.) ALICE M. DICKSON,
Chemical Corps Advisory Board,
111 East State Street, New York 3, N. Y.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 24, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I was sorry I did not get to see you after you testified before our committee yesterday. I am taking the liberty of inserting your prepared statement in the Record today.

You will recall that last year Congressman Gwinn of New York had a number of amendments which were in line with your thinking. He believed with many of us that we ought to give private enterprise a chance to work in Europe. His amendments, however, were all defeated overwhelmingly on the floor, which is evidence of the attitude even today. I am sure you appreciated that most of the members of the committee were hostile to you.

In the event you have an amendment to suggest, I would be pleased to have you send it to me and I will make an effort to have it considered by the committee when we write the bill.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

MARCH 1, 1949.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your letter of February 24. Absence from town and pressure of other work have prevented my answering it earlier.

I appreciate very much your putting my prepared statement in the Record.

Yes, I certainly appreciate that most of the members of the committee were hostile. On the other hand they behaved very decently in view of this hostility, and I wrote a letter to Sol Bloom afterward and told him I appreciated his attitude in view of the fact that my views differed widely from those apparently held by the majority of the committee.

I am asking Mr. Harry S. Burger, our representative in Washington and himself a lawyer, to draft a bill along the lines I am suggesting to him, and to place it in your hands.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.KERN DODGE, *ENGINEER*,*Levitt Tower, Philadelphia 2, Pa., March 1, 1949.*

The enclosed list was received by me from a large manufacturing company which is considering helping groups which are combating evil trends in this country, and have asked my advice.

I am sending it to you to ask that you vote for or against each of them and return the list to me, so that I might have a composite picture to present.

You may have in mind some worthy group which should be added. If so, please do. Your cooperation would be appreciated.

KERN DODGE.

	For	Against
Advertising Council, 11 West 42d St., New York, N. Y.; 203 North Wabash, Chicago.....		
American Economic Foundation, 285 Madison Ave., New York City.....	X	
American Enterprise Association.....	X	
American Heritage Foundation, 17 East 46th St., New York City.....		
American Thought Leaders Forum, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago.....		
American Wage Earners' Foundation, 30 North La Salle St., Chicago.....		
America's Future, Inc., 210 East 43d St., New York City.....	X	
Big Brothers of America, 1347 Broad St., Station Bldg., Philadelphia.....		
Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.....	(?)	
Christian Herald Magazine, 27 East 39th St., New York City.....		

MARCH 1, 1949.

MR. HARRY S. BARGER,

1000 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HARRY: I hope you are feeling better. I have been away myself for a couple of days, and hence have been out of touch with you.

Please note enclosed copy of letter from Congressman Lawrence H. Smith together with copy of my reply.

Will you please proceed as soon as possible to draft an amendment to the ECA bill which will provide that none of the moneys authorized to be appropriated shall be paid over to the respective governments unless and until these governments have agreed that they will not nationalize any other industries in addition to those industries or activities (such as medicine, etc., in England) already nationalized. I think I would put in also that Britain shall agree to abandon her plans for nationalizing the iron and steel industry.

It might be well then to prepare a news release about the introduction of the amendment by Lawrence Smith. Talk this over with Mr. Smith and see how he thinks this ought to be handled.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

NEW YORK, March 2, 1949.

Honorable FRED HARTLEY,
Ambassador Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Have had to postpone meeting planned for 10 o'clock Thursday morning, Willard Hotel. Will be in touch with you later.

MERWIN K. HART.

FEBRUARY 23, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*National Economic Council,
 350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7501, New York City 1.*

DEAR MR. HART: The Economic Club of New York is holding a dinner meeting on Thursday evening, March 10, at the Hotel Astor.

Speakers:

Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president, Brookings Institution: "Can the Government Maintain Full Employment?"

John L. Collyer, president, the B. F. Goodrich Co.: "How Can We Improve the Relationship Between Business and Government?"

Erle Johnston, president, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.: "Can the United States Avoid Socialism?"

I have a table reserved and hope you will be able to join us.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Dinner, 7 p. m.
 Black tie, if convenient.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Washington, D. C., February 28, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. HART: I am turning over to you 1,000 copies of the franked piece carrying your statement. One copy with the franked canceled out is attached hereto.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY,
Executive Secretary.

MARCH 1, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17.

DEAR ED: Thanks for letting us have 1,000 copies of the franked piece carrying council letter 200.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 1, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17.

DEAR ED: I return herewith the correspondence with Dr. H. D. Newby, Rice Building, Rapid City, S. Dak., and thank you for letting me see it.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 2, 1949.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17.

DEAR ED: Confirming conversation with you the other day, it will be impossible for me, due to other engagements, to accept your very kind invitation to join you at dinner at the Economic Club on Thursday, March 10.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 8, 1940.

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR DR. RUMELY: Thanks for the proof of the Palmer broadcast.
It looks fine and we shall be glad to get the 500 copies you are sending.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MEMO

MARCH 7, 1940.

To: Mr. Merwin K. Hart

Dr. EDWARD A. RUMELY,
205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Herewith proof of the Palmer broadcast. I have just directed that 500 copies be sent you as soon as we get our supply from the printer.

APRIL 10, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7501, New York City 1.

DEAR MR. HART: The Economic Club of New York is holding a dinner meeting on Thursday evening, April 28, at the Hotel Astor.

Speakers:

Dr. Edmund B. Day, president, Cornell University: "Observations on the Defense of Freedom."

Henry Ford II, president, Ford Motor Co.: "A Political Challenge to Business and Industry."

John Jowkes, author, *Ordeal by Planning*, "The Experiences of a Planned Society."

I have a table and hope you will be able to join us.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. RUMELY.

Dinner, 7.

Black tie, if convenient.

UNIVERSITY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY,
University City, Mo., March 7, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your letter of February 24, 1940, telling us that we are to receive a gift subscription to the publications of the National Economic Council. I like the *Power to Destroy*, and the *March Review of Books*, which were sent to us. May I say that I am heartily in accord with your article, the *Power to Destroy*? The complacency with which too many of our everyday citizens look upon the increasing trend toward socialism in our country is indeed distressing. We are glad to display your publications on our magazine table. Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

CONSTANCE GRIER, *Librarian.*

MARCH 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM ON PROPOSED EXTENSION AND COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES TO
PROTECT THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

The immediate problem is to stop Socialist legislation in Congress, and to press legislation that will strengthen the Republic. After the session of Congress is over, those interested can then decide what steps to take next.

The great need is for an organization that would work from the grass roots. There are several organizations working effectively to stop legislation, including the National Economic Council, the Tool Owners Union, the Committee for Constitutional Government, etc. But all these organizations together will be able to stop very few of the socialistic planks of Mr. Truman's program. Immediate further action is necessary if we who believe in the American Republic are to hold the line.

Moreover, there are not enough organizations of the kind in question, and the existing organizations are not sufficiently implemented financially and with personnel to cover the whole field.

Yet the whole field can be covered and the line held if an immediate move is made to do the job adequately.

To put the matter in another way, the effort of socializing America has become big business. But the effort to prevent its socialization is still fragmentary, scattered, uncoordinated, and too small.

Yet here is how we think the job can be done:

Let a small group of six or eight Senators and Congressmen of both parties call a meeting in Washington at an early date. It ought to be possible to get a hundred men and perhaps a few women there. The aim should be to include as many men of substantial means and/or representing corporations of financial strength as possible, together with a number of men who understand the situation and know the need for prompt and adequate action. This group, after the Congressmen have addressed them on the situation, would take such steps as they believe necessary. It would be asked to decide whether or not to take adequate action, and if it decides to act, it would set up a committee to put the plan into action.

They would plan for a group that would constitute a kind of policy committee or general staff. This policy committee would frame and press a strong pro-American policy.

The men who attended the conference called by the legislators would be asked to raise \$5,000,000 immediately. If \$150,000,000 a year can be raised for a United Jewish Appeal, it ought to be possible to raise \$5,000,000 a year for a United American Appeal.

These funds would be used to carry out the following program:

There would be assembled in Washington without delay a staff of a dozen or 15 of the ablest, most experienced, most competent men, under the leadership of some one of them to be selected.

Let this staff study all bills that have been or will be introduced, and see to it that one organization or another sends a representative to appear at committee hearings on each important bill.

Care would be taken to watch for the sly introduction of administration bills, or amendments to bills, the real import of which would not otherwise be appreciated until after passage, but whose enactment would still further impair American vigor and independence.

To cite a single group of measures which are not now receiving adequate attention by those representing the American side of these questions, various agreements or conventions of such organizations as the International Labor Organization, the International Trade Organization, UNESCO, etc., contain provisions that, without taking account of laws Congress might pass, would socialize the United States by international action. Thus, the so-called Right to Organize Convention of the ILO would, if ratified by the Congress (even if no other nation ratified it), mean that to whatever extent the ILO desired, the Congress and the State legislatures would have abdicated to the ILO (headed by an extreme left-winger and largely staffed by such) all power over the relations between American employers and their employees.

This general staff would employ such competent assistants as it might need. Both the members of the general staff and, of course, all of the employees, would be on salary.

The staff would select those Members of Congress and Senators whose attitudes were uncertain, but who, with proper backing from leading citizens in their constituencies, would probably support the kind of measures the general staff would propose, and would oppose the kind of measures it would oppose. Immediately competent men should be sent into those districts with a view to enrolling 10 or a dozen influential men in various walks of life in each of the congressional districts and States.

It would be the object of such committees to act in each case as a nucleus of support for the Congressman or Senator, as the case might be, from that district

or State, when he was right, and to oppose him when he was wrong. They would stir up the writing of intelligent letters, and in certain case the sending of delegations to Washington to see the Congressman or Senator in question. Such committees would also be prepared to answer every left-wing letter in the newspapers. They would make it their business to oppose left-wing attitudes in education and in the churches. They would stand generally as a committee to educate people of the constituency as to the fundamentals of Americanism and to further the interests of the American Republic, and to oppose the advancement of socialism.

Each committee would have an executive secretary who would draw a salary sufficient to attract a competent man.

One of the ideas on which the above plan is based is that various left-wing groups such as the League of Women Voters, United World Federalists, and various organizations for the promotion of class interests, are all actively at work in most congressional districts and States in the country, with the aim of furthering a socialized America, as well, indeed, of furthering the United Nations and the idea of a world government. There is little local organized effort to support the American attitude—the American Republic; and such as there is is entirely uncoordinated, and is working largely on a hit or miss basis.

Such a group as we suggest would constitute a nucleus around which millions of Americans could rally in support of their country and its continued independence.

Some of the activities of this organization would be research and kindred efforts, and for these a foundation could be used, contributions to which would be deductible before taxes.

Other activities would include lobbying, and to the extent such lobbying was done, would register under the Lobbying Act.

Still other activities might have a political tinge, and it might seem best to form a political committee which would comply with the various statutes governing political committees.

Competent legal counsel could advise with respect to all of these.

A finance committee, and a treasurer widely known, would be appointed in the earliest stages.

The proposed group would not duplicate the work of any existing organization. Indeed, one of its chief functions would be to see to it that the budgets of the several citizens' organizations already at work were implemented by whatever grants of money seem advisable.

Some may say that it is too late to undertake this. It would have been far better if we had started long ago. But the need for such a movement was not so well known at any time before as it is now. And at the present time almost anybody will undertake to respond, if he has the slightest conception of what is going on, and of the dangers with which the Republic is confronted today.

The President recently said he intended to carry to the country the socialist program he has recommended.

It is time citizens carry their cause to the country, with an adequate effort to inform the electorate of the true nature of Mr. Truman's program.

There is not a moment to lose.

THE CAXTON PRINTERS, LTD.,
Caldwell, Idaho, March 5, 1949.

MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: My good friend, Don Levine, is very much upset over the February 15 National Economic Council letter. He feels that it discloses an extreme degree of anti-Semitism. The letter was mailed to me when it came from the press, no doubt, but I got so damn far behind during the campaign that I haven't been able to read all the material that comes across my desk. A pile of it about a foot high is awaiting my attention. Could you send me one of the letters, Merwin? Levine is one of the greatest of our libertarians, and I hate to have him feel as he does.

I'll do what I can, Merwin, to get a date for Cecil Palmer, the British speaker. I'll let you know what I find out, after I put in some long-distance calls.

As ever,

JIM.

MARCH 11, 1949.

Mr. J. H. GIBSON,
The Gaston Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho.

DEAR JIM: I have your letter of March 5 about council letter 200 and a couple of copies of which I enclose.

You will be interested to know that this is the first adverse comment we have had from anybody. Large quantities of the letter have been ordered and distributed and we have had high praises from all sources from which we have heard.

I am afraid the trouble with our friend, Don Levine, is that any mention of the Jews—as such—irks him.

The Gieseking incident was an outrageous affair. Even the left-wing New York Herald Tribune had an editorial condemning it and published several columns of letters, all of them adverse to the action taken. Neither the Times nor any other paper had any editorial reference to it whatever.

I should be glad to know your opinion of this matter after you have read the letter.

I was brought up with a number of Jewish friends and never had any feeling about them until in 1936, through the Economic Council letter, I began attacking communism. Immediately I began to be abused by left-wing Jews—in almost all cases, Jews that I did not know nor did they know me.

I believe that American citizenship is the highest privilege anybody in the world can enjoy. I believe that all American citizens, whether native or naturalized, should be entitled to equal treatment at the hands of the law. I don't believe that any group, whether Christians or Jews, Negroes, Chinese, or any other, should have any preference.

But the Zionist Jews will not agree to this—they want to be considered as a class apart—a class preferred and superprivileged.

To that I will not agree.

But let me hear what you think about this letter.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

CAPRONI ASSOCIATES,
1221 CHAPEL STREET,
New Haven 11, Conn., March 5, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: I just read with interest your latest bulletin *The Power to Destroy*, Council Letter No. 210, dated March 1, 1949.

This indicates that we have in Washington a great many Communists behind the President who are feeding him the program which you claim will destroy us—that is more and more taxes. Why not get down to brass tacks and give us the names of some of these people?

I agree wholly with what you say. I suppose we have them all through the administrative branches and right in Congress itself. The civil service is full of them, as well as the judiciary. I would start out with such names as Frankfurter and Acheson, who is a graduate of Harvard Law School and who studied under Brandeis; and I guess there are many more down there.

I would appreciate a letter from you naming just five of them. Rest assured there will be no publicity on my part; this is merely personal interest.

Yours very truly,

LEO F. CAPRONI.

MARCH 12, 1949.

Mr. LEO F. CAPRONI,
1221 Chapel Street,
New Haven, Conn.

DEAR MR. CAPRONI: I have your letter of March 5, in which you ask me to name five persons who are supplying the President with the program which he is pushing.

You yourself mention Frankfurter and Acheson, and I have no doubt they are among the principal supporters. Of the two, Frankfurter is much the stronger

man. After listening to Acheson for a couple of hours when he was before the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, I reached the conclusion that he would faithfully serve either a private enterprise administrator, a socialist administration, or perhaps one even further to the left.

Other men who have undoubtedly been a great factor in this strong left-wing drive would include Judge Rosenman, Herbert Lehman, the late Mr. LaGuardia, and the so-called David Niles of the White House Staff, his real name being Neilhaus.

But the strongest man in the bunch, and the most effective—and I think the most evil so far as the welfare of the American people is concerned, is Frankfurter.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

MARCH 12, 1940.

Mr. KERN DODGE,
Levitt Tower, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

DEAR KERN: Pardon delay in acknowledging your list of organizations which you sent me March 1 asking me to indicate which we favor.

It seems to me that organizations that should be supported include—

American Economic Foundation
American Enterprise Association
America's Future
Upton Close
Committee for Constitutional Government
Common Sense
Foundation for Economic Education
Harding College
Life Insurance Policyholders Protective Association
Moral Rearmament
National Council for American Education
National Economic Council
National Labor Management Foundation
George Peck
Tax Foundation

Those that should not be supported would certainly include the World Council of Churches, which I think is affected with the same kind of left-wingism as the Federal Council of Christian Churches.

Several of the organizations that you mention I do not know about, like the American Heritage Foundation, etc.

Others I should think would need no great support, for, as I assume, they are already heavily supported, such as the Brookings Institution, the National Association of Manufacturers, etc.

Trusting the above is of some value to you,

Sincerely yours,

MARCH 15, 1940.

Mr. DAVID BLANK,
10000 Blank Street, Blankville, Ill.

DEAR Mr. BLANK: The undersigned Senators and Representatives in Congress, of both major political parties, write you about a situation we regard as grave.

Under the propaganda of governmental agencies—estimated to cost the taxpayers some \$75,000,000 annually—and under the propaganda of numerous private agencies, socialism today threatens the private enterprise of America with extinction. And the experience of other countries indicates that socialism is not unlike communism and tends to lead quickly to communism.

It is urged that the election last fall gave a mandate for the adoption by the Congress of a thoroughly socialistic program. We believe analysis of the whole situation indicates that no such mandate was intended.

Several citizens' groups are doing excellent work in support of those Members of Congress who disagree with the various parts of the socialistic program. Yet all those groups together cannot cover the entire field.

It is our belief that unless citizens who wish to preserve the American way of life awaken to a degree that they have not heretofore awakened, enough of this socialistic program could be passed at the present session to commit the country irrevocably to Marxist socialism.

Yet this need not happen. You and other Americans do not have to lose your liberties.

Accordingly, we are inviting you and other representative and responsible men and women in all major fields of citizen activity, to meet in Washington on----- At that time we will lay before you in greater detail our views with respect to the various major socialistic measures that are pending, and tell you in detail what we think their passage would do to the country.

There is no other purpose for the meeting than to acquaint a large body of leading men and women with vitally important facts.

Signed:

Senators

Representatives

Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MARCH 15, 1940.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: I spent Wednesday, March 9, in Washington and discussed with you and Congressmen Woodruff, Cox, John Phillips, and Gossett, and with Senators Byrd and Bricker, the proposal that certain Senators and Representatives invite leading citizens from different parts of the country to spend a day in Washington and be addressed by these Senators and Representatives.

As the day wore on, in the light of conversations with the various Congressmen, we evolved the following idea, which seemed to meet with favor:

That, say, 12 Senators and Congressmen (3 each of each party in Senate and House) should invite, over their signatures, perhaps 500 leading men and women from all parts of the country and from all principal fields of activity, to come to Washington for a day, at which time the signers would each present to them his views of the Socialist danger threatening the country.

At the conclusion of the meeting some spokesman for the group of legislators would tell them that they had nothing to suggest excepting that they return to their several places of residence and take such action in their neighborhood and otherwise as they might feel warranted under the circumstances.

I believe the effect of such action by these 12 legislators would be great. For one thing, it would be, so far as I know, unprecedented, and hence would carry great weight. It would be widely publicized, and would probably be broadcast over the radio—perhaps over several networks. It would be bound to affect many, if not most, of those who attended the meeting profoundly.

One or two of the men I saw after I saw you suggested that teams of Congressmen, perhaps one Republican and one Democrat, should tour the country after such a meeting, speaking wherever possible in various centers, although I should think that pressure of congressional duties might make this rather difficult at any time.

I am writing to each of the men I saw a letter similar to this, varying each one in the light of the particular conversation I had with him.

I am also enclosing a proposed draft of letter of invitation.

I told several of those whom I saw that I would follow this course, so that you and the others might discuss it if, as, and when you have opportunity.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 15, 1940.

Hon. ED GOSSETT,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GOSSETT: I spent Wednesday, March 9, in Washington and discussed with you and Congressmen Woodruff, Cox, John Phillips, and Lawrence Smith, and with Senators Byrd and Bricker, the proposal that certain Senators and Representatives invite leading citizens from different parts of the country to spend a day in Washington and be addressed by these Senators and Representatives.

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I am also enclosing a proposed draft of letter of invitation.

I told several of those whom I saw that I would follow this course, so that you and the others might discuss it if, as and when you have opportunity.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 16, 1940.

Mr. JAMES H. MCGRAW, JR.

*President, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc.**330 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. MCGRAW: I am greatly encouraged by the text of your advertisement that appears in *The New York Times* of this morning, entitled "The Election of November 2, 1948, Gave No Mandate for Socialism."

Gradually the country is awakening to the fact that socialism and communism are blood brothers. It will take a powerful lot of education to make the majority of the American people see that this is so, and especially make holders of and candidates for offices see that it is so. Yet, progress in this is being made and your contribution is a marked contribution toward it.

Incidentally, we brought Cecil Palmer over here from England a month or so ago, and he is addressing audiences from coast to coast and also is talking on the radio. He has spent evenings with three different groups of Senators and Congressmen, totaling together about 100, and is due to speak to a further group of about 50 sometime in April.

I enclose copy of radio address Mr. Palmer made February 27 over the ABC network.

Our general difficulty, it seems to me, is not with the rank and file of the people at all, many of them think pretty clearly on these subjects. Rather it is with the intellectuals in both the colleges and the churches. The effort to make a lot of good church people believe that somehow socialism is the carrying out of the Gospel of Christ has been put over very effectively. Some of these church people are wrenching themselves clear of it. I hope that more will.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc.,
330 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., March 25, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for writing me about my latest editorial and for sending me a copy of the council letter and Mr. Palmer's broadcast. The response drawn by our editorial program seems to furnish clear evidence that we are engaged in a thoroughly worth-while task.

Sincerely,

JAMES H. MCGRAW, JR.

MARCH 18, 1949.

Confidential.

MR. EDWARD F. HUTTON,
61 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

DEAR ED: One of our friends writes us about your proposed Freedom Foundation and mentions that Stassen is to be chairman of the committee to make the awards.

This is interesting if true, because it has always seemed to many of us that Stassen was a good deal of a "liberal" along with Dewey and various others and I have heard wonder expressed as to whether your foundation would not prove to be one more New Dealish outfit. I know you don't want this to happen and, because of our close friendship, I am feeling free in this confidential way to pass on the comment and raise the question.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

LEWIS TOWER BUILDING,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 21, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MERWIN: I am in receipt of yours of the 18th which came not only as a surprise, but a welcome one. I feel quite honored to be included as a member of your board of directors.

Sincerely,

KERN DODGE.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF HONOLULU,
Honolulu, Hawaii, March 17, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: The Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu wishes to order 3,500 copies of Council Letter No. 206, entitled "Political Medicine," January 1, 1949. We notice that you offer special prices for quantities in excess of 1,000 copies, and would like to be billed at this rate.

The chamber is carrying on a special program to acquaint the membership with the dangers of socialized medicine, and we feel that your leaflet on political medicine would be helpful in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. HAMILTON,
Executive Vice President.

MARCH 23, 1949.

MR. JOHN A. HAMILTON,
*Executive Vice President,
Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, Honolulu, Hawaii.*

DEAR MR. HAMILTON: On Monday we received your letter of March 17 saying you wished to get 3,500 copies of Council Letter No. 206 entitled "Political Medi-

clue." We immediately ordered another printing—the ninth—and the 3,500 copies are being shipped to you today.

The price for these is \$3.75 per hundred, and bill is enclosed.

This letter on political medicine has attracted wide attention, and orders for it continue to come in for large quantities.

Thinking that you may be interested in Cecil Palmer's commentary on socialized medicine in Britain, I am enclosing a copy herewith.

Thanking you for this order,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

CORRY-JAMESTOWN MFG. CORP.,
Corry, Pa., March 25, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: With reference to your action report I wish to inquire whether corporations may contribute and also whether such contributions if any is made, are deductible. Awaiting your reply, I am

Yours very truly,

DAVID A. HILLSTROM.

MARCH 28, 1949.

Mr. DAVID A. HILLSTROM,
Corry-Jamestown Mfg. Corp., Corry, Pa.

DEAR MR. HILLSTROM: With reference to your letter of March 20, contributions from both corporations and individuals are always greatly appreciated.

The National Economic Council has never been able to secure a ruling from the Treasury Department allowing individual contributors to the council to deduct their contributions before taxes. Many left-wing organizations and such propaganda organizations as the United Jewish Appeal are allowed this deduction but we are not.

We have never requested a ruling as to whether a contribution by a corporation was deductible before taxes. However, it is our understanding that corporations charge such a contribution to expense and hence it is deductible.

A corporation or individual who prefers to do so can purchase any number of subscriptions to the council publications at \$10 per year per subscription, the publications to be sent to colleges, public libraries, and churches; and such a contribution to this organization is deductible before taxes as a gift to charitable, educational, and religious corporations under the income tax law. In such a case we are prepared to furnish a suggested list of colleges, public libraries, and churches. Already some thousands of subscriptions have been purchased in this way.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

TOPEKA, March 30, 1949.

Mr. CLARENCE B. HEWES,
2358 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BUZZY: Your letter to the Wall Street Journal is a honey. For many months I have been intending to write an article or make a speech on "Who's Liberal Now?" Your quotation from Herbert Spencer is most apt.

What is the reaction in Washington to the war talk of Pearson and Winchell?

Bob Taft's stock is growing every day. You hear more friendly comments on his courage and ability than heretofore. He is much stronger than he was this time last year.

As I told some of my newspaper friends last December if he wins the fight in Ohio next year, I don't see how the party can pass him over in 1952. In fact with the state of public mind, he will be made to order for the nomination for President.

Regards,

ALF M. LANDON.

2858 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE,
Washington, D. C., April 5, 1949.

Personal

MERWIN K. HART, Esq.,
Empire State Building New York 1, N. Y.

MY DEAR MERWIN: Heartly congratulations on your superb Council Letter No. 212. This issue seems to me to be a good one to use for promotional purposes, and, if you will send me 10 or 15 copies, I shall place them where I think they will do the most good for your organization.

With warm personal regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

BUZZY,
CLARENCE B. HEWES.

APRIL 6, 1949.

Mr. CLARENCE B. HEWES,
2858 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BUZZY: Glad you like No. 212—here are 15 copies.

I have just returned from spending 10 days on the Pacific Coast with Cecil Palmer, our British speaker, who is doing a tremendously good piece of work for us here in the United States. I hope you have a chance to hear him speak.

Senator Hawkes gave a dinner for him in Washington on February 4, attended by a third of the members of the Senate, and some 25 or 30 Congressmen.

Hope to see you soon.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

INSTITUTE OF ARAB AMERICAN AFFAIRS, INC.
100 BROADWAY,
New York 7, N. Y., March 10, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York City 1.

DEAR MR. HART: At the request of Mr. Ben H. Freedman of New York City, I am sending you, under separate cover, a booklet containing testimonies by Msgr. Arthur Hughes and Monsignor Vergani concerning the Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Freedman suggested that the contents of this booklet would be very helpful to you in obtaining a better understanding of the concealed forces responsible for the fiasco and injustice to the people of Palestine.

Since the booklet is being sent under separate cover, I would appreciate it if you would let me know whether it is delivered to you.

Yours truly,

JAMES BATAL, *Editor.*

APRIL 4, 1949.

Mr. JAMES BATAL,
*Editor Institute of Arab American Affairs, Inc.,
100 Broadway, New York 7.*

DEAR MR. BATAL: Referring to your letter to me of March 16 in which you said you were arranging to have sent me copy of a booklet containing the testimony of two priests with regard to the Jews in Palestine, I wish to say that this arrived just before I left for a 2 weeks' trip to the West Coast. That is my reason for the delay in writing to thank you for your trouble, and to let you know that it has been received.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 17, 1940.

Mr. JAMES BATAL,
Editor, Institute of Arab American Affairs, Inc.
 160 Broadway, New York 7.

DEAR MR. BATAL: Thank you for arranging to send me copy of booklet containing testimony of two certain priests with regard to the Jews in Palestine. I shall be on the lookout for this, and read it carefully.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

APRIL 6, 1940.

Mr. WILLIAM E. UMSTATT,
President, Timken Roller Bearing Co.,
 1835 Dueber Avenue SW., Canton, Ohio.

DEAR MR. UMSTATT: The shipment of 700 Council Letter 200, made by us on March 30, has not been received by you, according to your wire of yesterday afternoon. That shipment was sent parcel post, but we find that through error the usual special-handling provision was not attached. We have accordingly wired you as follows:

"Retel yesterday are shipping additional 700 Council Letter 200 parcel post special handling. When you receive earlier shipment you may return them for credit if desired. Regret delay."

I have just returned from 10 days spent in Los Angeles and San Francisco where our speaker, Mr. Cecil Palmer, a Britisher of whom I have seen a good deal in London the last few summers, has been making his usual profound impression on audiences. Being a Britisher, he naturally can say nothing that savors of advice to Americans about what laws they should pass. But he reports so vividly the unfavorable effects of socialized medicine and other socialistic projects in Britain, that it really is unnecessary for him to draw any parallels in order for his audience to do a considerable amounts of thinking.

Palmer spoke before an audience of some 800 at a joint meeting of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. One of those present was Dr. Askey (I think I have his name spelled correctly), president of the California State Medical Society. As a result, three or four doctors later, but in San Francisco, called on Mr. Palmer, and said they must have Palmer for their most important medical meeting of the year in San Francisco on April 28. We had to refuse because on that day he is addressing the Rotary Club of Houston, said to be the largest Rotary Club in the world, and also a large gathering of the students of the local university. Palmer is dated up practically every day between now and June, when we have promised him a vacation.

He will be back in the fall for a long season of engagements, and it is entirely possible that some Canton organization would then be interested in having him. The enclosed radio address may be of interest to you.

Meanwhile we are making arrangements to take on an additional full-time speaker, one Ivan Lebedeff of Hollywood, Calif. Lebedeff, whom I have known for years, was born in Russia, was one of the youngest colonels in the White Russian Army at the age of 26, has had diplomatic experience, was brought to the United States by D. R. Griffith to act in pictures many years ago, and has for some years been an American citizen. He is high in wit and humor as well as in general intelligence and ability to put across his message. He is an uncompromising in favor of private enterprise, and as opposed to communism and socialism, in his way, as Palmer is in his.

The country has been flooded with left-wing speakers, as you doubtless know. There are multitudes of Britishers in this country today, supported unquestionably out of the funds we are giving Britain, and who are here to make the American people believe that socialism in Britain is a grand success. The leader of them is probably Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador, whom Fred Gurley, of the Santa Fe, told me some months ago he had been obliged to introduce at a meeting of the Economic Club of Chicago, of which he is the president, and that he made an outstanding address on behalf of socialism. Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the London Economist, is another of these propagandists. His line is that the economic effects of the nationalization of industry in Britain is that there are no economic effects—which is the way he phrased it in addressing the Economic Club in New York some time ago.

I mention the above to show you some of our activities in addition to our publications.

We subsist entirely on voluntary subscriptions which come from many thousands of individuals and corporations, and vary in amount from \$1 to as high as \$10,000.

I would be glad if your company would consider, after sufficient investigation, whether it could not support us.

With all good wishes, and regretting the delay in receiving the shipment of council letters,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

APRIL 7, 1940.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW,

President, William Volker & Co.,

Box 108, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Your order of March 20, for 12,000 copies of Sir Ernest Benn's article, *Governed to Death*, and the same number of copies of Council Letter 211, and of Cecil Palmer's commentaries, was received and the order was shipped, following your instructions, by our printer last evening. Invoices for these are being sent to the Kansas City office.

I was in San Francisco March 28, 29, and 30, at the St. Francis Hotel, and would certainly have looked you up if I had known you were there.

I spent 10 days with our speaker, Cecil Palmer, in California, and you will be interested to know that he has been doing an outstanding piece of work. I attended a dinner given by various of our friends in Sacramento the evening of March 30, at which all but five of the State senate and a large majority of the lower house attended, and where he made a very profound impression, indeed.

You will be interested to know that we have far more applications for Mr. Palmer to speak than he can possibly fill. If aid of the revolving fund to which you very generously contributed, we shall be enabled to bring Mr. Palmer back next year in October for a prolonged trip.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Copy to 631 Howard Street, San Francisco 5, Calif.

MARCH 9, 1940.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,

du Pont Building, Wilmington 08, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Mr. Hart has requested me to send you a list of 200 institutions whose subscriptions you are renewing for 1940. This list is enclosed herewith. Please sign and return one copy.

You may note there are some changes in personnel which brings the list up to date.

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter received from a librarian whose library is on one of your gift lists.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

LAMMOT DU PONT,
DU PONT BUILDING,
Wilmington 08, Del., April 14, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: This will acknowledge Mrs. Dall's letter of March 9, enclosing list of 200 institutions whose subscriptions have been renewed for 1940. Mr. du Pont is in Florida at the present time and will not return until April 4. Shortly thereafter he will return one copy to you, signed.

Yours sincerely,

MARY A. DOUGHERTY,
Secretary to Mr. du Pont.

WILMINGTON, DEL., April 4, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Further in reply to your letter of March 9, I am returning herewith list of subscriptions which have been renewed for 1940 and which I have signed, as requested.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

WOMEN INVESTORS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.

224 SECOND STREET SOUTHEAST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPECIAL REPORT NO. 007, APRIL 18, 1940

Relative to changes in H. R. 4200 (bill introduced April 14, 1940, by Representative Wood of Georgia) as compared with language of H. R. 8228 (bill introduced March 8, 1940, by Representative Wood) and proposed as a substitute for H. R. 2082 (introduced January 31, 1940, by Representative Lesinski) to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act

NOTE.—The following has been prepared at the request of Members of Congress so they may be informed on changes made in the language of the above bills during their absence on Easter vacation. It is expected these bills will be presented for their consideration and action on the floor of the House immediately following their return about April 25, 1940.

H. R. 8228

P. 1: Purpose: To amend Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947.

P. 2: Introductory language of title I simply read to amend Labor-Management Relations Act.

P. 6, lines 2-3: Changed the definition of "agricultural employee."

P. 9, lines 7-16: Establishment of the NLRB retained as in T-H.

P. 10, lines 18-19: General Counsel retained as in T-H.

H. R. 4200

P. 1: Purpose: To establish fair and equitable rules of conduct to govern labor and management in their relations, etc.

P. 2: Specifically "repeals" T-H and "amends" NLRA as it existed prior to T-H with the main provisions of T-H without making reference by name.

P. 6, lines 6-7: Reverts to T-H definition.

P. 9, lines 10-18: Language changed to bring law up to date, but effect of T-H retained.

P. 10, lines 21-25: Saving clause written in to maintain General Counsel's continuity of office notwithstanding the repeal of T-H.

P. 16, lines 14-25; p. 16, lines 1-2: Following new language added to "employer's discrimination" section:

"or (3) the employee's participation in, or encouragement of other employees to engage in, a strike or concerted activity in violation of the collective-bargaining agreement between such labor organization and the employer, or (8) the employee's membership or affiliation with the Communist Party or his support thereof, or his membership in, affiliation with, or support of any organization that believes in or practices the overthrow of the United States Government by force or any illegal or unconstitutional methods; And provided further, That nothing herein shall make it an unfair labor practice for an employer merely to notify a labor organization of opportunities for employment."

P. 17, lines 1-11: In section listing unfair labor practices of labor unions, the following new language is inserted in the "discrimination" section:

"or (2) the employee's participation in, or encouragement of other employees to engage in, a strike or concerted activity in violation of the collective-bargaining agreement between such labor organization and the employer, or (8) the employee's membership or affiliation with the Communist Party or his support

H. R. 8228

H. R. 4290

P. 18, lines 15-17: Seventh "unfair labor practice" for unions, added by this bill to T.H.

P. 18, lines 21-23: Additional language added to "free speech" section.

P. 20, lines 25-28; p. 21, lines 1-4: De-
show method whereby an employee may lose
status as such.

P. 24, lines 7-8: Read as follows:

"Employees on strike who are not en-
titled to reinstatement shall not be
eligible to vote."

P. 20, lines 14-10: Adds definition of "of-
fense" as used in anti-Communist amend-
ment.

P. 32, lines 0-0: Authorizing back pay for
"unfair labor practices" made applicable to
unions.

P. 37-39, sections j-k: Dealing with
power of Board to issue complaint re unfair
labor practices and apply for appropriate in-
junctive relief.

P. 43, lines 19-25: Added language item-
izing situations in which bill would not fur-
nish remedy.

P. 45: Sections 102-103 dealt with "effec-
tive date of changes" made by T.H.

P. 50, section 202 (c), lines 8-10: Pro-
vide for the submission to employees for
secret ballot the employers' last offer.

P. 58, lines 21-25: Following language
added to "restrictions on payments to em-
ployee representative" section: "or to any
trustee, trust fund, or charitable organiza-
tion for the benefit, in whole or in part, of
his employees or the employees of any other
employer, pursuant to an agreement therefor
between such employer and such representa-
tive."

P. 59, lines 5-9: Similar language as that
immediately above added to "restrictions on
receiving payments" section.

P. 60, line 26; p. 60, lines 1-2: Prohibi-
tion against automatic deduction from pay of
initiation fees, dues, etc.

thereof, or his membership in, affiliation
with, or support of any organization
that believes in, or teaches, the over-
throw of the United States Government
by force or any illegal or unconstitu-
tional methods."

P. 18, lines 3-12: Section making second-
ary boycott an unfair labor practice, the fol-
lowing language is added:

"unless such strike or concerted refusal
is authorized by a clause or stipulation
in a collective-bargaining contract per-
mitting employees covered by such con-
tract to refuse to work on orders being
performed for the account of an employer
whose employees, who would normally
perform such work, are engaged in a law-
ful strike approved or ratified by their
representative whom such employer is
required to recognize under this Act, if
such representative is the same local
labor organization which is a party to
such collective-bargaining contract;"

P. 10: This section omitted.

P. 20, line 8: The language added to T.H.
by previous bill dropped in this version.

P. 22, line 4: This "loss of status" pro-
vision omitted.

P. 25, lines 7-11: Changed to read as fol-
lows:

"An employee on strike shall be eligible
to vote (A) if he is entitled to reinstatement,
or (B) even though he is not
eligible to reinstatement, if his place has
not been validly filled by a permanent
replacement for ninety days or more
preceding the date of the election."

P. 30, line 17: Omitted; returning to lan-
guage of T.H.

P. 33, line 2: Language returned to that
of T.H.

P. 38-39: Wording of section j changed
to give general counsel the power to apply
for injunctive relief and section k combined
with rewritten section j; "preliminary in-
vestigation" eliminated.

P. 43, line 14: Omitted, and a return to
T.H. language is made.

P. 44: These sections no longer appli-
cable and are omitted.

P. 44: New section 102 inserted to insure
continuity of proceedings before NLRB due
to repeal and reenactment of labor legisla-
tion.

P. 47, line 3: Technical change to insure
continuity of Federal Mediation and Con-
ciliation Service during repeal and reenact-
ment.
change.

P. 48, sec. (d): Technical wording
change.

P. 50, line 1: Omitted.

P. 51, line 22-23: Technical wording
change to effect conformity and continuity.

P. 58, line 12: Indicated language omitted.

P. 58, line 17: Indicated language omitted.

P. 59, line 8: Provision omitted and a
return to T.H. language made.

H. R. 8228

H. R. 4200

P. 62, lines 18-21; Section (f) "time" clause retained as in T-H.

P. 61: Indicated section of no applicability and properly omitted.

P. 62, lines 21-25; p. 63, lines 1-6: The following new language added to "unlawful combination" section:

"unless such strike or concerted refusal is authorized by a clause or stipulation in a collective-bargaining contract permitting employees covered by such contract to refuse to work on orders being performed for the account of an employer whose employees, who would normally perform such work, are engaged in a lawful strike approved or ratified by their representative whom such employer is required to recognize under this Act, if such representative is the same local labor organization which is a party to such collective-bargaining contract."

NOTE.—In changing the title and "purpose" from "amending" to "repeal" the psychological effect is attained of repealing T-H while at the same time re-enacting it.

The following are the changes in H. R. 4200 which do not result in a return to T-H language:

1. Pages 15 and 17, new language is added to "antidiscrimination" sections.
2. Page 18, new language added to "secondary-boycott" section of the unfair labor practices, qualifying the section so as to permit such action if covered by collective-bargaining contracts.
3. Page 22, elimination of language defining "loss of employee-status."
4. Page 25, new language defines eligibility to vote in elections.
5. Page 38, the rewriting of subsections j-k.
6. Pages 44-45, the addition of a new "saving" section.
7. Page 50, line 1, the elimination of the "employer's last offer" vote conducted by the Mediation Service.
8. Page 62, similar language in conformity to note 2 above, inserted in "Boycotts and Unlawful Combinations" section.

All other changes were technical conforming changes or were reversions to the original language of the T-H Act.

NORTH COAST RETAIL HARDWARE ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Seattle 4, Wash., April 15, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have just had the pleasure of reading the text of the broadcast by Cecil Palmer over ABC Network, Sunday, February 27, entitled "What Socialism Is Doing to British Freedom."

In the lower corner of this printed text is a notation "Copyright 1949, America's Future, Inc.", and at the top is wide open permission to reprint. However, no mention is made of where reprints might be available.

We would like very much to obtain 500 reprints of this to distribute to our membership and to memberships of some other groups with which we also work. Can you tell me where these might be available, and the cost?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

DAVE L. ALLAN, JR.

APRIL 19, 1949.

Mr. DAVE L. ALLAN, JR.,
North Coast Retail Hardware Association, Inc.,
American Building, Seattle 4, Wash.

DEAR MR. ALLAN: Complying with your request of April 15, we have placed an order for 500 copies of the reprints of Mr. Cecil Palmer's broadcast with the Committee for Constitutional Government, which publishes them.

They will be sent to you direct, together with invoice.

We enclose sample copies of recent council publications for your interest. The council letter is published semimonthly and the review of books on the

first of each month. The folder states purposes of the council and lists its personnel. We also enclose some publicity on Mr. Palmer, whose speaking engagements all over the country have met with great success and have roused profound interest.

Won't you become a subscriber to the council and receive our material regularly?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

EDWARDS & ANGELL
COUNSELORS AT LAW
15 Westminster Street

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 16, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: The following contributions are about to be made to the National Economic Council:

American Bleached Goods Co., Inc. (N. Ross MacCallum, president), 40 Worth St., New York, N. Y.	\$100
Sayles Finishing Plants, Inc. (George E. Sinkinson, president), Saylesville, R. I.	250
Sayles Biltmore Bleacheries, Inc. (George E. Sinkinson, president), Saylesville, R. I.	250

I should appreciate your placing on your mailing list the following persons who are interested in the foregoing companies, in case they are not already on your list:

1. Sinclair Richardson, 40 Worth Street, New York, N. Y.
2. Everett S. Hartwell, estate of Frank A. Sayles, 1410 Industrial Trust Building, Providence, R. I.
3. Malcolm E. Read, vice president, Industrial Trust Co., 111 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.
4. John Hutton, Glenlyon Print Works, Phillipsdale, R. I. (one of the plants of Sayles Finishing Plants).
5. N. Ross MacCallum, president, American Bleached Goods Co., Inc. (to whom the literature and letters intended for that company should be sent).
6. The literature and letters to Sayles Finishing Plants should be sent to George E. Sinkinson, president, at Saylesville, R. I. He is also president of Sayles Biltmore Bleacheries, so that one mailing to him will cover both companies.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

APRIL 20, 1940.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR BOB: I received your letter of April 16, and yesterday checks came from the American Bleached Goods Co., Sayles Finishing Plants, Inc., and Sayles Biltmore Bleacheries, in the amounts you stated.

I am glad you gave us the names of individuals interested in these companies, and they are all being put on our mailing list and they will hereafter receive all of our publications.

We deeply appreciate your efforts to interest these people in our work.

I am out of the hospital, but am having to go at a much slower pace than I like.

Sorry you could not get down to the Ad Club luncheon today—but I can't go, either.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

April 22, 1940.

Miss CATHERINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street, SE., Washington 3, D. C.

DEAR CATHERINE: Way back last November we became enthusiastic over two certain confidential memorandums of yours, and we asked you to send us 100 copies, which you did. We distributed these to friends who, I am sure, were able to be helpful to you. You presently sent us a bill for \$75, for these.

Subsequent to that, in order to help the cause and to help you, we let you have Cecil Palmer for 2 days in Washington. We are now getting as high as \$500 for a single lecture by Mr. Palmer, and, under the circumstances, it seems to me it might appeal to you as fair to cancel the bill of \$75 which you made out against us, on the understanding that we are not to make (as we at no time planned to make) any charge against you for Mr. Palmer's services.

If this is agreeable to you, will you kindly let me know?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

APRIL 25, 1940.

DEAR GRIFF: The great Taft allows as how: "Unless the Republican Party supports welfare legislation, it is finished"; and that "Republicans would have to support welfare legislation if they expected to win elections." Now, ain't that just grand, coming from an alleged Republican leader?

And Wolcott, ranking member of the House Banking and Currency Committee allows that the 57-13 vote of the Senate on the housing bill "is a little too much to combat," and that they "will not be able to stop it in the House."

The thought of losing a few votes make forthright cowards of all politicians, and their oath of office is rendered ineffective.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure—clippings:

Times-Herald, April 24, 1940—Coffin's column.

Times-Herald, April 25, 1940—news story, page 2.

New York Times, April 24, 1940—editorial section.

APRIL 28, 1940.

Mr. H. W. LUINOW,
Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUINOW: Mr. Cecil Palmer, toward whose coming to America you contributed generously, continues to make a most favorable impression. I think without doubt he has done more than any single lecturer to convey to the American people the truth about the utter failure of socialism in Britain.

Mr. Palmer has now spoken in Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C., South Carolina, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California, and Texas. During the next 4 or 5 weeks he will speak a number of times in Texas, and also in Louisiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and a number of times in and near Greater New York. Numerous requests have been made for Mr. Palmer to speak, but for which there have been no vacant dates.

I am enclosing herewith sample letters received by us with respect to certain meetings where he has spoken. These are typical. I am enclosing also photostatic copies of certain publicity that he has received, which are likewise typical.

I was myself present at a dinner given in honor of Mr. Palmer in Sacramento in late March, at which all but five members of the State senate, and a large majority of the lower house of the California Legislature, were present. I am certain, as I am sure all of us outsiders who attended that dinner are certain, that there is less likelihood of socialistic legislation passing in California since Mr. Palmer has spoken.

When Mr. Palmer first came to this country we were obliged to make a number of speaking dates for which no fee could be charged, and a number of engagements where, under the circumstances, it was inappropriate to expect a fee. Since Mr. Palmer's reputation as an authority and as a speaker has become so well established, we have been able to get fees ranging from \$300 to \$500. Thus, you will be glad to learn that the prospects are we will close the season having made satisfactory compensation to Mr. Palmer and covered all of the

necessarily heavy expenses, with the Palmer fund practically intact and ready to bring him back, as we plan to do, in October for a longer season of 7 or 8 months.

The above is in the nature of a report on the progress of Dr. Palmer's speaking campaign.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

APRIL 20, 1940.

Mr. A. A. ZOLL.

420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ZOLL: Thanks very much for sending me copy of your Red-utators at the University of Chicago. I am very glad to have this, and am glad that it has been getting such excellent publicity.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

LEWIS TOWER,

Philadelphia 2, Pa., March 2, 1940.

The enclosed list was received by me from a large manufacturing company which is considering helping groups which are combating evil trends in this country and have asked my advice.

I am sending it to you to ask that you vote for or against each of them and return the list to me, so that I might have a composite picture to present.

You may have in mind some worthy group which should be added. If so, please do. Your cooperation would be appreciated.

KERN DODGE.

	For	Against
Advertising Council, 11 West 42d St., New York; 203 North Wabash, Chicago	1	5
American Economic Foundation, 265 Madison Ave., New York City	3	2
American Enterprise Association	1	2
American Heritage Foundation, 17 East 46th St., New York City	0	5
American Thought Leaders Forum, 35 East Wacker Dr., Chicago	0	2
American Wage Earners' Foundation, 30 North La Salle St., Chicago	2	2
America's Future, Inc., 210 East 43d Street, New York City	5	2
Big Brothers of America, 1317 Broad St. Station Bldg, Philadelphia	1	2
Brookings Institution, Washington	1	8
Christian Herald Magazine, 27 East 36th St., New York City	1	4
Union Case	11	1
Committee for Constitutional Government	3	3
Common Sense Union, N. J.	5	2
Federation of McGuffey Societies, Box 45, Oxford, Ohio	0	1
Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.	4	3
Harding College, Secaucus, Ark	0	2
Joint Committee on Improvement of Public Understanding of Economic System, 420 Lexington Ave., New York	0	1
Labor Relations and Educational Associates	2	2
Life Insurance Policyholders, Protective Association, 116 Nassau St., New York City ..	3	2
Moral Reformation	1	0
National Association of Manufacturers, 11 West 40th St., New York City	5	4
National Council for American Education, 420 Lexington Ave., New York City	11	1
National Council for Community Improvement, 1700 K St. NW, Washington, D. C.	0	3
National Economic Council, Empire State Bldg., New York	11	1
National Foreman's Institute, Deep River	1	2
National Labor Management Foundation, 130 North Clark St., Chicago	2	2
National Laymen's Council, 53 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago	8	1
George Park, 163 East 38th St., New York City	3	1
Polish Daily Zgoda, 1201 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago	1	1
Producer's Council, Inc., 816 18th St. NW, Washington, D. C.	0	1
Research Council for Economic Security, 111 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago	0	2
Small Business Economic Foundation, 122 West Monroe St., Chicago	1	2
Tax Foundation, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20	1	2
Transportation Association of America, 130 North Wells St., Chicago	0	2
Wage Earners Forum	0	2
World Council of Churches, 297 4th Ave., New York 10	1	10

LEWIS TOWER BUILDING,
Philadelphia 2, Pa., April 14, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: I thought you would be interested in the result of the voting for or against certain organizations, and you will find herewith a copy of the list as sent showing the results.

You will note that everyone did not vote for or against in some cases, and this was because they did not know enough about it to give an opinion.

You need not return the list.

Yours very truly,

KERN DODGE.

MAY 3, 1940.

Mr. KERN DODGE,
Lewis Tower Building, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

DEAR KERN: Absence from my office due to illness has prevented my acknowledging your letter of April 14 until now.

I was much interested in the result of that canvass you made of what various people thought of certain organizations.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

MAY 6, 1940.

Memo to Mr. D. L. Reed.
From Mr. Hart.

Confirming our conversation last evening, I am arranging to give you letters to the following men:

Col. John O. Beaty, 8588 Haynie Avenue, Dallas, Tex. (phone Lakeside 2975). Colonel Beaty served all through World War II in Washington in Military Intelligence. He is keenly alive to certain elements in this country that are extremely active. He is professor—I think in Old English—in the Southern Methodist University (which in Dallas goes by the name of "SMU"). You can get him at his house, or during the daytime at the office in the university. He is a man, probably 55, deeply serious, and very gravely concerned over recent trends in this country.

Vance Muse, 2708 Werlein Street, Houston, Tex. Muse, like Colonel Beaty, though in a somewhat different way, is keenly alive to what is being done in this country by certain elements. He conducts a kind of one-man campaign of his own. He himself was largely instrumental in persuading the legislatures of a number of States to adopt the so-called right-to-work amendment, a State constitutional amendment that overruled the closed shop of the Wagner Act. Muse keeps his office in his house. He is a man of large frame, a little slow to move, but just as serious in his way as Colonel Beaty is in his.

Walter O. Caldwell, Jr., Second National Bank Building, Houston, Tex. Walter is a member of the board of directors of the NEC. He is a man in his early sixties; spent most of his life in Chicago where he still keeps a home; but a few years ago married a young woman, member of a well-known family in Houston, and they now divide their time between Houston, Chicago, and Florida. He is in Houston now, and it is my impression that he intends to stay until early June. Caldwell knows most of the big men in Houston. Vance Muse would not know so many, and would not know them in the same way.

Iva Lebedeff, 8888 Applian Way, Hollywood, Calif. Lebedeff was in the White Russian Army after serving in the Imperial Army until the fall of the Tsar. He rose from private through all the various grades to full colonel at the age of 24. After the war Denikin sent him on a special mission to all of the western European countries to convey to them correct information as to the threat of bolshevism. After the fall of Denikin's government he entered business, and a few years later D. W. Griffith, the great moving-picture producer of his time—and perhaps the greatest of all in the movie industry—discovered him, and after he had made a number of pictures in Europe brought him to Hollywood. There he

flourished for a number of years, and there he married Wera Engels, who had been a top-notch movie actress in Germany. For reasons too long to go into, but about which I think he will be willing to tell you when you meet him, the Jews in Hollywood turned against him and have made life very miserable and difficult both for him and his very attractive wife. He has supported himself almost entirely, I think, by lecturing, at which he is very good. In fact the NEC is now trying to arrange to take him on as a full staff member.

Lebedeff knows the whole situation in Hollywood, and is widely acquainted and well thought of among many leading persons in California and the west coast.

William C. Mullendore, Edison Building, Los Angeles, is chairman of the board of the Southern California Edison Co. Mr. Mullendore, by reason of being the head of a public-service corporation, has to be rather careful of what he does, but he is a very warm friend of our organization. I do not think he is a man of substantial means, but doubtless receives a substantial salary.

Rev. James W. Fifield, Jr., D. D., 535 South Hoover Street, Los Angeles, is the pastor of the First Congregational Church. Don't miss seeing Dr. Fifield under any circumstances. He is a very brilliant preacher, always attracting a huge crowd to his church. Our Cecil Palmer spoke in his church one Sunday evening to an audience of some 2,000 people. I have not known Dr. Fifield very long, but I do know that he is about 100 percent on our way of thinking, and he appreciates keenly the influence of the elements which we have in mind.

Albert C. Mattel, president of the Honolulu Oil Co., 215 Market St., San Francisco, is a man who achieved substantial success at a relatively early age. He is probably now in his early fifties. He does not often express opinions, but he is very keen, has been prominent as a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and in other activities. I do not know just how far he would care to go in expressing views to these elements, but you can feel your way. He is rather on the aloof side, so don't be surprised if he does not warm up rapidly. But I am sure he will be interested, if he is in town, in hearing what you can tell him about things throughout the world.

Frank C. Rand, Jr., Santa Fe, N. Mex., has a chain of newspapers in New Mexico and neighboring States. He is a member of a well-to-do family in St. Louis who some years ago went to New Mexico. He has been in our office and is one of our good friends.

James H. Gipson, 312 Main Street, Caldwell, Idaho. Jim Gipson is a half-fellow-well-met individual, a good writer, a keen businessman, very much interested in the Republican Party, but is quite independent (he could have had high public office in Idaho long ago if he had been willing to take it). He is the man I told you wrote me a letter replying to me a protest that had been made to him by Isaac Don Levine about my being anti-Semitic. Jim did not get at all excited about it, and I am inclined to think his passing it on to me was rather a pro forma proceeding. He is a director of NEC.

Jim knows all of Idaho and the Northwest generally. He has an amazing number of friends, and is of course of high character. He is the head of the Caxton Printers, Ltd., which turns out carefully selected books.

Robert L. Lund, 800 South Euclid Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Bob Lund, as he is known by everybody, was formerly the executive head of the Lambert Pharmaceutical Co., one of the large chemical companies of the country. They make a very common product known as Listerine. Bob has long since retired from his company. Formerly he was president of the National Association of Manufacturers. He is a calm, quiet individual, who accomplishes a great deal with an air of ease and efficiency. I have never discussed questions pertaining to alien elements with Bob, but I would certainly think it would be worth your while to see him. He is, of course, a man of integrity. He knows everybody in St. Louis, and you can explore your way in conference with him.

Harry A. Jung, Chicago. I have already told you about him, and understand you are already in contact with him.

In Washington you should see three certain Congressmen:

Congressman Ed Gossett, of Texas, Democrat, who has made speeches on the floor of the lower House attacking the Jews. He is a high-type fellow, sincere and able.

Congressman Lawrence H. Smith, of Wisconsin, Republican, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He is not a brilliant man, but is painstaking, earnest, and effective worker on our side.

Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, of New York, Republican, is a very intimate friend of mine. He represents a district in New York State just north of New York City. He is an extremely hard worker, is interested in opposing unwise labor legislation, and such projects as housing, Federal aid to education, etc.

Last, but not least, I would mention Walter Trohan, head of the Chicago Tribune Bureau in Washington, D. C. (Albee Building, across the street from the old Treasury Building). Walter is an intimate friend of mine. He is the kind of newspaperman you can talk to in complete confidence. His sympathies are almost 100 percent on our side. He is one of the keenest newspapermen in Washington, and knows the answers to more questions than any newspaperman I have found down there. He is a youngish fellow, still in his early forties. He is an intimate friend of John T. Flynn.

I will prepare letters of introduction to each of these persons and give them to you, and then I will write to each of them direct, telling them that they are likely to hear from you.

Just received an order from Luhnnow for 12,000 copies of British Socialism * * *. Called Folk and asked him when he would print order; he said that union men stop working at 4:15 and therefore they would not be able to print the order until Monday.

In the office at present we have about 1,500 copies. Folk is holding another 5,000 copies awaiting our shipping instructions.

I am wondering if you want me to just order 12,000 as a second printing and ship all to Luhnnow or if you would prefer to use some of the 5,000 he is holding and print the balance to complete the order if you want the order plus an additional amount printed?

I told Folk that unless he heard differently from me to just print 12,000 and ship them all to Mr. Luhnnow—this means that our quantity on hand will still be the same. If you would prefer me to give him different printing instructions kindly wire me.

As I understand it we are not to give Mr. Luhnnow a special price on these but use the price which is printed on the pamphlet, namely 15 cents for orders over 1,000 copies. We are also to charge him shipping charges. I will not send the bill to cover this order for a few days so as to give you time to write and give me different instructions if you so desire.

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
Kansas City 10, Mo., May 11, 1940.

The NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Please send us 12,000 copies of the pamphlet by Cecil Palmer entitled, "British Socialism Is Destroying British Freedom," and send invoice to cover.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
By H. W. LUHNOW.

Mr. H. W. LUHNOW, in care of WILLIAM VOLKER & Co.,
Third and Main Streets, Kansas City 10, Mo.

MAY 16, 1940.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Thank you very much for your order for 12,000 copies of British Socialism Is Destroying British Freedom. We are advising our printer today of your order and they will be shipped to you direct.

As stated on the back cover of the pamphlet "Each copy supplied in envelope for mailing unless otherwise requested." We are wondering if you would like them sent to you in this manner. As you are sending out so many would you prefer us to send you the envelopes separately as they will not go through a meter-mailing machine with the contents enclosed? Or would you prefer to use

your own envelopes? As we will have to place a special order for envelopes, delivery will be made in about ten days.

We would appreciate your wiring us collect.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. G. DALL, Assistant to the President.

600 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I was glad to hear from Griff yesterday that you have returned much improved; and here's hoping the recovery will be speedy and permanent.

Griff always makes both an excellent statement and a good appearance, though his clear-cut statements are not much appreciated by the Fair Dealers and Government-wreckers.

Yesterday, we were treated to a sad spectacle. Of all the many appearances, including the American Medical Association, the dentists' organizations, the optometrists' association, and others, Griff's was the only forthright defense made against the proposed political-medicine measures. True, some of the speakers professedly and half-heartedly registered opposition, but, without fail, they proposed alternative plans which, in addition to being almost as bad as the administration's plan, would serve to let the bureaucratic camel get its nose under the medical tent, with plenty of room for expansion.

It really seems that the American people are completely subjected and cowed by the trend to socialism, and worse, and delude themselves into the utterly mistaken belief that they must compromise—to take whatever they can get, instead of what the administration offers.

The great Oscar Ewing, father of the bold new medical plan, excused his non-appearance on the ground of a recent operation and ill health. His spokesman, however, failed to mention Mr. Ewing's recent long stay in a Coast Guard hospital in Baltimore at the taxpayers' expense.

Get Griff to describe for you the physical and mental gyrations indulged in by Mr. Ewing's assistant, a Mr. J. Donald Kingsley. No one asked Kingsley to give his right name, though.

Rest assured that, in Dr. Griffith, you have an able, loyal assistant who is not a compromiser.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

BROADCASTING CORP. OF AMERICA,
Riverside, Calif., May 26, 1949.

Miss OPAL ESSANT,
18 West Eighty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR Miss ESSANT: Thanks for the leaflets you sent me which arrived a couple days ago. I have read part of them with much interest, not having time to digest all as yet.

The views expressed agree with mine in general and as I have had the temerity to state in public addresses and in broadcasts.

I am apprehensive as to the outcome of the present Big Four huddle in Paris, and have said so also. As we were sold down river before at the meetings of the "destiny directors" one naturally is not overconfident of their ability (or intent) to salvage us now. However, we shall see and some of the minority—to which I must be included—will tell as much of the facts and motives as we can, hoping that in the future we can get together.

Again thanking you for your note and the leaflets, I am,

Sincerely,

E. L. DELANEY.

A broadcast of E. L. D.'s was published in the Congressional Record about 6 weeks ago. I sent him words of praise. He replied, so sent him copies of your last 10 council letters.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1949.

DEAR GRIFF: House Report No. 500, on H. R. 4009, the housing bill, contains the following pertinent finding and statement:

"Hearings on H. R. 4009 were held by your committee during the period from April 7, through May 9. Your committee heard testimony by a great number of witnesses and was impressed not only by the overwhelming support of its provisions from spokesmen of a wide variety of citizens' groups, but also by the increasing acceptance of its major objectives even by industry leaders who disagreed with detailed provisions."

If that isn't a lousy statement, where would one be likely to be found?

Manifestly, the citizens' groups consisted principally of the CIO and others; and as for the increasing acceptance by industry, it portrays the great evil of not having true opponents to the socialistic trend, and the disposition of those who should oppose to compromise with evil.

Today, I'll send you a copy of this report.

I still hear that the House Rules Committee will not report the housing bill out, which will mean they can't get it up except under the prostituted procedure which allows a demand from the floor and a certain vote to bring a bill out of Rules. Maybe it's dead for this session.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Here, for whatever they may be worth, are a few thoughts that have long been gnawing at my inner conscience:

Apparently the most important, and not often noticed, fact emerging from the November election is that there were some 700,000 voters who, when casting their ballots, failed to indicate their preference for either Presidential candidate. Then, too, there were millions of voters who did not go to the polls at all.

It seems more than likely that both classes of voters were impelled by the sound thought that they could not vote for the Truman program to continue and expand the wasteful, ideological, and socialistic schemes of the past 16 years, and would not vote for Mr. Dewey, who said, "Yes, yes, and me too," on every issue or thing mentioned. In short, that large mass of voters have had enough of both parties, or such parts of them as were left.

Now, if there were some way to reach that large number of voters, and keep their thoughts alive to the evils of things as they are, much good might be accomplished.

I have long thought that the weekly newspaper is, perhaps, the best medium for reaching the people at what has come to be known as the grass roots—people who, after all, remain the very backbone of this country, or what's left of it.

Might it not be a good idea to consider distributing your excellent council letters to the weeklies, probably a selected list to start, and expand the distribution if the trial proves encouraging?

It might, also, be well to consider sending with each letter a draft of an editorial which would boil down the council letter to encourage editors to use at least the substance of what the council is putting out.

Pardon the intrusion, but these suggestions are sent along for whatever they may be worth to you. I still believe the weekly papers are the most unsullied segment of the American fourth estate that has survived 16 years of ruination; and that, if they can be inspired, then can make their views felt.

You've probably noticed that a larger number of newspapermen have been found on the public payrolls in Illinois, New York, and Florida; and I venture the suggestion that those uncovered are but a small drop in ye old paken bucket to what would be found if it were possible to show how many are, and have been, on the Federal Government rolls during the past 15 or 16 years.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1949.

DEAR GRIFF: Enclosed is a memorandum concerning a bill to permit national banks to deal in bonds of the World Bank, which is self-explanatory.

This seems an unwarranted attempt to authorize national banks to invest their assets in questionable securities, though they cannot make loans on real estate, as I recall the law.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

PERMISSION TO NATIONAL BANKS TO DEAL IN WORLD BANK BONDS

The Washington Post of May 24, 1949, reported that the House Banking and Currency Committee had unanimously approved a bill to let national banks deal in the bonds of the World Bank.

Immediately following the article, a second article appears, headed, "World Bank studies loan to Soviet-bloc nations."

Our national banking laws prevent national banks from lending money on real estate as security, it is understood; yet the powers that be would permit the banks to deal in, and handle, World Bank bonds that are secured by the interests and obligations of the bank's 48 member countries.

This looks like "foolishments."

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 27, 1949.

DEAR GRIFF: Per our conversation of Wednesday, last:

Enclosed is a draft of my first impression concerning the matter of lobbying and the forthcoming investigation thereof by a Joint Senate-House committee.

I have retained a copy of the draft; and, if you will let me have the benefit of your thoughts and suggestions, I will rework the material in a later, and, if possible, permanent draft.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., May 31, 1949.

DEAR GRIFF: The enclosed letter from Judge Cox, Georgia, will explain itself and his views on the housing bill.

I still hear that the Rules Committee, of which the judge, as you know, is a member, will not send the housing bill to the floor; and that, if it is brought up for debate and action, it will have to be done the hard way.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

JUNE 1, 1949.

MEMORANDUM

Ives et al. Substitute health bill, S. 1070, introduced May 31, 1949. Copies being sent today.

FEPC bill, Chairman Powell, Extension 2004: Hearings closed last Thursday. Did we have request in to be heard?

The assignment clerk tells he he couldn't tell, without a check, what happened, whether we had a request and were notified or not. He said many people were notified to submit statements, in lieu of a hearing, and will check and let me know what happened, this afternoon.

Education bill: Mr. Boyer, assignment clerk to Barden's subcommittee says he can't tell yet whether we will be heard, or when; that we have not been scheduled as yet, and our hearing will depend on how long the hearing will run; that it's up to the chairman about extending the time; and that he can probably tell me something more definite this afternoon. I'm to call him about 3 p. m. His attitude was one of seeming indifference.

Phoned to Griff, June 1, 1949.

JUNE 3, 1940.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
15 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR BOB: Confirming telephone conversation a few moments ago, it seems to be well settled that any individual can purchase subscriptions to our publications, or purchase quantities of any single one of our publications, and give the subscriptions to colleges, public libraries and incorporated churches, and then deduct the amount of money he invests in these before taxes.

The matter was called to our attention some 2 or 3 years ago by a man in Michigan who promptly purchased 200 subscriptions.

I enclose photostatic copy of opinion of Mason H. Bigelow, our attorney, which bears on the question. Several other contributors, soon after we started following this plan, likewise obtained opinions from their own legal counsel.

It was good to talk with you on the telephone.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JUNE 1, 1940.

Memo to Mr. Hart
From Miss De Witt

Mr. Dresser 'phoned to inquire Mr. Palmer's address; Mr. Harding and Dr. Rumely had both told him that he was in a hospital, and he wanted to write him a note. I supplied it.

Then he wanted to know if there were any way by which corporations could contribute to the council and have the contributions deductible before taxes; he has interested several corporations and individuals in the work of the council. I told him of the gift-subscription method, and he asked if we had a ruling on it. I said we had had the opinion of our own counsel, and that counsel for various donors had concurred. He expressed doubt that such contributions would come under the provisions of the income-tax law relating to contributions to educational, religious, and charitable contributions because of our activity in legislative matters. But he would like very much to have you write him. I told him that so far as I knew no income-tax examiner had challenged the deductibility taken, and that we had had many such contributions.

CRUMMEY, KOHTATA & Co.,
6055 SOUTH PERRY AVENUE,
Chicago 21, Ill., June 15, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
7501 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: I wrote you on the 18th about an inquiry from the county medical at Evansville, Ind., relayed to me by a John Mirt, of the American Medical Association public-relations office here. I am now in receipt of a letter directly from Evansville, which I am forwarding to you together with my reply. I have sent a copy of this reply to Mr. Mirt and suggested that when you are here next week you and I would try to contact him. I think this American Medical Association contact might be developed into entree from which national bookings for Mr. Palmer, before medical groups locally, or under such auspices, could develop.

I enclose program of our annual-meeting banquet of the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants, held last night. Our speaker was Fred Maytag II, member of the Iowa State Senate as well as head of that Maytag washing-machine business. He could have been talking for the NEC, the way he handed it out in defense of free enterprise and against subversive pressure groups. I spoke to him afterward, and he seemed acquainted with Mr. Palmer, and interested to help in booking him in Iowa.

Yours,

J. C. C.
(J. C. CRUMMEY).

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., June 17, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: Yesterday afternoon, Mr. Joseph D. Henderson, national managing director, American Association of Small Business, located in suite 601-602 Carondelet Building, New Orleans, La., and paid very high compliments to Mr. Palmer for his talks and views when he visited New Orleans.

I took advantage of the occasion to spread a little of our gospel, and think maybe the connection may be worth something.

Maybe you will care to put Henderson on your mailing list to receive your council letters, etc.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

I have done nothing about the Union League Club rebooking, having awaited the information I asked for in the letter to which you have just replied. Now that I know you're coming here may I suggest you and I get our heads together before you talk to Mr. G or any of your "heavy" friends here. Dr. Martin at the Club did not cooperate either efficiently or effectively. His "nose was out of joint" over the booking being forced on him in the first place and he did the minimum in publicity.

However, he is a smooth speaker and a polished gentleman, accustomed to rubbing the fur right on influential people and will make no trouble if he is handled—which can be done, I am sure. However, we should be aware of how to handle him and act accordingly.

WILLIAM VOLKNER & Co. OF MISSOURI, INC.,
Main, Second and Third Streets,
Kansas City 10, Mo., June 8, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Please send us 12,000 copies of your council letter No. 216, dated June 1, and 12,000 copies of your Review of Books, volume 6, No. 6, also dated June. Please send invoice to cover.

We have discontinued our monthly mailings during July and August, so there is no rush.

Please make shipment via one of the regular forwarding services.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM VOLKNER & Co.
By H. W. LUHNOW.

JUNE 20, 1949.

MR. H. W. LUHNOW,
William Volker & Co.,
Main, Second, and Third Streets, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUHNOW: Thank you for your order of 12,000 each of council letter 216 and the June Review of Books.

This order was shipped to you express on the 16th of the month. We enclose bill to cover this material and the express charges.

Sincerely yours,

(MRS.) C. G. DALL,
Vice President.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE,
105 Belgrave Drive, Kearny, N. J., June 21, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thanks for sending me the six copies of council letter No. 217-A, dealing with the Senator Ken amendment. I talked to Louise by long distance yesterday. She is attending a meeting of the National Pro-America Board at Evanston on July 27 and 28. She is thoroughly in sympathy with the Ken amendment, because I have been talking its principles publicly for 2 years.

Why should we spend billions of dollars trying to keep Russia from destroying individual freedom and then give England billions of dollars to expand the destruction of individual freedom in England, while we are all the time professing to be the guardians of individual freedom and opportunity?

This will also acknowledge your other letter expressing your pleasure over the degree of doctor of laws, which I got the College of South Jersey to bestow upon our friend, Cecil. I have lots of fun with him now, each time I call him up, by saying, "Hello, Doctor."

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. W. HAWKES.

JUNE 24, 1940.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES,
195 Belgrove Drive, Kearny, N. J.

DEAR AL: Thanks for sending me that clipping from the Philadelphia Inquirer. I read it in the New York Daily Mirror just before I went to Chicago.

Winchell certainly had his facts all mixed up. The only ones at any luncheon that Cecil attended where Eisenhower was present, was in Eisenhower's home, and the other two were John B. Trevor, who is entirely on our side, and the provost of the university.

If anybody leaked, he leaked very confused information.

I am interested in Winchell's assertion that "All British Embassies have been alerted to disown him (Palmer)." If it is true, how does he know this?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., June 28, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: Apropos our telephone conversation re Hawaii:

I contacted Delegate Farrington's office and learned he would make a statement to the House today. A copy is enclosed. It will be in today's Record, too.

Two efforts were made to reach Delegate Farrington, but as soon as he finished his statement he was called away for the rest of the day. His secretary will call me tomorrow morning for an opportunity for me to talk to him; and, if I get anything now, I'll get in touch with you at once.

Enclosed is the report of Senator Butler, mentioned by you. It seems quite strong. I tried to get Senator Butler off the floor three times, but he was neither there nor in his office. His secretary also is to call me tomorrow morning, without fail. Anything new will be reported.

Meantime, I am enclosing the documents mentioned above, so you'll have them tomorrow morning. I am trying to get the House Un-American Activities Committee to locate the report mentioned on page 2 of Senator Butler's printed report; but, so far, they haven't located it, and do not know about it. If copies are located and are available, they will be sent along.

The Senate is voting today on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; and everybody is up to their necks in that, and at the House end the pending housing bill (almost sure to pass almost as it is wanted) occupies the stage.

Mrs. Poore, of House Un-American Activities, has just phoned to say they have no such report as that mentioned by Senator Butler. Wonder of wonders, eh?

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., June 29, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Summarizing our telephone talk this morning:

Senator Butler says the situation in Hawaii is critical, and growing worse; that food for mothers, prospective mothers, and children is now obtainable only on doctors' prescriptions; that there has been no bloodshed so far, but it is possible; and that no way has yet been found to remedy the situation.

The Senator says that anything you can do to point up the need for immediate governmental action will be helpful, since the administration is doing just nothing.

I suggested that there is a fearless Federal judge in Hawaii, and asked whether the Taft-Hartley Act is deemed to be operative there. He said it is felt that this act is not applicable to Hawaii, and that neither the President nor the administration will try to do anything running counter to the wishes of the CIO.

You will doubtless recall that Attorney General Clark recently opined that the President has an "inherent right" to protect the health and welfare of the people; and, with no action taken or in prospect, it might be well to start propagandizing this great and serious failure.

Repeated efforts, by telephone and personal calls, have not brought me in contact with Delegate Farrington—he has been in committee and other meetings constantly, his office tells me. I shall keep trying, and report anything additional on these matters.

Senator Butler's secretary assured me she would send additional copies of the Butler report to the following, as you requested:

1211 Lebedeff, 8888 Applan Way, Hollywood 40, Hollywood, Calif., and W. Tip Davis, Box 2405, Honolulu, T. H.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

POST OFFICE BOX 2402, WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 21, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: For several years I was one of the dollar-a-month contributors to Think Weekly, now Common Sense—my "widow's mite" when it was struggling for its existence and perpetuity. I believe that was before you appeared on the staff. At any rate, I have enjoyed all the brilliant articles you have written therein, and have done my utmost to distribute them in an effort to secure new subscribers.

Mr. McGinley has just sent me another roll of the latest ones commenting on Forrestal and also exposing the D. of J.'s skulduggery in its smears of the good folk in Pennsylvania. Those vermin in the D. of J. are still holding my personal property—books and literature and my personal book of addresses, which has lost me contact with old friends and even with cousin René de Chambrun—which they looted from my baggage in Salt Lake City back in 1942 when they were deviling and persecuting us "seditionists"; and they refuse to let me have my things back, even though the case was thrown out of court 2 years ago.

While I was born not "anti-Semitic" but definitely anti-Jew, I came into the crusade by the monetary angle, not knowing then that the god-damned Jews (Matthew xxiii) were responsible for it all. Since then, however, I have gathered all the proof that is needed. I worked 7 years on the monetary bill which I have just brought out, giving it my best thought during the 5 months the Sanhedrin had me imprisoned, while they tried "again and again and again" to frame a fake indictment that would hold water.

My bill is meeting with the approval of some of the best informed monetary crusaders, including one of the prime movers of the San Francisco Monetary Conference back in 1933 where the bill was drafted (based on human effort) which Louis T. McFadden introduced in Congress, H. R. 4747, which caused the Jews to poison him. If I do say it myself, my bill is a great improvement over H. R. 4747. I want you to have a copy of it, so am mailing you one by parcel post. Please watch out for it in the mail, and tell me what you think of it.

My bill will be recommended for study when the program for "real Americans only" soon to be launched here at Washington comes out—a program on which some of the best brains of the country have collaborated and burned the midnight oil for 38 years. If we don't pull these recalcitrant gentiles together soon in a program of concerted action for their self-preservation instead of continuing to quibble about our plight, we're going to be wiped off the face of the earth, and in my opinion we deserve to be.

With highest esteem for the great work you are doing and best wishes for your continued success, I am

Pro Deo, pro patria,

Mrs. LOIS DE LAFAYETTE WASHBURN.

JUNE 30, 1949.

MRS. LOIS DE LAFAYETTE WASHBURN,

Post Office Box 2402, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. WASHBURN: Thank you for your letter of June 21, in which you discuss various letters, and among them the publication formerly known as Think Weekly, and now known as Common Sense.

You say that you contributed to that publication before I "appeared on the staff." I am not on the staff of Common Sense, nor have I any connection with it. The magazine Common Sense from time to time publishes some of our Economic Council Letters, sample of which is enclosed, as any other publications are entitled to do.

This letter is not in any way to be taken as a criticism of Common Sense, but merely to mention that, as you seem to think, I am not on the staff.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

POST OFFICE BOX 2402, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

July 2, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you for your communication of June 30, setting me straight that you are not on the staff of Common Sense weekly, and also for the June number of your Bulletin enclosed. I knew all the while, of course, that you were president of the National Economic Council, Inc., but I did not know Mr. McKinley's editorials were reprints. I thought you were writing for him, too.

From the notations I have made on your card in my files, I observe that you were smeared in The Plotters as I was, and that you were formerly a staff writer for the NUSJ. The main things that these smear artists have had against me are various and sundry, the first one being that I was born anti-Jew. When they started in on their final conquest of the United States of America, they thought all the Lafayettes were dead, so I have been a thorn in their side ever since they discovered me. Back in 1938, I was the original sponsor of the NUSJ. I plead with Father Coughlin, who had the radio hook-up that nobody else could get for love or money, to undertake to organize the forces of decency and to set up one central press where we might hope to get the truth. The success of his movement was phenomenal at the start, as the best people of the United States of America responded, until the Jews and Freemasons took him up a blind alley plugging for another Jew Central Bank. After working my head off for him for 2 years, I jumped from his caravan in 1939 and fought him and Jew-lover Lemke like a tigress; for when we have monetary reform it must be reform, not any make-believe. Coughlin did not understand money. Coogan taught him all he knew, and she taught him wrong. When he couldn't understand her Jewish "commodity index" he turned around and said we had better base it on silver and gold. He was also teaching the Jewish lie that Christ was a Jew. I canceled my subscription to his Social Justice magazine on that account. Just after I had sent in my renewal, I asked him to cancel and refund; but I never got the refund.

Then the Jews hated me because, in the name of the American Gentile Protective Association, I flooded the country with documents demanding the impeachment of the great hoopla, F. D. R. for his aiding and abetting the treason in our money system of the moneychangers whom he had reenthroned in the Temple. Also, I was among those who were exposing how we were being framed at Pearl Harbor at the time we were being framed.

Regardless of on whose staff you are a permanent fixture, I shall be pleased to hear from you as to your reaction to my monetary bill after you have had time to assimilate it. I have crusaded with just about all the monetary reformists all over the world, and am receiving some nice compliments from those who still survive. Since it is a lifetime study, many are now in the beyond. In any event, you will hear from me again this fall when our program of action starts rolling, on which some of the best brains of the country have burned the midnight oil for 88 years. My bill is then to be recommended for study.

Pro Deo, pro patria,

LOIS DE LAFAYETTE WASHBURN.

JUNE 26, 1940.

Mr. HARRY HANSEN,
305 Royal Union Building,
Des Moines, Iowa.

DEAR MR. HANSEN: Thank you for your letter of June 24.

We are much interested in your proposed conference in Kansas City on July 15, 16, and 17. I do not think that we can be represented at this meeting, but if we find we can send a representative we will do so.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing a recent Economic Council Letter on world government.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JUNE 30, 1940.

Mr. HARRY HANSEN,
305 Royal Union Building,
Des Moines, Iowa

DEAR MR. HANSEN: Our mutual friend, Mr. J. H. Chapman, has expressed the opinion that any assistance, advice, or information that we can pass on to you about the proposed meeting at Kansas City will perhaps be of some use to you.

At the risk, therefore, of mentioning matters of which you and your associates are entirely aware, let me say that I have found that, in two or three meetings of a nature not unlike that of this meeting, there are several things to be feared and guarded against.

1. The intrusion of left-wingers who, on some pretext, will get into the meeting either to merely report the proceedings elsewhere (this is almost certain to happen unless you take extraordinary measures to guard it) or possibly to stir up some kind of riotous in the meeting itself.

2. A relatively smaller meeting is to be preferred to a relatively large meeting. I realize that this is a generalization that may or may not be of value. But a larger meeting is cumbersome, and while it may be more representative, yet I think the history of such meetings indicates that less will, in the long run, be accomplished.

A meeting of perhaps 30 or 40 or 50 men can accomplish more, in most instances, than a meeting of 200 or 300. In the larger meeting, there is such a diversity of viewpoint that it is almost impossible to get unity of decision; and, even if you get it, it is a watered-down set of conclusions that are reached.

Again, I say, I send these suggestions with hesitation, knowing them to be gratuitous, but I send them on for what you may find them to be worth.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*

HARRY HANSEN, LAWYER,
305 Royal Union Building,
Des Moines, Iowa, June 24, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Our mutual friend, J. H. Chapman, of Waterloo, Iowa, has sent me your letter of June 18. It was our intention to attract to the Kansas City meeting a representation of all the people, but those who attend will naturally be the property-owning class and business and professional people. The labor vote is of two classes: those who want to own something and those who do not. When I mentioned labor as participating in the meeting, I referred to those who come as property owners.

Many organizations have sprung up over the country having the same general objective, viz., to put an end to the socializing schemes of the Federal Government.

For effectiveness these groups should continue separately and each reach as many people in as wide a sphere as possible, but all coordinating for political strength. The purpose of the Kansas City meeting is to agree upon the policies and strategy for removing the evil at the source, the voting precincts, and to furnish the people with feasible and desirable objectives.

We should have at least one delegate from each of the various groups over the country who are working for the same goal. We will greatly appreciate any cooperation you can give us.

Very truly yours,

HARRY HANSEN.

KERN DODGE, ENGINEER,
Lewis Tower, Philadelphia, Pa., July 1, 1949.

Again, I would like to impose upon your good nature by asking your opinion on the following list of organizations. Are they really effective in meeting basic problems we face today? Are they reaching the people that should be reached, or are they merely reselling to a group of employers or industrialists who are already sold, but who do little or nothing as a result of that reselling?

KERN DODGE.

Organization	Approved	Disapproved	Insufficient knowledge to vote	Sufficiently financed at present
Committee for Economic Development.....
National Industrial Conference Board.....
Research Council for Economic Security.....
Foundation for Economic Research.....
Construction Industry Information Committee.....
Foundry Educational Foundation.....
Machinery and Allied Products Institute.....
American Economic Foundation.....
Junior Achievement, Inc.....
Labor Relations and Educational Association.....

Would you prefer financial assistance to any of the above rather than to the five listed below? These five received the most favorable comments in my previous list.

Upton Close,
National Economic Council.
Harding College.
National Council for American Education.
National Laymen's Council.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY,
July 1, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. HART: I am returning herewith the copies of letters which you were kind enough to send me, regarding our amendment to the ECA appropriation bill.

It is certainly very encouraging to know so many fine citizens have responded to your call. I think it is really remarkable the amount of interest you have been able to stimulate. More power to you.

Thank you also for your other letters. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMES P. KEM.

Mr. ALVIN A. BURGER,
Research Director, Council of State Chambers of Commerce,
1722 H Street NW, Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR Mr. BURGER: I certainly congratulate you on your Bulletin No. 58, telling of the Bronxville Rebellion. That is an excellent move, and I wish you the greatest possible success in pushing the idea.

From my contacts in Washington, as doubtless from yours, it seems that there has not been a time in years when Members of both Houses were more ready to listen to counsels of economy.

JULY 1, 1949.

In this connection, one of the best ways to achieve economy, and incidentally, to strike a blow for private enterprise, is to support Senator Kam's amendment which is described in the enclosed Council Letter "Emergency," No. 217-A, dated June 17.

We are sending you 50 copies of this letter under separate cover. If you could place them in the hands of people who would communicate with members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, particularly with Senators Saltonstall, O'Mahoney, and Chavez, it will be particularly helpful.

With all good wishes, and renewed congratulations on Bulletin No. 53,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

[Federal Spending Facts, Council of State Chambers of Commerce, research office, 1722 H Street NW., Washington 6, D. C., Bulletin No. 53, June 27, 1940]

THE "BRONXVILLE REBELLION" SPREADS TO WASHINGTON, D. C.

On Wednesday morning, June 22, the Senate Appropriations Committee underwent a rare experience. It heard three witnesses testify in favor of reducing Federal expenditures.

All three witnesses were from Westchester County, N. Y., a 78-year-old lawyer and civic leader of White Plains, an optician from Eastchester, and a history teacher from Bronxville. They came to speak for several thousand of their small business and professional associates in a dozen communities of Westchester County who were urging Congress "to get out its blue pencils and begin cutting the national budget forthwith."

Congressional committees are seldom visited by witnesses advocating spending cuts. The Senate Appropriations Committee particularly is used to seeing long queues of spenders come before it holding out the tin cup for more Federal funds, Government bureau lobbyists, farm lobbyists, general contractors after "pork barrel" (public works) appropriations, lobbyists for veteran groups, public payroll lobbyists, lobbyists seeking subsidies, and many others.

THREE MEN WITH PETITIONS

But here came three "little guys" (as they called themselves) simply to ask the Senate committee to appropriate less money, not more, and to call a halt to the enactment of new spending proposals aimed at adding more billions of dollars to the Federal tax burden. What these three witnesses wanted, in short, was to have the Federal Government balance next year's budget not by increasing taxes but by cutting down on wasteful and unnecessary spending. They brought along petitions signed by small-business men and citizens of Westchester County, urging Congress "to peel the thick fat of wasted taxes off the fiscal hide of Washington, D. C."

A copy of the petition is appended hereto. It makes good reading.

HOW THE "REBELLION" CAME ABOUT

There is an interesting bit of history behind the appearance in Washington of these "three little guys from Westchester." It seems that early in May a group of Main Street merchants met in Bronxville, Westchester County, N. Y., to hold one of their usual informal monthly discussions about local problems. Somehow the talk got around to Federal taxes and their effect upon business in Bronxville. The spark grew into a flame. When the meeting ended, the Bronxville businessmen had decided to draw up a petition to their Representatives in Congress, urging Congress to reduce burdensome Government spending and taxation.

Thus began what one Westchester County attorney later called the Bronxville Rebellion.

The petition idea spread rapidly to other communities in the County. Finally, on May 23, some 250 of these people held a "petition party" in the Hotel Gramatan in Bronxville. There they presented signed petitions to Westchester's two Representatives, Ralph A. Gamble (Twenty-eighth District) and Ralph W. Gwinn (Twenty-seventh District).

¹ Bronxville is a small residential community of 6,888 persons. It is steeped in Revolutionary War history.

But those attending the Bronxville petition party decided right then and there that this wasn't enough. They voted to send spokesmen to Washington to tell Congress face to face just what was on the minds of the good people of Westchester. The petition party became a sort of revival meeting. Someone passed the hat among the group and raised \$208 to pay the expenses of the march on Washington.

FEDERAL HAND-OUT SPURNED

So the three Westchester spokesmen came before the Senate Appropriations Committee on Wednesday, June 22, and told their story. They told it convincingly. One Senator began asking them questions: Didn't the people of their county want Federal assistance for housing, schools, airports, etc.? Their answer was a resounding "No!" They said, "Cut Federal taxes instead, so we can have enough take-home pay to finance our own public services at the local level." They thereupon began to bombard the Senator with questions of their own, which shocked him quite a little because it's the custom for Senators, not witnesses, to ask the questions.

The essence of the statements of the "three little guys" was as follows:

Frederick C. McLaughlin, lawyer, civic leader, and former mayor of White Plains, said:

"By actual count there are more than 160 civic and fraternal organizations in my home town of 45,000 people. We have 2 fine hospitals and at least 12 social agencies supported by the voluntary contributions of our citizens. Not one of these has been able, in this year of recession and burdensome Federal taxes, to raise its operating budget. * * * Let Democrats and Republicans in this Congress rise above partisan politics and touch elbows in eliminating the waste, inefficiency, and useless spending that is sapping the strength of this great Nation."

A. R. Trapp, optician of Eastchester, said:

"The American people must learn one all-important thing, that if they are ever to induce their representatives in Congress to practice economy, they must make economy politically profitable. In short, make tax and spending and debt reduction the sure way for our representatives to get votes. * * *"

And Mr. Ignatius D. Tamboneck, head of the history department of Bronxville High School, told the Senators:

"We think that you would like to know that lots of us small fellows—the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker in our County of Westchester and elsewhere—are becoming more and more alarmed about the increasing rate at which our Federal Government is spending our money. We've heard that almost all who come before you do so with hat in hand and tin cup out-held. But we're coming to you respectfully to request you to discontinue all new proposals for Federal services which mean more Federal spending, at least until further examination."

WILL THE "BRONXVILLE REBELLION" SPREAD?

About 175 years ago there was a "Boston Tea Party." It struck the spark which led to our independence from a dominating big government.

Now big government is back, seeking to dominate our lives again in the guise of a welfare state. It is to be hoped that the "Bronxville Rebellion" will arouse our people to a determined resistance against this new threat to our hard-won freedoms. We may also hope that the example set by "the three little guys from Westchester" in coming to Washington to speak their minds to a body of Senators will be emulated by many others over the land.

ALVIN A. BURGER,
Research Director.

(Copy of the Westchester petition follows.)

PETITION TO THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE

We, the undersigned, are deeply worried about the Federal tax and spending situation and its effect on the economy of our country. As signers of this petition we represent the viewpoints of about 25,000 small-business concerns, professional men, and about 200,000 people of small means who are savings bank depositors in Westchester County of the State of New York.

Conditions are tightening up. Prices and services are coming down. But the price of government keeps going up, and the spenders in Washington seem deter-

mined that it shall go much higher. The take of government today is 29 percent of all earned income. Our people are spending more for government than they are for food.

In our businesses we have to balance our budgets. Our customers must do the same with their household expenses. If the income is just so much, then the outgo must be trimmed to fit. Unessential expenditures must be curtailed. It seems only right and sound for the Government to do the same thing. While it is true that the Federal budget during the past 2 years has been balanced for the first time in 18 years, the level at which it is balanced is fantastic. If budgets are balanced by taking an exorbitant proportion of what the people earn, what merit is there to Government budget balancing?

We know that every request for a new expense may have plausible reasoning behind it. This is true of a store, or a household, or Government. But a line has to be drawn somewhere, and with the Federal Government wasting billions of dollars of our hard-earned income each year, it seems that Washington is the place to start drawing that line right now.

So it is hereby resolved, That we respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to get out its blue pencils and begin cutting the national budget forthwith. Stop adopting new Government activities. Stop talking about imposing more tax burdens on us, and begin balancing the budget the other way—by reducing expenses. Deflate the overmanned bureaucracies. The Hoover Commission's report shows where and how to start. We promise to support Congress in all efforts to peel the thick fat of wasted taxes off the fiscal hide of Washington, D. C.

MAY 23, 1949.

"The voice of the people must be heard in Washington. We have taken for granted the right of petition; now we must wake up to the importance of petition. I hope that millions of our citizens may sign the excellent petition which has been prepared for presentation at your dinner. This will be democracy in action, and if the reports of the Hoover Commission are to have any effect on Congress, such action is earnestly needed now.

"HARRY EMERSON FORDICK,
"Pastor Emeritus, Riverside Church, New York.

"MAY 10, 1949."

JULY 6, 1949.

MISS CATHERINE CURTIS,
224 Second Street SE., Washington 3, D. C.

DEAR CATHERINE: Rose Wilder Lane, in our June book review, made the following statement:

"The Supreme Court has ruled that a treaty supersedes the Federal Constitution. Few attorneys, even, know this; it is as hard for them to believe it as it is for you. If the North Atlantic Pact is ratified, it abolishes the constitutional provisions that conflict with it."

One or more constitutional lawyers have challenged this statement, and on talking with Rose Wilder Lane, she points out that it was contained in the Women Investors Institute's document that Mrs. Lane was reviewing. She tells me that Mike Ahearn told her the data on the phone.

Will either you or Mike please write me giving the authority for the statement? What particular ruling did you or Mike have in mind?

I shall be glad if you will let me hear from you as quickly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

COUNCIL OF STATE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE,
1722 H STREETS NW.,
Washington 6, D. C., July 7, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Thank you very much for your kind letter of July 1 commenting on our Federal Spending Facts Bulletin No. 68 which told about the "Bronxville Rebellion."

You will be pleased to know that the work started by the fellows in Bronxville is taking hold in a number of other States, notably in Ohio and West Virginia, with a few nibbles in Iowa, Colorado, and Missouri. The St. Louis Globe Democrat carried quite a story about it. You may also have seen the article in Time magazine week before last.

I have read with interest your council letter of June 17 regarding Senator Kem's amendment. You may be sure that we shall distribute the copies you sent us in a way which we believe will do the most good.

Maybe we are beginning to make some headway after all in the achievement of our common objectives.

With best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ALVIN A. BURGER,
Director of Research.

JULY 7, 1949.

Night letter to certain Senators:

We earnestly urge you to vote to postpone till next winter Senate action on the so-called Atlantic Pact. If, as Senator Connally said Tuesday, the proposed treaty is not aimed at Soviet Russia, at what country is it aimed? And what is the hurry? He said ratification would not oblige the United States to go to war automatically in case any signatory is attacked, although article 5 reads to the contrary. Such confusion in the mind of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee suggests there may be confusion in many other minds. This, together with the overwhelming importance of this treaty, clearly indicates the advisability of postponing section action till 1950. We believe this treaty to have been inspired by the same forces that advocated unconditional surrender in World War II, the wanton destruction of billions of dollars of war matériel, the setting up of the incompetent UN, the betrayal of China, the Nuremberg trials, and the dismantling of German plants. Hasty action is not required. Once passed, the Nation will be irrevocably committed. We urge you to vote for postponement and, failing to get that, to vote against the treaty.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building.

Copies to—

Hon. Kenneth S. Wherry, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. William Langer, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. James P. Kem, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Hugh Butler, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. George W. Malone, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Arthur V. Watkins, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. William E. Jenner, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Forrest C. Donnell, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS,
407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill., July 8, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: A mutual friend has sent to me a copy of your Economic Council Letter No. 218 on which he underlined that part referring particularly to the Republican Party.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed letter and questionnaire directed to delegates to the last Republican National Convention. The responses to this have been so encouraging that we are calling a Nation-wide group into meeting as a Ways and Means Committee here in Chicago on Thursday and Friday, July 28 and 29, to decide where we will go from there.

There will be quite a few men and women at this meeting who were not delegates to the convention, and if you feel inclined to do so, we should be glad to have your participate and give us the benefit of your views.

Cordially and sincerely,

FRED A. VIRKUS.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS,
407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill., June 20, 1949.

Thank you for your questionnaire response, and your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

The local committee of delegates and citizens, for which I have been requested to speak temporarily, has reviewed all the questionnaires received to date with their very interesting comments, and we feel greatly encouraged to proceed toward more formal action on the nation-wide scale.

Apparently, there is enthusiastic agreement for action to revitalize the Republican Party from the top down, as 92 percent of the hundreds of answers from every State in the Union indicate.

And it is made perfectly clear in the questionnaires that the national convention delegates and alternates insist on a forthright all-American, anti-me too, anti-Socialist, anti-Communist and a straightforward foreign and domestic policy.

It must be the kind of dynamic policy to inspire the millions of independent, no less than the rank and file of the Republican voters, with renewed confidence that we can win. Let's try to give them that kind of policy—through the national committee if possible, but if that is not possible, then through the existing ward, township, county and State committees, the grass roots of the party.

From among the responses received, the local committee has selected a list of names for appointment on a national ways and means committee and you are requested to serve as a member of this committee. The committee will meet on July 28 and 29, in the Palmer House, Chicago, to plan the ways and means, looking toward county, State, and national grass roots meetings to prepare for the elections in 1950 and 1952.

In order to facilitate proceedings the local committee has drafted:

1. Order of business, which is in conformity with the usual order of business for such a meeting.
2. Suggested committees to be appointed to draft a definite action program for a specific field.
3. Registration blank. For obvious reasons only those persons registering for attendance will be admitted to committee meetings and the general assembly at the opening and the end of our session. Identification badges will be issued at the registration desk before the opening meeting.
4. List the local committee members for your information.

Bear in mind that this is not a cut-and-dried set-up. We are merely setting the stage to do a job. Please come prepared to participate actively in this vitally important effort to preserve our constitutional Republic, and in the meantime please submit to us in advance of the meeting your suggestions on procedure, on a Republican fundamental policy and on platform, in order that divergent views may be coordinated into a clear picture for presentation at the meeting.

We believe that a voluntary contribution of \$5 or \$10 in lieu of the usual "registration fee", to cover the obligations incurred in calling this meeting will be acceptable to all.

Cordially and sincerely,

FRED A. VIRKUS, *Local Chairman.*

P. S.—I wish to inform you that this Republican meeting is not a small business movement. The officers of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations authorized the use of this stationery up to this point because I, the chairman of the conference, was a delegate to the 1948 Republican Convention. Whatever further action is undertaken must flow from our proposed meeting and be under its auspices. I will say that we have been agreeably surprised to find that almost one-half of the answers received to our questionnaire were from small-business men.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS,
407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subject: God hates a coward.

To a selected list of delegates and alternates to the Republican National Conventions in 1948, 1944, and 1940:

If you can read the enclosed editorial from the Omaha World-Herald and not get fighting mad about this challenge to every red-blooded Republican to do

something about it, please pardon my mistake for writing you and burn this letter.

But, if this article does make your blood boil, and if you really want to do your bit to revitalize the Republican Party and help to restore its prestige and power, let's talk it over.

A group of business and professional men (including a few delegates to the 1948 national convention, none office holders), all vitally concerned about the future of our country no less than of the Republican Party, held a meeting in Chicago recently to discuss the question, "Where do we go from here?" I was instructed to submit this message to you as a personal and, for the present, confidential, communication.

We believe the time has come for all American-minded citizens to forget personal problems and to think of the welfare of the Nation as a whole. If we can do this single-minded thing we can still save this country from becoming a one-party system and going all-out socialistic. If our present party leadership has this vision it has carefully concealed it. Certainly it should be no secret.

Omitting discussion of all the well-known alibis for five successive national defeats, the consensus of opinion of this group was:

1. If the Republican Party loses the next congressional election this country will have a Communist-dominated labor Congress in 1950, and a Socialist-Labor President in 1952, in fact if not in name.

2. If the Republican Party suffers its sixth national defeat it will disintegrate as a party and leave this country with a one-party political system, or degenerate into ineffective multiparties, as in Europe today.

3. The rank and file of the Republican voters today are apprehensive for the future of their country. They feel discouraged, disillusioned, and frustrated. They feel the lack of the kind of dynamic leadership which can give them an All-American program, principles and policy on which they can win the next election, absolutely essential to keep America American.

4. Placing the blame now for this plight is futile. The fact remains that if the Republican Party is to be revitalized into an effective fighting machine with a chance to win, it must be inspired by the grass roots, and that is the purpose of this message.

It is believed that the delegates and alternates to the 1948 Republican National Convention who were elected by the rank and file of the Republican voters in their respective districts throughout the country, constitute the grass roots cross-section of the party.

In a large measure, they are responsible for the present leadership of the party, the national committee, because the delegates elected the national committee. Therefore, we believe it is up to these delegates to take the initiative in calling upon the prominent Republican laymen in every congressional district to express themselves to their present leadership as to policies, principles, and program to be followed from here on. To get ready now for the next election.

You are requested to express your opinion on the attached questionnaire. If you believe that our party needs revitalizing in time for 1950 and 1952, will you contribute your thinking now toward this objective? We are waiting to hear from you.

Cordially and sincerely,

FRED A. VIRKUS,
In behalf of a group of patriotic Republican citizens.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The answers to this questionnaire should provide the basis for a meeting of minds to formulate the principles and policies on which a revitalized Republican Party can, and must, rescue this Nation from the socialistic and communistic cancers which are eating at the very foundations of our individual freedom, initiative, prosperity and peace.

There is no thought of organizing a "rum" meeting or convention. We must have unity within the organization. Whatever the grass roots decides to do, if anything, should be with the full knowledge and cooperation of the national committee, but without its domination.

Your answers to the following questions will be held strictly confidential, but a tabulation of the answers will be the guide for any future action that

might be taken, and you will be advised if, as or when. Return to: Fred A. Virkus, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

Tear off and return

1. Do you believe that the Republican Party stands as the only bulwark against the socialistic trend of the present Federal Administration? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 2. Do you believe that the present leadership of the party (the national committee), conducted the last two national campaigns as effectively and forcefully as it could have done? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 3. Do you believe that the Presidential candidate in the last two national campaigns made as forceful a campaign as he could and should have done? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 4. In view of past performance, do you believe that the present leadership is capable of revitalizing the party into a winning team? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 5. Do you believe that the grass roots of the party, the delegates and alternates, plus prominent Republican citizens, together with the State, county and local committeemen, should assume the initiative in planning the policies, program, platform and campaign for the next election? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 6. Do you believe that a national meeting (or a national convention) of the grass roots representatives of the party is necessary to reorganize and revitalize the party into a winning team? Yes ----- No -----
If your answer is "No," state why -----
 7. Would you attend such an unofficial meeting (or an unofficial national convention) of grass roots Republicans? Yes ----- No -----
- Further comments: -----

Signed -----
Business -----
Address -----
City and State -----

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Thursday, July 28, 1949

- 9:00 a. m.—Registration.
10:00 a. m.—Call to order by Judge Franklin J. Stransky.
10:15 a. m.—Invocation.
10:30 a. m.—Roll call.
10:50 a. m.—Address of welcome by Fred A. Virkus, chairman of the local committee.
11:10 a. m.—Election of temporary secretary.
Election of temporary chairman.
11:30 a. m.—Appointment of nominating committee.
12:00 a. m.—Explanation of the mechanics of this session.
12:15 p. m.—Recess for luncheon.

- 1:15 p. m.—Election of permanent officers (chairman, State vice chairman, secretary).
 1:45 p. m.—Committee assignments.
 2:00 p. m.—Committees in session (each committee elects its chairman and secretary).
 4:30 p. m.—Resolutions committee begins receiving committee reports.
 6:30 p. m.—Adjourn for dinner.
 8:30 p. m.—Resolutions committee resumes consideration of committee reports.

Friday, July 29, 1940

- 9:30 a. m.—Committees resume sessions.
 12:30 p. m.—Recess for luncheon.
 1:30 p. m.—Committees conclude sessions.
 2:30 p. m.—Resolutions committee in session to receive final reports.
 4:00 p. m.—General session to approve or reject committee resolutions and reports.
 General discussion on "Where do we go from here?"

LOCAL COMMITTEE

R. M. Adams (delegate), attorney, Adams, Williamson & Turney.
 Thomas J. Downes (delegate), attorney, Downes, Schell & Osborne.
 Charles F. Hough, attorney, McKinney, Hough & Carlson.
 Judge George E. Q. Johnson, retired United States district judge.
 H. Barry McCormick, president, McCormick & Henderson, printers.
 Matthew Mills, attorney, Defrees, Fiske, O'Brien & Thompson.
 Judge Franklin J. Stransky (delegate), attorney, ex-chairman, State central committee.
 Richard B. Vail, chairman, Vail Manufacturing Co.
 Fred A. Virkus (delegate), president, the Virkus Co., publishers.
 Donald G. Williamson, president, Williamson Adhesives, Inc.
 Gen. Robert E. Wood (delegate), chairman, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

ATTENDANCE REGISTRATION

FRED A. VIRKUS,
Acting Chairman,
 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

_____, 1940.

I will attend the National Ways and Means Committee meeting, as a committee member and delegate, at the Palmer House, Chicago, July 28-29, 1940.

I expect to arrive in Chicago at _____ a. m., on _____, July —,
 p. m. (day)

I {do _____ expect to be present at the informal get-acquainted meeting
 do not _____ with the local committee and other delegates, on Wednesday evening, July 27,
 at 8:00 p. m. in the Palmer House.

Herewith is my check for \$_____ as my contribution toward the expense of this meeting, payable to: H. Barry McCormick, treasurer.

Signed _____
 Business _____
 Title _____
 City and State _____

HOTEL RESERVATIONS

The local committee has reserved a number of rooms at the Palmer House. Please check the kind of reservation desired:

Single room \$5 _____; or \$6 _____; or \$7 _____ per day.

Double (twin beds) \$10 _____; or \$11 _____; or \$12 _____ per day.

Reserve for arrival Wednesday, July 27 _____; Thursday, July 28 _____; Friday, July 29 _____.

Some delegates may have to be assigned to hotels other than the Palmer House. If such alternative reservations are necessary, the committee will endeavor to make them.

Registration at the committee headquarters, Palmer House, Thursday, July 28, 9 to 10 a. m.

SUGGESTED COMMITTEES

Following are suggested committees to be appointed to draft a definite action program for a specific field. You are requested to check your first and second choice of the committees on which you prefer to serve.

- ☐ Committee on Republican fundamental policy
- ☐ Committee on resolutions of this session
- ☐ Committee on Republican platform
- ☐ Committee on finance
- ☐ Committee on cooperation with the Republican National Committee
- ☐ Committee on cooperation with State, central, and local committees
- ☐ Committee on publicity
- ☐ Committee on Republican press
- ☐ Committee on women's Republican groups
- ☐ Committee on young Republican groups
- ☐ Committee on small business organization
- ☐ Committee on farmers' organization
- ☐ Committee on professional organization
- ☐ Committee on veterans' organization
- ☐ Committee on labor organization

Other committees suggested :

[Reprinted from the Omaha World-Herald, January 20, 1949]

GOD HATES A COWARD

That's gospel truth. If any witness were needed to attest it the Republican Party of 1936-48 would more than suffice.

For 12 years the Republican Party has been a coward; the worst kind of coward—a moral coward. In consequence it begins to take on the appearance of something the cat dragged in.

It is hard to define as an entity the Republican Party or any other large group of people, since however closely banded together all cannot think alike in all respects. But, speaking broadly, the Republican Party consists of men and women who in firm conviction are opposed to the swift trend toward the omnipotent state that is sweeping over every section of the earth. Whether it be defined as communism, fascism, socialism, totalitarianism, statism, the New Deal, the insurance state, these men and women regard it as a thing of infinite menace, however cunningly disguised, and however ardently supported by good but misguided people.

But the Republican Party has lacked the courage to say what its rank and file believe. Out of hunger for the fleshpots it has lacked the patriotism, the loyalty, to stand up for the free Republic of the founding fathers and to fight for it. Due to that lack of moral courage, of loyalty to the American creed, the United States, almost the sole remaining bulwark against the advancing tide, finds itself without a spokesman, without a champion to proclaim and battle for its traditional, glorious creed. And it finds the once-so-firm foundations of its temple crumbling.

* * * * *

The fact is known of all men.

Here too, in our own America, the state is taking control and ownership of the people. It is using the power to tax to destroy their independence and self-reliance. It is converting free men into vassals and dependents. It is devouring the substance of self-supporting people to render them self-supporting no longer, and to establish a condition of universal reliance upon the biased paternalism of a "Great White Father"—a "father" corrupted and corrupting, since great power does corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

And the Republican Party has not dared resist the tide; it has gone along with it. Not out of conviction, but out of cowardice. It has not dared to be a Daniel; to have a purpose and to make it known. Its plea for votes has been the shameful one: Give us the offices, the power, and we'll give you as much of what we believe to be wrong as will the Democrats themselves.

Americans do not respond to any such appeal. They, too, hate a coward. They despise hypocrisy. They hunger for a leadership of good faith. They will accept a brave and fighting leadership tainted even with Pendergastism and absolutism rather than a leadership that crawls—and trails its flag.

What a wonderful thing it would be if the Republican National Committee meeting here in Omaha, if other constituted Republican leaders, could realize how desperately these United States need an honest and brave Republican Party—how true Republicans above all others hunger and thirst for it! A Republican Party to raise high the flag of a loyal opposition! Opposition not alone to a misguided recreant Democratic Party here at home, but opposition tenacious and resolute, brave and unyielding, to all the monstrous wrong and error that today menaces freedom, selfreliance, the courage to adventure, human dignity, in every land and every clime.

How joyously, with what reborn hope, men and women of the ancient faith of this Republic would rally about such a standard! Proud of it they would be in victory. No less proud in defeat!

Surely, surely, it shall not be recorded by amazed historians of a later day, that when the black flag of absolutism was raised back in the twentieth century, when the fate of all mankind was involved, there was nowhere, in any land, not even our own, an organized body of men and women who had the courage, the devotion the wisdom, the loyalty to God who made men free, to challenge that foul intruder and to dedicate their lives, their fortunes, their sacred honor, to driving him back into the Dark Ages whence he emerged!

Never has there been sounded such a call to service as rings today in the ears of the Republican Party. Never, for men and women of courage, of character, of conviction, has there been afforded such an occasion for rising to the heights of human devotion to imperishable ideals.

The Republican Party can keep on crawling ignominiously along the dusty trail of an order it abhors but shrinks from challenging. Or it can rise out of the dust of four merited defeats, stand erect and unafraid, proudly to take up the battle for all that free men prize.

Courage or cowardice? Loyalty or recreancy? Conviction or time serving?

It is no simple as that, ladies and gentlemen of the Republican National Committee.

HONOLULU, T. H., June 22, 1940.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,

*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
903 First National Bank Bldg., Union 2, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. HART: I am in receipt of your letter indicating that you could use additional funds for the good work you are doing.

I am enclosing a copy of our own commie paper, in which I am headlined.

As you may or may not know, this Territory is now under seige (and I do mean seige) by Bridges H. WU led by one Schmidt, who is also under indictment for communism.

Six men have tied up this community so tight that canned milk for babies' formulas is practically extinct, and only by pleading over the radio, etc., are we able to partially meet the demand, and then only on presentation of a doctor's certificate. As an indication of just how acute is this starvation process—I gave up today the one can of Carnation milk I happened to have.

Cattle feed and chicken feed has also been so scarce that some milk cows have been butchered, and thousands of chicks have been killed.

As the map will show you these islands depend upon ocean borne commerce for all supplies not raised in the islands.

As I have said, six men, all of whom refuse to sign the non-Communist oath, control our waterfront, ships with supplies are tied up at the docks, while relief ships with food under Navy and Army control are either being loaded on the west coast, or beginning to arrive here. This strike was called May 1.

As the article in this paper says, I have spear-headed public resentment against this condition. It was I who called the first indignation meeting—out of which was called a mass meeting attended by some 80,000 indignant citizens, and from which was formed a citizen's committee, who are attempting to find some legal way to end the present tie-up.

I have also lately organized a Hawaii resident's association, which this article describes: an anti-Communist organization, which is rapidly growing to

a membership that I hope will so consolidate public indignation that the above-mentioned leaders will have to depart these shores.

Our contacts with the membership of this ILWU indicate that a majority of them would willingly return to their jobs, were it not for fear of the 'goon's and their leaders.

Appeals to Washington have had but one response, figuratively saying "It is your baby, you handle it." So far, none but legal means have been tried, but under present labor laws, it seems that the 500,000 people suffering have no legal recourse against the 3 union leaders and its 2,000 frightened members, over 1,600 of whom are not even American citizens, and only 1,100 of whom voted at the strike election.

My part in this has been expensive, as you well know that you cannot stir the apathetic American citizens to any sort of action without money for halls and advertising.

My part in this has been so expensive that right now my personal cash position is worse than it has been for years.

My business here, along with hundreds of other businesses here, is running in the red.

This is a trial effort of the Communists to demonstrate to mainland United States how easy it is to gain control over a community or section of our country.

I do, however, believe in your work and feel that it is more essential and necessary as time goes on under the kind of national administration we now have.

I can't help now, but soon after the first of next month I will be mailing you a draft for \$250.

Very truly,

W. TIP DAVIS.

New York, June 25, 1949.

W. TIP DAVIS,
Honolulu, T. H.:

We notice two-page advertisement New York Times regarding desperate situation Hawaii. How can we help? Could we send competent speaker who understands communism to address meeting? Regards.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council.

W. TIP DAVIS,
Honolulu, Hawaii, June 29, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Utica, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I am enclosing herewith a transcript of a broadcast made last night by the public relations man of the ILWU here. You can readily see the irresponsibility of this bird's remarks.

As this was taken from a wire recording, you will note some blank places where record was so blurred as to make the words not understandable. However, most of the statements made are here. You undoubtedly are familiar with this kind of tirade and will know whether you want to do anything about it or not.

I am also enclosing an answer that I have written hoping to have the newspaper accept it in the letters to the people column, where I am sure it will receive more publicity than does McElrath gets on his radio broadcast.

My only hesitancy is that I fear I am giving McElrath a lot of undeserved publicity.

My statement to the audience of approximately 1,100 people referred to in McElrath's broadcast, was simply a reading of your wire to me and my answer, so that definitely McElrath is wrong when he states that I had requested help from you.

Awaiting your letter that I asked for in my telegram, I am,

Very truly,

W. TIP DAVIS.

I see by the newspapers W. Tip "Chew-Chew" Davis, one of the chief front men of the Citizens' Vigilante Committee and the Hawaii Residents' Association * * * with one of the top American fascists.

Perhaps Mr. Davis doesn't know it, but Mr. Merwin K. Hart has long been one of the leading advocates of a Hitler America. Be that as it may, only last night Mr. Davis read a letter from Merwin K. Hart to the anti-Communist gathering at Roosevelt High School. Mr. Davis told the audience that he had requested help from Hart in fighting communism in Hawaii.

Let's go into this character Hart and find out what makes him tick. Let's see what he has been doing for the past 15 years or so. About 10 years ago Mr. Hart made a speech in the New York Union League Club. The title of his address to the club membership was "The Alien Influence in our Midst." Here is a quotation from the speech: "If you find any organization containing the word 'democracy' it is probably directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party. It is time to brush aside this word 'democracy' with its connotations."

Today Mr. Davis identified Mr. Merwin K. Hart as president of the National Economic Council. That name sounds familiar. Let's go back to 1936, when Mr. Hart was chairman of the New York State Economic Council. The only difference between the two organizations is that in 1936, its activities were more or less confined to the city of New York. Today they are Nation-wide. What about the National Economic Council or the New York Economic Council as it was called some 13 years ago? Well, let's go back a little further and take a trip to Berlin, Germany. Adolf Hitler had just come into power in (?) a citizens committee of antiunion-anticommunist storm troopers. A book had just been published by a writer named Ekhard Verland (?) a resident of Berlin. The book had a preface written by Adolf Hitler himself. One section of the book was entitled "Why Americans Should Read This Book." Then there is a selected list of Americans, who according to the German publisher should be utilized to mold public opinions in the United States of America, among them Archibald Stevens, public relations counsel of the State of New York Economic Council. Now Mr. Hart has several other interesting friends, among them Francisco Franco, absolute dictator of Spain. In the winter of 1938, Mr. Hart found * * * for Nationalist Spain, one of his organizers was a John Wain Kelly. This man Kelly was later indicted and convicted by a Federal court for being an unregistered agent for Franco.

The records show that for the past 15 years in which Hart has been engaged as a specialist propagandist for one cause or another, with an annual salary fixed at some \$10,000.

He has sought to influence legislation both local and national.

Clerical fascism, that Spanish fascism, always using the bogey of communism as an operating base. Even Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson has denounced Hart as pro-Fascist.

In a professional capacity Hart opposed a 40-hour week—he fought against the Unemployment Act and he fought the Child Labor Act, insisting that it was an inspiration from Russia, a Russian law for American use, as he put it.

Hart's record also showed that he advocated the disenfranchisement of poor and homeless Americans by recommending during the depression years that only those be permitted to vote who were not on relief.

Mr. Hart, the man W. Tip Davis has called upon for help, was a member of the notorious America First Committee that frantically opposed the lend-lease bill and was against aid both to England and Russia during the last war.

Before December 7, 1941, he appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and and he sought to whitewash the aggression of Japan. He said that an unfriendly attitude on the part of the United States drove the Japs into the arms of Germany and Italy.

Back in 1937 Hart resigned as chairman of the Congressional (?) of American Private Enterprise. Listed among the speakers being the notorious Jew balter Gerald L. K. Smith. Mr. Hart once gave a luncheon at the swank Biltmore Hotel. One of the guests present at the lunch was Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund—just recently released from the prison where he was confined while awaiting deportation from the United States.

Now I have reams and reams of evidence proving the subversive connections of Merwin K. Hart, the new pal of Choo Choo Davis. Time prevents me from reading all of it.

McElrath does a little shadow boxing and leads again with his chin in attacking the Americanism of Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

With his usual barrage of half truths McElrath states "Mr. Davis told the audience that he had requested help from Hart in fighting communism in Hawaii" a recording of the statement made by Mr. Davis gives the lie to that one. Mr. Hart not being here to disprove his statements, McElrath "went to town."

Among other charges against Mr. Hart was a purported quotation from a speech made by Mr. Hart in which he said "It is time to brush aside this word 'democracy' with its connotations." What Hart probably said was "With its Russian connotations."

Mr. Hart has consistently maintained that the United States is a Republic as stated in the pledge of allegiance to the flag, and not a democracy as Communists have befouled the word.

Mr. McElrath says Mr. Hart is a "friend of France". I ask you—Is that bad? He also said Mr. Hart gave a luncheon and one of his guests was Fritz Kuhn. Even if true again so what! Mr. McElrath is reported to have broken bread with Bridges on numerous occasions, that doesn't make him a Communist—or does it?

Mr. McElrath tries to connect Mr. Hart's name Ekhardt Verland whose "book had a preface written by Adolf Hitler himself." He says a German publisher said that one Archibald Stevens of the public relations council of the State of New York Economic Council "should be utilized to mold opinion in the United States of America." Again so what.

Many say Mr. McElrath should return to San Francisco and stay there—but he don't go. He certainly has worn out his welcome here.

Mr. McElrath charges Mr. Hart with getting a \$10,000 salary as if that were a crime. At least he don't take it from the sweating backs of honest working-men.

Mr. Hart has had plenty of congressional support in most of the other so-called Fascist ideas he is charged with supporting, among those not mentioned was his support of the Taft-Hartley Act and a majority of Senators have agreed with him on this issue.

CHOO CHOO DAVIS.

NEW YORK, July 6, 1940.

W. TIP DAVIS,
Honolulu, T. H.

Your letter 29th received today. Please address me not Utica but Empire State Building, New York. Writing you today.

MERWIN K. HART.

JULY 6, 1940.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,
Box 2495, Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: I received your letter of June 29 and have just cabled you as follows:

"Your letter 29th received today. Please address me not Utica but Empire State Building, New York. Writing you today."

Now as to McElrath's radio broadcast, what McElrath says is in the usual Communist line, only more extravagant because, as you intimate in your statement, I am so far away that I cannot immediately answer.

I enclose copy of the address I made at the Union League Club way back in 1940, entitled "The Allen Influence in Our Midst." You will see that what I was talking about was the difference between a democracy and a republic. As long as we called ourselves a Republic and acted that way, we were a prosperous Nation. When these Socialists-Communists came along and sold us the idea that we were, like all the various European nations, a democracy, then our people became confused and we began throwing our liberties away.

As supporting my statement that nearly all organizations that contain in their names the word "Democracy," are left-wing or communistic, I enclose copy of Council Letter No. 167, which lists some 50 or more such organizations.

McElrath certainly has all his facts balled up. This is the first time I have heard Hitler's name mentioned in the slightest connection with the National Economic Council. The Archibald Stevens that he mentions is apparently Archibald E. Stevenson, a former law partner of mine, who aroused the ire of the Communists when, in 1919 or 1920, he was counsel for the Lust committee of the New York Legislature which made the first real investigation of Communist activities in the United States.

As to my attitude on Spain, most of the leading men of both Houses and both parties have come around to the view that it is folly for the United States to refuse to have an Ambassador to Spain, the only country that ever successfully fought communism, and at the same time carry full Ambassadors not only to Soviet Russia but all the Iron-curtain countries.

As to Fritz Kuhn having been at one of our luncheons, I will simply say that in 1938 we gave a luncheon, attended by some 800 citizens, in honor of the Honorable Martin Dies, then chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was a public affair, and anybody who paid his money could come. Fritz Kuhn and several others came, and were recognized, and it was stated by me, as chairman, that there were some in the audience that did not sympathize with our attitude, nor we with theirs, but that it was a public affair and they had a right to come, etc., etc. Martin Dies, in his speech, intimated something to the same effect.

I am wondering if you want us to send that Los Angeles man, Ivan Lebedeff, to Honolulu, along the lines I mentioned to you before? I feel that great good might come from his report. We could publish what he might write, and later he might be brought before a committee of Congress.

Most of the New York papers (all, in fact, that I follow closely) continue to represent the strike in Honolulu as just one more strike, saying little or nothing about the Communist aspect of it. Consequently the East, and I think for that matter, the whole country, needs to be enlightened about what is going on.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

JULY 6, 1949.

Your letter of the sixth received. Mr. McElrath has other things he is blabbing about now.

You may hear from one Chas. J. Fern on the Island of Kanai as at his request I sent copies of all your correspondence to him.

He is Kain, island chairman of my Leland committee of the outer Bureau of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce.

W. T. D.

W. TIP DAVIS,
Honolulu, T. H., July 7, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York.*

DEAR Mr. HART: Immediately upon receipt of your letter of June 20, in reference to the possibility of Mr. Lebedeff coming over here, I submitted this letter to the Board of Governors of the Hawaii Residents Association.

This association is one that I organized to combat Communist influence, establish racial harmony, and develop the American way of life, and while I am its main support, I do not attempt to force my opinion upon them.

Just before your first wire arrived, the American Legion had brought five speakers over here, i. e., Mr. Mathews, Mr. Brewer, Mr. Gittow, Elizabeth Bentley, and Mr. Gibbons. Dr. Mathews, Miss Bentley, and Mr. Gibbons spoke for the Hawaii Residents Association to an audience of 1,100 people. Mr. Gibbons is still here, and is speaking on Citizen's Committee Radio time every evening.

Therefore the board of governors did not believe it opportune to bring other speakers over at this time.

Your offer of help was and is appreciated, and possibly at some future time we may call on you with a definite request. Please be assured that the double talk blatherings of McElrath had nothing to do in making our board's decision.

I am looking forward to receiving your letter in reply to mine of June 20, addressed to Utica, and acknowledge receipt of your wire of July 6.

I must apologize for not earlier answering your letter, but Mr. Hart, I am going from early morning until (many times a week) late at night. I am today resigning from the Citizen's Committee, as I just cannot keep up with the work of my several civic committees, and maintain my health.

I could see no object in wiring you an answer in re Lebedeff. I trust you have not been inconvenienced on account of that.

Business has tightened up considerably, and expenses have increased, but I will try and come through with the checks I promised as soon as our books are

closed for last month, and we determine just how much in the red our business has fallen.

Very truly,

W. Tip Davis.

JULY 4, 1941.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,

Box 2495, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: So far we have not heard from you as to whether you would like us to send Ivan Lebedeff from Los Angeles to spend a week or two in Hawaii.

I hope you will feel that it can be arranged along the lines we mentioned. I wish we had the funds to pay the entire expense, but that would be difficult to do.

It seems to me most important to have Lebedeff make this trip, because of developments in Washington.

The House Un-American Activities Committee announced yesterday that it was going to make an investigation of the situation in Hawaii. However, since the Eighty-first Congress same in this Un-American Activities Committee has not amounted to much. It appears to have been effectively stifled. Secondly, I doubt that much benefit will come from an investigation. I read in one of the newspapers that the committee will not commence the investigation until the strike is over.

Then our Mr. Barger has been trying for days, but without result, to see the Hawaiian Delegate, Mr. Farrington. A report from Mr. Barger this morning indicates that Mr. Farrington is avoiding him.

The President is quoted as having said that he doubts he has authority to do anything in Hawaii; and this morning he is quoted as having said that he doubts whether he wants to have authority given to him by Congress.

Neither the New York Times nor the New York Herald Tribune, supposedly conservative but actually at least moderately left-wing newspapers on many questions, are playing down the idea that communism has anything to do with this strike. The good people of New York, and I think most of the country, have little accurate information made available to them by the press or radio.

The sole exception would be the New York World Telegram which yesterday began a series of articles by a special writer they have in Hawaii. However, such a writer would not be so untrammelled in making his report as would our representative.

My idea is that, upon receiving a report from Lebedeff after he had spent, say, a week or so in the islands, we would issue a special emergency council letter, a good deal like council letter No. 217-A which, going to tens of thousands of people all over the United States, has brought a flood of letters to Members of the Senate on the subject of the Keim amendment.

I hope, however, you will feel that you can cable me Monday or Tuesday saying that you want Lebedeff to come, and I will then get him on the phone and request him to leave at the earliest possible time.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JULY 11, 1941.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,

Box 2495, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: Thank you for your letter of July 7.

I quite understand the situation, and for the present we will put out of our minds the sending of Mr. Lebedeff as we had planned.

You certainly have some competent men and women from the American Legion, and I am sure they will do a good piece of work.

We shall, of course, be glad to receive the subscription you referred to when you feel able to send it. Money is noticeably tight in many directions.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

C. W. CHAPMAN LUMBER CO.,
 Waterloo, Iowa, July 4, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: About the best inspiration I got from this Fourth of July was from reading your great council letter No. 218—July Fourth.

You are so right in your statements and you stay on a straight line.

I can understand every word you write and you never wobble.

Contrast your letter with the enclosed from your friend George Sokolsky.

This country is going down because of compromise on fundamental principles. Only a few men of great courage are holding the front line. You are one of them.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. CHAPMAN,

JULY 9, 1940.

Mr. C. H. CHAPMAN,
 Care of C. W. Chapman Lumber Co.,
 Waterloo, Iowa.

DEAR MR. CHAPMAN: Thank you for your letter of July 4. I am returning George Sokolsky's letter herewith.

Sokolsky and I are very old friends. We sometimes disagree but more frequently, agree. He certainly is a rugged individualist—one who has come away over from the extreme left-wing side. He is a splendid man. I don't think I agree with him about Mr. Taft.

While I criticized Senator Taft strongly in letter No. 218, nevertheless, he is an asset for the conservative side—in spite of his recent errors. Seeing this morning that he has changed his mind and may vote against the Atlantic Pact, I am very hopeful it may be possible to ease him back onto the conservative side on other matters. Of course, a good deal of damage has been done. But in politics it is necessary to work with the tools you have.

A prominent Republican told me not long ago that he had been talking recently with Senator Byrd, of Virginia, and he expressed to Byrd great disappointment with the Republican Party. Whereupon Byrd said in substance—For heaven sake, don't do anything to destroy the Republican Party—even as it is—it is the best tool we have got to help defeat socialism.

In order to bring about a successful coalition in 1950 and 1952, it will be necessary to hold intact a very large part of the Republican Party (the part that Taft has almost always been allied with), and also to hold intact those southern Democrats.

Thank you for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JULY 11, 1940.

Mr. CRAIG F. CULLINAN,
 Petroleum Building, Houston, Tex.

DEAR MR. CULLINAN: Thank you for sending me copy of your letter of July 7 to Paul Hoffman, together with copy of Hoffman's reply to which your letter referred.

I got a great kick out of what you wrote him. You are everlastingly right.

The enclosed pamphlet entitled "A Book Review and Two Letters" sets forth some correspondence I had with Paul Hoffman some 2 years ago. I got his measure then.

Hoffman is a salesman—nothing more. Since he is willing to go along with the administration, he gets all kinds of favorable publicity at its hands and at the hands of the left-wing writers.

The idea of having Hoffman in charge of the spending of many billions of the earnings of the American people is nothing less than fantastic.

I was present at a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee some few weeks ago when Hoffman was on the stand. He made a sophomoric impression and was, it seemed to me, lacking in the power to convince.

I presume that Hoffman got this job through the Lehman's, who, I understand, control Studebaker Corp. and put him in there. It must be handy thing for that inside crowd to have Lehman's man Hoffman in charge of all this spending.

I shall be interested to know what Brother Hoffman has to say to you in reply.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

RALPH W. GWINN,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 14, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you. I'm so glad for any occasion to receive a letter from you.

I know exactly what you mean. We're worshipping pagan materialism, as mankind always has through certain branches of the church. It's up to us to make the other branch of the church good and right. You may be sure that I am pounding away as you are. Witness the letter I wrote to Bishop Oxnham recently.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH.

RALPH W. GWINN,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 24, 1949.

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM,
180 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR BISHOP: I have your wire supporting the Barden bill and I'd be greatly interested to know just what procedure you took to ascertain that the Barden bill "has the support of the Protestant churchmen across the Nation. We trust this bill may commend itself to you and have your support."

Just what Protestant churchmen and what committee or group of churchmen authorized such a statement? Were any church congregations brought together to take a vote on the subject? What group or committee did vote on the subject, how many were present, and how did the vote stand?

I'd like to present to the Education Committee just what action the Methodist Church took in connection with your wire of June 21.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 14, 1949.

MRS. CONRAD E. WHITE,
21 North Chatsworth Avenue,
Larchmont, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. WHITE: Thank you for your letter of July 9.

I suggest that you call Dr. H. M. Griffith or Mr. Merwin K. Hart, National Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York City, regarding the speaker you need. I'm sure they will have recommendations to make.

Sincerely yours,

cc: Mr. Merwin K. Hart

JULY 16, 1949.

Mr. JOHN B. TREVOR,
Paul Smith's, New York.

DEAR JOHN: I had occasion the other day to telephone to Senator Malone of Nevada, and I thought he sounded a little offish—as though he were talking with someone about whom he knew nothing. I finally mentioned that you and I are close friends, and that seemed to improve the situation somewhat.

I admire a good deal that Senator Malone has done and would like to have entree to him the next time I am in Washington.

I wonder if you feel you could write him a letter saying that I have spoken to you about seeing him, and urging him, if he has the opportunity, to see me?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

THE CONSERVATIVE

Chester Walker, Publisher

P. O. BOX 685, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Mr. HART: I am planning a series of short articles on the various groups and organizations who are working for national sanity.

Could you send me the outline facts about the National Economic Council, for this series? The articles are to be about 200 words and will give founders' names, the date of founding, and how it came about, general objective, and address, all written in a human-interest style.

My idea is to inform my readers where they can turn for information.

Thank you,

CHESTER WALKER.

No. 4, July 12, 1940

THE CONSERVATIVE

The formation of a Conservative Party, whether formal or informal, is the first need of our times

Chester Walker, Publisher, P. O. Box 685, Providence, R. I. Twice a month by letter post. Five dollars a year

Two households, both alike in dignity,
In fair Verona, where we lay our scene,
From ancient grudge break to new mutiny,
Which their children's suffering must now remove.
—Romeo and Juliet, with apologies to W. Shakespeare.

We had, recently, conversations with two ladies on the same day at different social occasions. Both ladies were cultured and charming, one came from Georgia, one from Massachusetts. Either one could have changed her birthplace with the other and have fitted into type perfectly. Either would have been comfortably at ease in the home of the other.

The conversation with both these ladies turned to the futile differences between the South and the North. With both, we were able to pin down the discussion to a rational approach. Both admitted the folly and danger of the old prejudices, and both smiled at the weakness of harboring the past with its mixture of truth and falsehood. Yet, in a moment, each was back again in the inherited attitude, so easy to entertain, so fatal to possess.

Much of the blame for this antagonism may be placed upon the handling of the news in our papers. It is pathological how eagerly many editors seize upon a story of trouble in a neighbor State and cry horror, at the same time playing down the human folly in their own community. "They condone the sins they are inclined to, by damning those they have no mind to." The sounder policy is to show charity toward your neighbor's troubles. The Conservative believes in peace and equality among our sovereign States.

God save our Constitution.

REPORTS AND OPINIONS

Please note the bottom of our front page. We have set a price of \$5 a year; bills will be sent out with the next number. The names have been omitted in two of today's reports and opinions, as we did not have specific permission to print them. From now on we will print names unless we are asked not to.

Charleston, S. C., writes: "The sentiment is growing in this part of the country. If the country is to be saved, the South will save it. If you Republicans would quit voting the Democratic ticket, we could do something."

Corpus Christi, Tex., writes: "The time element requires that there be a national convention of conservatives at the earliest possible date. Both existing political parties have rejected the Constitution. The States are being eliminated. Patrick Henry was right. He knew that the sword and the purse would finally make one Central Government."

Fred W. Foot, St. Paul, Minn., says: "A movement to organize the independent conservative folks costs money. If somebody with plenty of it would devote it to acting as clearing house for expression of ideas and promotion of a practical movement, there might be some practical results. Application of conservative ideas to current specific problems, not generalities, is needed."

Our printer offers us this happy little ditty:

"I'm a conservative born;

I'm a conservative bred;

And when I die—

I've already raised four more conservatives!"

And he has done just that, too.

JULY 16, 1949.

MR. CHESTER WALKER,
Publisher, *the Conservative*,
Box 685, Providence 1, R. I.

DEAR MR. WALKER: Answering your letter of no date, I enclose a leaflet listing the officers and directors and setting forth the purposes of the National Economic Council.

The Council was incorporated in 1930 as the New York State Economic Council, having about the same purposes as it has today. Among the original directors were the Honorable James W. Gerard and the late Elton H. Hooker, then president of the Hooker Electro-Chemical Co., and others.

I was president of that organization, and have been president of the National Economic Council since its organization.

The officers and directors of the New York State Economic Council by 1936 found that what it was really fighting was communism and socialism, and it promptly began to attack those isms on a broad basis. Immediately we began to have applications for membership from all parts of the United States, so in 1948 the name was changed to the National Economic Council.

We issue four publications, sample copies of which are enclosed.

We have a speakers' bureau that uses both American and English speakers. I enclose one of the many letters received about the addresses of Mr. Cecil Palmer, who has been with us for about 6 months.

We appear before many congressional committees on matters of general interest, such as Federal aid to education, extension of social security, the Atlantic Pact, and other matters. All of the above specific propositions, incidentally, we have opposed.

We have no truck with all the present twaddle about democracy, believing that the United States is and was designed by the framers of our Constitution to be a Republic. We believe there is little need to ape any of the isms of poor old Europe when our own form of government proved to be more successful than any other country in the world.

I hope the above will enable you to inform your readers in whatever way you deem best.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

W. A. SHEAFFER PEN CO.,
Fort Madison, Iowa, July 14, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, *National Economic Council, Inc.*,
Empire State Building New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Mr. Craig Sheaffer has recently been requested to become associated with the Committee for the International Trade Organization.

Both Mr. Sheaffer and I are quite dubious about the virtues of this organization, and, if I remember correctly, you have distributed literature pointing out some of their more important shortcomings. If my memory serves me right, I should appreciate it if you would send me copies of this literature, plus any other thoughts you may have about the ITO.

With sincere thanks for your help and with all best wishes, I am,

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT O. THOMAS.

JULY 18, 1940.

Mr. ROBERT O. THOMAS,
W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co., Fort Madison, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THOMAS: I have your letter of July 14. We enclose half a dozen copies of a council paper on the ITO.

We are inclined to believe that Mr. Sheaffer would not want to have anything to do with the ITO.

We have made a careful study of the development of the Charter (or whatever it is they call it) of the ITO, including both the conference at Geneva 2 years ago this summer, and the conference in Habana the following winter.

In the first place, they have developed a document that is so complex and confusing that, on the face of it, a large part of the text would have to be interpreted by the ITO itself, which is of course one of these international agencies in which the United States would have but a single vote.

In the second place, the attitude of the representatives of the United States Government was "anything to get an agreement." There was tremendous divergence of opinion at both the Geneva and Havana conferences, and always the United States seems to have made sufficient concessions of whatever nature to secure an agreement—irrespective of whether the terms of the agreement served the interests of the people of the United States or not.

In the third place, if the agreement is adopted, then, to a large extent (indeed, to whatever extent the rulings of the ITO are inconsistent with American law) the law of the United States would be superseded. Whether this is so or not may depend upon whether the agreement is adopted (if it is adopted at all) by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress, or whether it is brought before the United States Senate for ratification as a treaty, which requires a two-thirds vote.

In the fourth place, no interest of the United States or of its people as a whole, appears to require any international trade agreement.

In the fifth place, the ITO is one of the many proposals brought forward by forces that do not always appear and which, so far as they are known, are often found to be sinister. It is an agreement of internationalists to secure control of the United States and of its interests.

It is true that no small number of our industrialists favor the ITO. However, we believe, in all justice to them, that many of them do not understand it, or else believe that it would be used to the particular advantages of their own industries. And the vast majority of Americans have no conception of what it is all about—in fact, most of them do not even know that such a proposal is pending.

This ITO should be consigned to the wastebasket, or better still, to the incinerator.

With all good wishes.
 Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

Personal

JULY 19, 1940.

Mr. ROBERT B. DRESSER,
15 Westminister Street, Providence, R. I.

DEAR BOB: Referring to our recent conversation about the Republican Party, it seems perfectly clear to me that all along the Republican Party has yielded to the infiltration of New Dealers, of Socialists, and near-Communists. It has let its party platforms be influenced to a large extent by left-wing writers. I haven't the slightest doubt that the Republican National Committee staff would be found to have one or more definite representatives of the left wing.

I recall that some 6 or 8 years ago a Republican Congressman (whose name I do not remember) said to me, "You know what the Republican National Committee does when it gets hard up for funds between campaigns—they call up Frank Altschul (one of the partners of Lazard Freres) in New York, and he sees that they get it." I have little doubt that something of this kind has gone on.

I know a very brilliant young woman who does a good deal of writing on our side on economic questions, and who was cultivated assiduously by Mr. Altschul some years ago through invitations to luncheon at which there was ample time to discuss what was going on. It was perfectly clear that he, although ostensibly a Republican, was more interested in the international Jewish

control of things generally, whether in England or the United States, than he was in the Republican Party.

Numerous other illustrations could be given.

Now when Roosevelt came to power in 1933, he yielded to the left-wing elements—it would be more accurate, perhaps, to say that he yielded to these international Jews. It probably would be equally accurate to say that these left-wing elements were the very factors that secured him the nomination, and did it in all probability with a perfectly clear understanding as to what he would do if elected.

I do not take much stock in trends and drifts. I am far more interested in learning what this internationalist group of which Felix Frankfurter, David Niles, Sum Rosenman, and perhaps Bernard Baruch, are thinking and planning.

I think any discussion of "what's wrong with the Republican Party" that fails to take account of these things, would be futile.

I am sure it has occurred to you to wonder why the Republican Party cannot have its own home-made program of action. We tried to make up such a program in Economic Council Letter 184, dated February 1, 1948, a copy of which I enclose.

If the Republican Party should adopt a program like this—a program of principles based on American experience—instead of continuing their futile efforts to imitate the left-wingers, they would, of course, get somewhere. Moreover, it would be about 10 times as much fun, I should think, for a red-blooded man to run as a candidate on a platform he could defend, than on such milk-and-water platforms as the Republican Party has had in recent years.

There is no trouble with the rank and file of the American people, whether among labor, or on the farms, or among housewives—yes, they have tasted the good things of life and they like to see the money coming in, and all that. But fundamentally they are Americans. They are the ones that stand to lose the most if the country goes completely to hell, as now seems highly possible. Only it will be too late then for them to do something about it.

But I am certain, since many of these little people are subscribing members of the Economic Council and write us frequently, that they would follow an American leader if only some reputable group would give it to them.

The trouble is this country is too much influenced by the Walter Winchells, the Drew Pearsons, and the Robert Allens.

Recently, when that meeting of ours was called off largely because it was thought to be too near the Fourth of July, Winchell came out on the air and announced that it had been a meeting to revive America First. The inference was that as such it should be held up for the contempt of everybody.

Think of that! When you and I went to school and college, we thought there was nothing better than America. The people of other lands who can get over here still seem to think so. Yet we Americans, many of whose families have been here for 10 or more generations, let upstart Jews like Winchell (God knows what his real name is!) frighten us into timidity. "Whom the gods would destroy * * *"

As ever,

Taken from Hart, General correspondence file.

JULY 26, 1949.

Dr. GRIFFITHS: Please read and return with comment to Mr. Hart.

M. K.

(Hand written.)

I don't think that waiting until the strike is over is helping the American people. Can their be neutrality as between a Commie tool and the interests of the United States of America?

GRIFF.

JUNE 1, 1948.

TO OUR READERS:

We call attention to Rose Wilder Lane's review of Professor Rostow's *A National Policy for the Oil Industry*. This book is an opening gun in a revived attempt to put the oil industry under the control of the Government.

It is astonishing that supposedly intelligent men who would not for an instant attempt to say that public control breeds efficiency, are willing to subject the great petroleum industry to Washington bureaucrats.

This review will be of particular interest to the oil industry because that industry is now to be placed under fire. But it should be of well-nigh equal

interest to persons in other fields of private enterprise. For their turn will come, if the attack on oil is successful.

The Economic Council is constantly trying through its letters and book reviews in the fewest possible words to make telling comments on vital issues.

If you are not a subscriber, you will want to become one. And you will do a favor to your friend or acquaintance who perhaps has not heard of the Economic Council by passing on these publications to him.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

JULY 11, 1949.

Hon. JOHN S. WOOD,
*Chairman, House Un-American Activities Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOOD: I noted a recent AP dispatch saying that the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 7 voted "to look into communism in Hawaii, particularly in such activity in key unions."

This was most encouraging, until I read that a staff investigator will be sent to the islands, but not until "after the present crippling dock workers' strike is over."

This seems to me very weak action, if, indeed, it can be called action at all. Would you expect the fire department to refuse to go to a fire until "after the crippling fire was over"?

Why isn't the proper time to look into what is going on while the events are actually transpiring?

We happen to have members in Hawaii from whom we get the most disturbing accounts of communistic activities in the islands.

This man Bridges who, because of a startling decision by the Supreme Court, failed by one vote to be deported, is at work apparently trying to set up a Communist state in Hawaii.

It seems to me, sir, that the action your committee has taken is very, very weak. If you can point out where I am mistaken, I shall be glad to have you do so.

Sincerely yours,

MERVIN K. HART, *President.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 19, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th, relating to the Hawaiian situation.

For some time the House Committee on Un-American Activities has had under consideration the question of exploring the extent to which subversive influences have penetrated the islands, but the members of the committee have been reluctant to take any action which might be justifiably construed as prejudging the underlying causes of existing labor disturbances within the islands.

In the event the committee ultimately determines upon such an investigation, you may be sure that the timing thereof will be given very serious consideration.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. WOOD, M. C.,
Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

WILMINGTON, DEL., July 20, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: Mr. Copeland is away from the office on vacation and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 19th with its

enclosure. He expects to return on August 15 and your letter will be brought to his attention at that time. I know he will be most interested in it.

Sincerely,

BETTYE LYNCH,
Secretary to Mr. Copeland.

JULY 21, 1940.

Mr. HENRY M. DAWES,
Pure Oil Co., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. DAWES: I think you might be particularly interested in Council Letter 219.

The attack against the du Pont Co. and its associated companies is a serious one, and bodes no good for private enterprise, large or small. If the Government succeeds in this case, of which I have some doubt, all of private enterprise will be thrown for a serious loss.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

JULY 25, 1940.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,
Box 2495, Honolulu, Hawaii, T. H.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: Thank you for your letter of July 19 enclosing copy of the Garden Island of July 5.

I note, too, the telephone conversation you had with this editor. I note, first of all, that he said "something about my taking documents from Government files."

This is a new one to me. I have never heard such a remark made before. We have never had access to Government files and would not know how to go about getting them if we did.

We have taken a strong position on many of the public questions of the day. I was personally a strong America Firster—and still think the America Firsters were right. I have been utterly opposed to unconditional surrender (which Friday's papers said that Churchill declared was Roosevelt's idea). I have been opposed to the United Nations and anything connected with it and am certainly opposed to all of the international alphabetical agencies, all of which will tend to tie us in with the poor and weak and the ne'er-do-wells of the world. I believe our politicians are selling out our birthright. I believe—no, I will say that I know that our attitude toward the Franco government of Spain is prompted solely by Communists in our own Government; and an increasing number in both the House and Senate is coming to agree with this.

Our position on these matters has always been out in the open. We could not live a minute if we did not have publicity. And, incidentally, the publicity these left-wingers have given us, while causing harm among some people, has done us great good.

When this editor calls George Fielding Elliott a conservative, highly respected commentator, it shows from what sources he gets his information. Elliott is a weak sister who has gone along with the New Deal line in just about every respect.

As matter of fact, this editor makes positively false statements which are libelous if we wish to treat them so.

You can be perfectly sure that if the New Deal had anything on the NEC, they would have prosecuted us long before this.

One day 3 or 4 years ago, Paul Shoup, then president of the Merchants & Manufacturers Association in Los Angeles and former president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, gave a large luncheon for me in the California Club in Los Angeles. When it became known that he was giving this luncheon, he received many mysterious calls on the telephone from strangers who told him that I was a Fascist and was all kinds of a dangerous person. Shoup told me that he had one stock answer to all of these: "If you know anything against this man, don't tell me, tell the FBI." He heard no more from that.

Thank you again for sending me the clipping.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 25, 1949.

MERWIN K. HART,
Empire State Building:

Spiritual mobilization preparing small book 3- to 5-minute talks for presidents of women's clubs. You can prepare from 1 to 10 such, either your own or quotations; air-mailing same this week. Believe these will be very widely used. Collect wire how many we may expect.

JAMES W. FIFIELD, Jr.

NEW YORK, July 26, 1949.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.,
 111 North June Street, Los Angeles, Calif.:

Re tel we will prepare at least five and will try to prepare 10 three- to five-minute talks as requested and air-mail them this week. Suggested topics are True Social Security, World Government and American Independence, Federal Control Over Education, Americanism and Zionism, Is Freedom Divisible? Can Socialism Work in America? Should We Support the United Nations? Should the Communist Party Be Outlawed? What are Monopolies? Can America Live Half-Socialist, Half-Free? Please wire us if any of them not satisfactory.

MERWIN K. HART.

JULY 26, 1949.

MR. CECIL PALMER,
 20A The Broadway, Stanmore, Middlesex, England.

DEAR CECIL: One of the dates we have closed for you is to make an address before the National Association of Home Builders (probably 6,000 persons in attendance) on some day between February 19 and 23, 1950, in Chicago. They are to let me know very shortly as to which of the days they prefer.

They ask that you speak on the subject of socialization of British industry, and of housing in particular.

I pass this information on to you so that you may have it in mind.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
 Washington, D. C., July 27, 1949.

DEAR MR. HART: This deals with your letter of July 25, 1949, with which you enclosed letters for Senators Mundt and Gurney and Congressmen Smith and Judd:

Senator Gurney: I was unable to get an appointment with him, but, on advice of his secretary, went to his office this morning. He had to stop off, and was detained downtown, and I haven't yet been able to contact the Senator. His secretary will make an appointment and call me again.

The secretary was with the Senator on his trip to Spain, and said that the Senator had a long talk with General Franco; that the Senator held press interviews in Spain, and on his return, on both of which occasions he strongly urged that we renew full diplomatic relations with Spain at an early date.

Representative Judd: He was seeing no one when I called, as he was catching a plane for his home district, to return Friday of this week, when he will get in touch with me.

Representative Smith: Said he had no suggestion other than the one he made to you when you made your last trip abroad, to wit: To ask Franco how many political prisoners he has in Spain now.

That seemed to be principally what he had on his mind; but, apparently not for quotation, he did say in discussing Spain with me: That he did not think Franco gives Protestants any chance at all in Spain; that he knows that Franco has been bitterly opposed to communism, and has done more against it than any other ruler anywhere; and that Spain, being strategically located, and well blessed with resources and materials we may need, he, personally, thinks we should resume full diplomatic relations with that country.

He agreed with my intimation or suggestion that, if Franco had returned all-out collaboration with Hitler in World War II, we might have had far greater trouble than we did have in North Africa.

Senator Mundt: I went to his office at 2:45 per appointment, and, due to a roll call, he was about 40 minutes late; then, before we could get started, he had to answer another roll call, and suggested that I walk back to the Capitol with him, which I did.

He said he preferred to answer your letter in writing, and would do so promptly. He told me on our trip to the Capitol that he was concerned with Franco's apparent exclusion of Protestants from the practice of their faith in Spain, and thought it might be well to ask Franco frankly what his position is on the subject, and how he is performing.

Senator Mundt agrees that Franco is strongly anti-Communist, and has done more than any other ruler to combat it; that Spain is very strategically located, and is possessed of many resources which we may need; and that there is no reason for our not resuming full diplomatic relations with that country soon.

Representative Richard B. Wigglesworth: He is "old man supercaution himself," and while he prefers not to be quoted, he made it plain that Franco is pre-eminently the chief anti-Communist to be found anywhere; that because of the very strategic position of the Spanish Peninsula, we should, by all means, resume full diplomatic relations with her immediately. He is opposed to Britain, France, and perhaps others making trade and other agreements with Spain to our detriment.

Sincerely yours,

BARGER.

P. S.—Several persons frequently mention that there is more reason for us to help Spain than there is to assist other nations, such as Sweden, Ireland, and other countries who were so strict in their World War II neutrality that they refused our ships entry into their ports.

JULY 28, 1949.

MR. HARRY S. BARGER,
606 National Union Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HARRY: Thank you for your various letters of yesterday. I found particularly interesting your report of talks with Representative Smith and Senator Mundt.

You may tell any of these people that you happen to see again or anybody else for that matter, that I am going especially to look into the Protestant situation in Spain.

If Lawrence Smith had read my Council Letter 107 which I sent from Madrid after carefully looking into the matter of the number of prisoners in Spain, I do not think he would have repeated that question to you. I am enclosing copy of letter 107 dated August 15 from Madrid, and I am also writing Congressman Smith a letter of which the attached is a copy, and sending him a copy of that same council letter.

I shall look forward to hearing further from you as to any additional interviews you have with men on the subject of Spain.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President*.

JULY 28, 1949.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Our Mr. Burger tells me of a recent talk which I asked him to have with you to get any suggestions you might make with regard to Spain.

He said that you repeated the suggestion which you told him you had made to me last year (and which I recall very well), namely, that I find out how many prisoners France had in Spain.

I was apparently remiss in failing to write you personally and call your attention to council letter 107, a copy of which I enclose. You will find some statements about prisoners in Spain commencing about the middle of the second column on the first page.

I spent several extremely hot days in August in Spain, in going through these prisons, and believe I got the facts.

On this visit I am going to try to get to the bottom of the question as to the alleged persecution of the Protestants. One statement I have heard is that Protestants are not allowed to have on the outside of their churches or meeting places any sign to indicate what they are. In September of 1938 I had occasion to visit one of the Protestant churches in Seville, and spent an hour or more talking with the pastor and his family. The pastor's wife happened to be a sister of a woman professor of Spanish in Columbia University, and she had asked me to take some money to her sister. This particular church was so small and meager in its facilities and surroundings that I should think it would hardly count at all. But I formed a very good friendship with the Minister of Justice, Señor Fernandez-Cuesta, and I know that he will give me every facility to investigate the churches, just as last year he gave me every facility to investigate the prisons. At that time he gave me a list of all the prisons in Spain, and told me I could visit any or all of them if I so desired. But this council letter tells the story.

With all good wishes,
Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

AUGUST 1, 1940.

For Mr. Irénée du Pont:

Suggested list of churches, colleges, and libraries to receive National Economic Council publications.

List No. 2
CHURCHES

Name	Address	Minister or rector
Abbott Memorial Presbyterian Church.	321 South Highland Ave., Baltimore 4, Md.	Rev. R. W. Martin.
Advent Episcopal Church.....	Intaborn, Pa.	Rev. J. J. Sachs.
Alaquith Presbyterian Church.....	3003 Oakcrest Ave., Baltimore 14, Md.	Rev. A. E. Newcomer, Jr.
All Hallows' Episcopal Church.....	Davidsonville, Md.	Rev. V. S. Ross.
All Saints Episcopal Church.....	Baltimore and Monroe Sts., Baltimore, Md.	Rev. W. M. Plummer, Jr.
Do.....	Frederick, Md.	Rev. S. S. Johnson.
Arlington Presbyterian Church.....	6105 Denmore Ave., Baltimore 15, Md.	Rev. T. R. Phillips.
Asbury Methodist Church.....	Harrington, Del.	Rev. C. E. Kiah.
Mount Calvary Methodist Church.....	Bridgeville, Del.	Rev. J. C. Hanby.
Ascension Episcopal Church.....	Claymont, Del.	Rev. C. A. Bantz.
Do.....	Westminster, Md.	Rev. J. R. Cooper.
Ashland Presbyterian Church.....	Glen Arm, Baltimore, Md.	Attention: the minister.
Avenue Methodist Church.....	Milford, Del.	Rev. F. Horson.
Avondale Methodist Church.....	Avondale, Pa.	Rev. H. S. Irwin.
Avonmore Presbyterian Church.....	Avonmore, Pa.	Rev. A. Broadly-East.
Barton Presbyterian Church.....	Barton, Md.	Rev. S. H. Jewell.
Bel Air Presbyterian Church.....	Bel Air, Md.	Rev. F. G. Switzer.
Berwyn Presbyterian Church.....	8514 50th Ave., Berwyn, Md.	Rev. J. E. Kidder.
Beverly Hgts. United Presbyterian Church.	71 Woodhaven Dr., Pittsburgh, Pa.	Rev. Wm. McLeister II.
Big Spring Presbyterian Church.....	Newville, Pa.	Rev. F. C. Nicholson.
Blades Methodist Church.....	Blades, Del.	Rev. D. T. Campbell.
Blairsville Presbyterian Church.....	157 North Walnut St., Blairsville, Pa.	Rev. J. C. Stuart.
Boyd Methodist Church.....	Boyd, Md.	Rev. C. E. Smallwood.
Brandywine Methodist Church.....	Brandywine, Md.	Rev. W. G. Sims.
Brockway Presbyterian Church.....	817 Main St., Brockway, Pa.	Rev. L. L. Tait.
Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	1316 Park Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.	Rev. T. Guthrie Speers.
Buckeystown Methodist Church.....	Buckeystown, Md.	Rev. A. I. Moya.
Calvary Episcopal Church.....	318 Woodside Ave., Hillcrest, Del.	Attention: the minister.
Calvary Methodist Church.....	Easton, Md.	Rev. C. M. Elderfield.
Do.....	Avenue F, Milford, Del.	Attention: the minister.
Calvary Presbyterian Church.....	610 North Linwood Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.	Rev. Charles E. Kirsch.
Do.....	1071 South Cameron St., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. Carl C. Gray.
Catonaville Methodist Church.....	Catonaville, Md.	Rev. N. B. Carrington.
Centenary Methodist Church.....	Laurel, Del.	Rev. F. D. Milbury.
Central Presbyterian Church.....	2706 Parkwood Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.	Rev. Merton S. Fales.
Central Presbyterian Church.....	223 Fifth Ave., Chambersburg, Pa.	Rev. M. W. Riddle.
Do.....	314 Washington St., Downingtown, Pa.	Rev. J. R. Russell.

List No. 2—Continued

CHURCHES—Continued

Name	Address	Minister or rector
Charlestown Methodist Church	Charlestown, Md.	Rev. R. W. Simpson.
Chase Methodist Church	White Marsh, Md.	Attention: the minister.
Chesapeake City Methodist Church	Chesapeake City, Md.	Rev. T. R. Lobb.
Holdwin-Chestnut Grove Presbyterian Church	Glen Arm, Baltimore, Md.	Rev. Ben F. Wyland.
Chileamuxen Methodist Church	Chileamuxen, Md.	Rev. A. J. Munnerlyn.
Christ Episcopal Church	St. Paul and Chase Sts., Baltimore, Md.	Rev. H. F. Butt.
Do.	Dover, Del.	Rev. P. A. Kellogg.
Do.	Milford, Del.	Rev. J. S. Hinks.
Christ Methodist Church	Fedemsburg, Md.	Rev. H. V. Brumford.
Do.	Laurel, Del.	Rev. W. E. Stanley.
Christ Presbyterian Church	737 Maple St., Lebanon, Pa.	Rev. W. W. Warman.
Church of the Covenant	211 Blue Rock Rd., Gordon Hgts, Wilmington, Del.	Rev. Geo. L. Hunt.
Churchville Methodist Church	Churchville, Md.	Rev. J. H. Poy.
Claymont Methodist Church	Claymont, Del.	Rev. P. W. Spence.
Clifton Methodist Church	Clifton Heights, Delaware Co., Pa.	Rev. D. A. Ottinger.
College Hill Presbyterian Church	3235 8th Ave., Beaver Falls, Pa.	Rev. R. B. Atwell.
Colver Presbyterian Church	Post Office Box 326, Colver, Pa.	Rev. S. Boyd Dickey.
Covenant Presbyterian Church	521 Peffer St., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. P. W. Johnston.
Dagsboro Methodist Church	Dagsboro, Del.	Rev. L. W. Hogg.
Darby Methodist Church	Darby, Pa.	Attention: the minister.
Davidsonville Methodist Church	Davidsonville, Md.	Rev. J. W. Langford.
Delaware City Presbyterian Church	Delaware City, Del.	Rev. D. L. Doherty.
Derry Presbyterian Church	248 East Derry Rd., Hershey, Pa.	Rev. W. V. Longbrake.
Dillworthtown Presbyterian Church	215 South Walnut St., West Chester, Pa.	Rev. C. W. Heathcote.
Dover Presbyterian Church	54 State St., Dover, Del.	Attention: the minister.
Downington Methodist Church	Brandywine and Washington Aves., Downington, Pa.	Attention: The minister.
Eastport Methodist Church	Eastport, Md.	Rev. L. C. Chase.
Ebenezer Methodist Church	Easton, Md.	Rev. E. M. Schockley.
Elkton Methodist Church	Elkton, Md.	Rev. W. A. Hearn.
Elkton Presbyterian Church	230 East Main St., Elkton, Md.	Rev. A. J. Gibson.
Ellicott City Methodist Church	Ellicott City, Md.	Attention: the minister.
Elsmere Presbyterian Church	604 New Rd., Elsmere, Wilmington, Del.	Rev. C. S. Hoffman.
Emanuel Episcopal Church	Cathedral and Read Sts., Baltimore 1, Md.	Rev. E. V. Kennan.
Do.	Bel Air, Md.	Rev. P. H. Sloan.
Do.	20 Prospect Sq., Cumberland, Md.	Rev. D. C. Watson.
Epiphany Episcopal Church	Old York Rd. and Arlington Ave., Baltimore 12, Md.	Rev. H. M. Richardson.
Do.	320 West Carpenter Lane, Philadelphia 10, Pa.	Rev. J. W. Twelves.
Epworth Methodist Church	Rehoboth, Del.	Rev. I. W. Diao.
Faith Presbyterian Church	1705 Windomere Ave., Baltimore 18, Md.	Rev. W. T. Jackson.
Falling Spring Presbyterian Church	North Main St., Chambersburg, Pa.	Rev. R. T. Taylor.
First and Central Presbyterian Church	2506 Harrison St., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. Willard G. Purdy.
First Methodist Church	Chestertown, Md.	Rev. P. E. Reynolds.
First Presbyterian Church	823 Maplewood St., Ambridge, Pa.	Rev. W. W. McKinney.
Do.	Post Office Box 732, Annapolis, Md.	Rev. Burrett E. McBee.
Do.	210 West Madison St., Baltimore 1, Md.	Rev. J. H. Gardner, Jr.
Do.	204 College Ave., Beaver, Pa.	Attention: the minister.
Do.	233 W. Poinfret St., Carlisle, Pa.	Rev. R. W. Anderson.
Do.	222 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.	Rev. W. A. Eisenberger.
Do.	Gaileton, Pa.	Rev. Robt. S. Cocks.
Do.	107 College Ave., Grove City, Pa.	Rev. J. M. Barnett.
Do.	Lawrenceville, Pa.	Rev. Victor C. Ditty.
Do.	Leonaconing, Md.	Rev. O. S. Ooshorn.
Do.	McVeytown, Pa.	Rev. Louis W. Lytle.
Do.	907 Virginia Ave., Midland, Pa.	Rev. O. H. Bohlender.
Do.	Post Office Box 751, Paoli, Pa.	Rev. K. A. Hammonds.
Do.	Phoenixville, Pa.	Rev. G. W. Silbert, Jr.
Do.	431 Pine St., Steelton, Pa.	Attention: the minister.
Do.	317 West Miner St., West Chester, Pa.	Rev. J. G. Kell.
Forest Presbyterian Church	Middletown, Del.	Rev. John E. Thomas.
Frankford Methodist Church	Frankford, Del.	Rev. J. J. von Hagel.
Frederica Methodist Church	Frederica, Del.	Rev. D. E. Wood.
Do.	Frederick, Md.	Rev. E. E. Williams.
Frederick Presbyterian Church	117 West 2d St., Frederick, Md.	Rev. W. M. Weaver.

List No. 2—Continued

CHURCHES—Continued

Name	Address	Minister or rector
Frostburg Presbyterian Church.....	Frostburg, Md.	Attention the minister.
Georgetown Presbyterian Church.....	Georgetown, Del.	Rev. Thomas Whyte.
Gottysburg Presbyterian Church.....	19 E. High St., Gettysburg, Pa.	Rev. R. M. Hunt.
Gloria Dei Episcopal Church.....	916 Swanson St., Philadelphia 47, Pa.	Rev. J. C. Roak.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church.....	Ruxton, Md.	Rev. W. O. Smith, Jr.
Goshen Methodist Church.....	Milton, Del.	Rev. Harold Davis.
Govens Presbyterian Church.....	5824 York Rd., Baltimore 12, Md.	Rev. Lloyd G. Ice.
Grace and St. Peters Episcopal.....	Park and Monument Aves., Baltimore, Md.	Rev. Daniel Corrigan.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	Brunswick, Md.	Rev. W. J. Reed.
Do.....	Elkridge, Md.	Rev. C. C. Durkee.
Do.....	Talleyville, Del.	Rev. E. H. Ehart, Jr.
Grace Methodist Church.....	Cambridge, Md.	Rev. R. C. Hubbard.
Do.....	Georgetown, Del.	Rev. W. P. Keenodol.
Do.....	Milton, Del.	Rev. Milton Elliott.
Do.....	Wilmington, Del.	Rev. B. M. Johns.
Grace Presbyterian Church.....	829 North Fremont Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.	Rev. J. T. Colbert.
Great Valley Presbyterian Church.....	R. f. d., Malvern, Pa.	Rev. C. E. Anderson.
Greencastle Presbyterian Church.....	152 Washington St., Greencastle, Pa.	Rev. A. M. Stevenson.
Green Hill Presbyterian Church.....	3106 Penn's Ave., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. John E. Paul.
Hagerstown Methodist Church.....	Hagerstown, Md.	Attention: the minister.
Hagerstown Presbyterian Church.....	204 Mealey Parkway, Hagerstown, Md.	Rev. G. A. Young.
Hamilton Presbyterian Church.....	2905 Evergreen Ave., Baltimore 14, Md.	Rev. R. B. Cunningham.
Hampden Presbyterian Church.....	860 West 37th St., Baltimore 11, Md.	Rev. Euclid Phillips.
Hanover Presbyterian Church.....	1804 Baynard Blvd., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. J. H. Darling.
Harbeson Methodist Church.....	Harbeson, Del.	Rev. F. E. Crockett.
Havre de Grace Presbyterian Church.....	663 Franklin St., Havre de Grace, Md.	Rev. R. A. Brown.
Holy Cross Episcopal Church.....	421 Millington Ave., Baltimore 23, Md.	Rev. L. D. Forqueran.
Do.....	Cumberland, Md.	Rev. L. H. Ewald.
Holy Nativity Episcopal Church.....	Garrison Ave. and Egerton Rd., Baltimore 15, Md.	Rev. H. W. S. Powers.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.....	2825 St. Paul St., Baltimore 18, Md.	Rev. S. A. Broadbent.
Hopewell Methodist Church.....	Route No. 1, Dowington, Pa.	Rev. L. B. Drubaker.
Hunting Ridge Presbyterian Church.....	706 Walnut Ave., Baltimore 29, Md.	Rev. D. W. Weaver.
Hyattsville Presbyterian Church.....	Hyattsville, Md.	Rev. D. H. Evans.
Immanuel Episcopal Church.....	Glencoe, Md.	Rev. G. F. Packard.
Do.....	New Castle, Del.	Rev. Lawrence Mills.
Incarnation Episcopal Church.....	Garrett Rd. at Riverview Ave., Drexel Hill, Pa.	Rev. C. F. Ehly.
Kenton Methodist Church.....	Kenton, Del.	Rev. L. B. Morgan.
Knox Presbyterian Church.....	1827 East Preston Rd., Baltimore 13, Md.	Rev. H. O. Graham.
Laurel Methodist Church.....	Laurel Md.	Rev. L. B. Miller, Jr.
Lewes Methodist Church.....	Lewes, Del.	Rev. W. H. Revelle, Sr.
Lewes Presbyterian Church.....	do	Rev. Wm. Lelshman.
Light Street Presbyterian Church.....	808 William St., Baltimore 30, Md.	Rev. C. J. Hicks.
Lochearn Presbyterian Church.....	2326 West Lanvale St., Baltimore 18, Md.	Rev. P. H. Walenta.
Lutherville Methodist Church.....	Lutherville, Md.	Rev. M. M. Jefferson, Sr.
Madison Presbyterian Church.....	2102 Madison Ave., Baltimore 5, Md.	Rev. R. J. Daniels.
Market Square Presbyterian Church.....	Market Sq., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. R. C. Walker.
Mechanicsburg Presbyterian Church.....	106 South High St., Mechanicsburg, Pa.	Attention the minister.
Memorial Episcopal Church.....	Lafayette Ave. and Bolton, Baltimore, Md.	Rev. B. R. Howarth.
Mercoersburg Presbyterian Church.....	Mercoersburg, Pa.	Rev. J. D. E. Turner.
Messiah Episcopal Church.....	Harford Rd. and White Ave., Baltimore 14, Md.	Rev. A. J. Miller.
The Methodist Church.....	Aberdeen, Md.	Rev. J. H. Tackett.
Middletown Methodist Church.....	Middletown, Del.	Rev. F. E. Coleman.
Middletown Presbyterian Church.....	201 Race St., Middletown, Pa.	Rev. J. W. Dye.
Millsboro Methodist Church.....	Millsboro, Del.	Rev. W. L. Bookwith.
Mount Calvary Episcopal Church.....	Eutaw and Madison Sts., Baltimore 1, Md.	Rev. W. A. McClellan.
Mount Carmel Presbyterian Church.....	910 Elm St., Alliquippa, Pa.	Rev. John R. Thomson.
Mount Lebanon Methodist Church.....	Mount Lebanon (Wilmington), Del.	Rev. W. E. Fosnocht.

List No. 2—Continued

CHURCHES—Continued

Name	Address	Minister or rector
Mount Olive Methodist Church.....	Seaford, Del.....	Rev. W. H. Stone.
Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church.....	Darlington, Pa.....	Rev. F. H. Henry.
Mount Washington Methodist Church.....	Mount Washington, 1700 Madison Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.	Rev. J. E. Johnson.
Nativity Episcopal Church.....	York and Cedarcroft Rds., Balti- more 12, Md.	Rev. O. B. Scriven.
Neelsville Presbyterian Church.....	Germantown, Md.....	Rev. R. W. Hand.
Newark Methodist Church.....	Newark, Del.....	Rev. A. J. Jackson.
Newark Presbyterian Church.....	do.....	Rev. H. E. Hallman.
New Castle Methodist Church.....	New Castle, Del.....	Rev. J. W. Wootton.
New Market Methodist Church.....	New Market, Md.....	Rev. Richard Jackson.
Newport Methodist Church.....	Newport, Del.....	Rev. V. M. Goodhand.
Northminster Presbyterian Church.....	1821 St. Paul St., Baltimore 2, Md.	Attention the minister.
Do.....	Alaska and Kalmia Rds., Wash- ington NW, D. C.	Rev. W. H. Kopler.
Nottingham Presbyterian Church.....	Nottingham, Pa.....	Rev. Eliza Safford.
Ocean View Methodist Church.....	Ocean View, Del.....	Rev. C. C. Louhoff.
Odessa Methodist Church.....	Odessa, Del.....	Rev. D. A. Littleton.
Olivet Presbyterian Church.....	1928 Bellevue Rd., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. W. A. Webb, Jr.
Do.....	409 Geddes St., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. L. M. Bicknell.
Our Saviour Episcopal Church.....	Broadway and McElderry Sts., Baltimore 5, Md.	Rev. R. T. Dickerson.
Do.....	York and Homestead Rds., Jon- kintown, Pa.	Rev. R. G. Davis.
Oxford Methodist Church.....	Oxford, Md.....	Attention: the minister.
Oxford Presbyterian Church.....	214 Penn Ave., Oxford, Pa.	Rev. C. S. Fisher.
Paxtang Presbyterian Church.....	3620 Sharon St., Paxtang, Harris- burg, Pa.	Rev. M. G. Glise.
Pencader Presbyterian Church.....	St. Georges, Del.....	Rev. G. A. Burslom.
Pine Street Presbyterian Church.....	3d and Pine Sts., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. C. F. Smith.
Pisgah Methodist Church.....	Pisgah, Md.....	Rev. B. F. Hall.
Pitts Creek Presbyterian Church.....	Pocomoke City, Md.....	Rev. R. M. Shoaf.
Port Deposit Presbyterian Church.....	Port Deposit, Md.....	Attention: the minister.
Presbyterian Church of Milford.....	Milford, Del.....	Rev. John M. DeChant.
Prince Frederick Methodist Church.....	Prince Frederick, Md.....	Rev. L. A. H. Moore.
Quarryville Methodist Church.....	Quarryville, Pa.....	Rev. C. E. Knopp.
Queenstown Methodist Church.....	Queenstown, Md.....	Rev. O. O. Hill.
Rodeomer Episcopal Church.....	Charles St. and Melrose Ave., Baltimore 12, Md.	Rev. R. H. Baker, Jr.
Redemption Episcopal Church.....	Towson and Clement Sts., Balti- more 30, Md.	Rev. G. E. Zachary.
Rehoboth Presbyterian Church.....	Rehoboth, Md.....	Rev. Herman Hishoff.
Reisterstown Methodist Church.....	Reisterstown, Md.....	Rev. Matthias Williams.
Relay Presbyterian Church.....	1726 Arlington Ave., Relay, Balti- more, Md.	Rev. John Barnard.
Resurrection Episcopal Church.....	Fayette and Curley Sts., Balti- more 24, Md.	Rev. E. P. Baker.
Ridgely Street Presbyterian Church.....	405 Normandy Ave., Baltimore 29, Md.	Rev. J. H. Braunlein.
Rising Sun Methodist Church.....	Rising Sun, Md.....	Rev. J. R. Bickling.
Rockville Methodist Church.....	Rockville, Md.....	Rev. W. F. Williams.
Roland Park Presbyterian.....	106 Elmhurst Rd., Baltimore 10, Md.	Attention the minister.
Roxana Methodist Church.....	Roxana, Del.....	Rev. J. F. Langrall.
St. Anne's Episcopal Church.....	Annapolis, Md.....	Rev. C. E. Berger.
Do.....	Middletown, Del.....	Rev. R. W. Traynell.
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church.....	2028 Columbia Ave., Philadel- phia 21, Pa.	Rev. W. D. Turner.
St. David's Episcopal Church.....	Roland Ave. and Oakdale Rd., Baltimore 10, Md.	Rev. G. A. Taylor.
St. George's Methodist Church.....	Clarksville, Del.....	Attention the minister.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	Mount Savage, Md.....	Rev. R. J. Gunkel.
St. George's Methodist Church.....	St. George's, Del.....	Rev. C. H. Hudson.
St. James Episcopal Church.....	Arlington and Lafayette Sts., Baltimore 17, Md.	Rev. C. E. Mills.
Do.....	Lothian, Md.....	Rev. O. M. Langley.
Do.....	Newport, Del.....	Rev. A. W. Boyer.
Do.....	Stanton, Del.....	Rev. A. B. Potter.
Do.....	Westernport, Md.....	Rev. G. S. Schwind.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	Greenmount Ave. and Old York Rd., Baltimore 18, Md.	Rev. E. L. Gettler, Jr.
Do.....	Ellenest City, Md.....	Rev. F. A. Parsons.
Do.....	Frostburg, Md.....	Rev. L. B. Browne.
Do.....	Hagerstown, Md.....	Rev. W. B. Stahl.
Do.....	Havre de Grace, Md.....	Rev. L. M. Brewster.
Do.....	Kingsville, Md.....	Rev. A. G. Fisher.
St. John's Methodist Church.....	Seaford, Del.....	Rev. Otis P. Jefferson.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church.....	do.....	Rev. P. M. Ferno.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church.....	1025 Locust St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.	Rev. W. H. Dunphy.

List No. 2—Continued

CHURCHES—Continued

Name	Address	Minister or rector
St. Mary's Episcopal Church.....	Roland Ave. near 40th St., Hampden, Baltimore, Md.	Rev. M. D. Ashbury.
St. Matthew's Episcopal Church.....	Oakland, Md.	Rev. A. F. Schildwader.
Do.....	Sparrows' Point, Baltimore 19, Md.	Rev. A. E. Martin.
St. Paul Methodist Church.....	Clayton, Del.	Rev. R. W. Kirwan.
St. Paul (Brentwood) Presbyterian Church.....	2847 20th St., NW., Washington 8, D. C.	Rev. C. A. Shrove.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Georgetown, Del.	Rev. J. C. Settle.
Do.....	Prince Frederick, Md.	Rev. O. H. Halbert, Jr.
St. Paul's Methodist Church.....	Cambridge, Md.	Rev. J. J. Bunting, Sr.
St. Philip's Episcopal Church.....	Laurel, Del.	Rev. R. Y. Barber.
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.....	Norwood, Pa.	Rev. David Holmes.
Do.....	Clifton Heights, Delaware County, Pa.	Rev. I. W. Barnes.
St. Thomas Episcopal Church.....	Newark, Del.	Rev. W. H. Hancok.
Do.....	52d and Parrish Sts., Philadelphia 39, Pa.	Rev. J. F. Anderson.
St. Timothy's Episcopal Church.....	200 Ingleside Ave., Catonsville, Baltimore 28, Md.	Rev. W. W. Sherer.
Sandy Spring Methodist Church.....	Sandy Spring, Md.	Rev. I. H. Carpenter.
Second Presbyterian Church.....	243 South Hanover St., Carlisle, Pa.	Rev. Charles H. Davis.
Do.....	Lincoln University, Pa.	Rev. Jesse B. Barber.
Do.....	17 West Barnard St., West Chester, Pa.	Rev. M. C. Spann.
Selbyville Methodist Church.....	Selbyville, Del.	Rev. C. S. Jarvis.
Severna Park Presbyterian Church.....	Severna Park, Md.	Rev. John McPherson.
Silver Spring Presbyterian Church.....	R. F. D. No. 5, Mechanicsburg, Pa.	Rev. E. J. Ards.
Smyrna Methodist Church.....	Smyrna, Del.	Rev. R. E. Green.
Southminster Presbyterian Church.....	310 Race St., Cumberland, Md.	Attention the minister.
Sparrows Point Methodist Church.....	Sparrows Point, Baltimore, Md.	Rev. J. G. Grant.
Stanton Methodist Church.....	Stanton, Del.	Rev. E. W. Cursay.
Strasburg Methodist Church.....	Strasburg, Pa.	Rev. Wilson Davis.
Swarthmore Methodist Church.....	Swarthmore, Pa.	Rev. R. N. Kelsier.
Taneytown Presbyterian Church.....	Taneytown, Md.	Rev. C. S. Owen.
Townsend Methodist Church.....	Townsend, Del.	Rev. Tighman Smith.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	Dorsey, Howard County, Md.	Rev. G. V. Shriver.
Do.....	Towson, Baltimore 4, Md.	Rev. W. C. Roberts.
Trinity Presbyterian Church.....	2544 Agat St., Harrisburg, Pa.	Rev. H. K. Leishman.
Upper Oterara Presbyterian Church.....	R. F. D. No. 1, Parkesburg, Pa.	Rev. J. H. Brown.
Warner Memorial Presbyterian Church.....	Kensington, Md.	Rev. W. S. Tredick, Jr.
Waterbury Methodist Church.....	Waterbury, Md.	Rev. R. L. Ball.
Waverly Presbyterian Church.....	3728 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore 18, Md.	Rev. George J. Riester.
Wesley Methodist Church.....	140 Hazel Rd., Dover, Del.	Rev. R. T. Thawloy.
Do.....	Georgetown, Del.	Rev. O. E. Jones.
Westminster Methodist Church.....	Westminster, Md.	Rev. J. W. Carroll.
Westminster Presbyterian Church.....	515 West Fayette St., Baltimore 1, Md.	Rev. B. H. McDonald.
Do.....	Rehoboth Beach, Del.	Rev. William Gibson.
Do.....	2308 Madison St., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. John W. Christie.
Do.....	20 North Pine St., York, Pa.	Rev. J. H. Arnold.
West Nottingham Presbyterian Church.....	Colors, Md.	Rev. S. J. Venable.
West Presbyterian Church.....	1013 Park Pl., Wilmington, Del.	Rev. A. H. Klawns.
Wicomico Presbyterian Church.....	708 North Division St., Salisbury, Md.	Rev. J. J. Brown, Jr.
Williamsport Methodist Church.....	Williamsport, Md.	Rev. L. E. Dorsey.
Wyoming Methodist Church.....	Wyoming, Del.	Rev. W. O. Hackett.
Lincoln Methodist Church.....	Lincoln, Del.	Rev. E. N. Wright.
Magnolia Methodist Church.....	Magnolia, Del.	Rev. H. N. Nicklas.
Marshalltown Methodist Church.....	Marshalltown, Del.	Rev. H. K. Krams.
Red Lion Methodist Church.....	Red Lion, via Bear, Del.	Rev. P. R. Schauer.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	Lewes, Del.	Attention, the minister.
Do.....	Smyrna, Del.	Do.
Bethany English Lutheran Church.....	15470 Triskett Rd., Cleveland 11, Ohio.	Rev. J. H. L. Trout.
Evangelical Congregational Church.....	323 Olive St., McKeesport, Pa.	Rev. John F. O. Green.
Forest Park Presbyterian Church.....	3114 Garrison Blvd., Baltimore 16, Md.	Rev. Earl S. Fox.

List No. 2--Continued

COLLEGES

Name	Location	Governing official
Claremont Men's College.....	Claremont, Calif.....	Dr. George C. S. Benson.
Grove City College.....	Grove City, Pa.....	Dr. Weir C. Kettler.
Juniata College.....	Huntingdon, Pa.....	Dr. Calvert N. Ellis.
Maryland College.....	Lutherville, Md.....	Dr. W. H. Moore III.
Marywood College.....	Scranton 9, Pa.....	Attention the president.
Mercyhurst College.....	Erie, Pa.....	Mother M. Egan.
Moravian College and Theological Seminary.	Bethlehem, Pa.....	Dr. Raymond S. Hauptert.
Mount Mercy College.....	3333 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh 13, Pa.	Mother M. Irenaeus.
College of Notre Dame.....	Baltimore 10, Md.....	Sister Mary Francis.
Pennsylvania Military College.....	Chester, Pa.....	Dr. Frank K. Hyatt.
Pennsylvania College for Women.....	Pittsburgh 6, Pa.....	Dr. Paul R. Anderson.
Princess Anne College.....	Princess Anne, Md.....	Dr. R. A. Grisby (acting).
St. Francis College.....	Loretto, Pa.....	Very Rev. Adrian J. M. Viegla.
St. Joseph's College.....	Emmitsburg, Md.....	Dr. Francis J. Dodd.
Do.....	Philadelphia 31, Pa.....	Dr. John J. Long.

LIBRARIES

Name	Location	Librarian
Public Library.....	Bedford, Pa.....	Mrs. J. N. Minnick.
Olitzens Free Library.....	Canonsburg, Pa.....	Jennie E. McBurney.
Andrew Carnegie Free Library.....	Carnegie, Pa.....	Mary B. Harris.
Public Library.....	Clairton, Pa.....	Harriet Hart.
Free Library.....	Coudersport, Pa.....	Frances I. Mills.
Public Library.....	Donora, Pa.....	Mrs. R. C. Muolo.
Carnegie Library.....	Homestead, Pa.....	Catherine J. Butler.
Lincoln University Library (Negro).....	Jefferson City, Mo.....	D. Eric Moore.

Approved : -----
Dated : -----

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 19, 1949.

MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council, Empire State Building,
New York, N. Y.:

Unusual meeting called by Lesinski for 10 o'clock Monday, room 429, Old House Office Building for proponents of Federal aid to education. Perhaps you can cover.

Mrs. WILLIAM D. LEETCH.

MADRID, August 23, 1949.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, SR., D. ALBERTO MARTIN ARTAJO.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I regret that I have not been able to meet and talk with you during my present stay in Spain. When word came to me at the end of last week that you could see me at any time in San Sebastian, I was slightly ill and unable to travel until Monday, and the Minister of Justice had already made an appointment for me to see the Minister of the Interior here in Madrid on Tuesday. And I must leave at noon on Wednesday for Paris.

Therefore, I wish to put in writing herewith what I would have said to you, with the request that you bring the contents of this letter to the attention of His Excellency, the Chief of State.

As I believe you know, sir, ever since I first visited Spain during the Civil War in 1938, I have made every effort to bring my fellow countrymen to such an understanding of Spain that they would wish their Government to establish and maintain the closest and friendliest relations with Spain. As you know, a growing number of prominent Americans both in and out of the Congress have in fact come to realize the need, from the standpoint of the welfare of their own country, of precisely this outcome.

But what has militated against the success of the efforts of all of us has been, of course, the skillful campaign of the Communist Party and those misguided

left-wingers and "liberals" who consciously or unconsciously take their cue from the Communists.

The result is that in the United States there are still large numbers of writers, editors, preachers, and other leaders of opinion who in their ignorance are still criticizing Spain; and these give aid and comfort to the movement to preserve the gulf that has so long existed between the Government of the two countries.

But, I think, Your Excellency, that the problem is not insoluble. And I think it is possible to solve it in the fairly near future.

That solution lies in the removal by Spain of one or more of the obstacles which, while not of great importance in themselves, constitute excuses for the continued hostility toward Spain of certain elements in the United States.

It has for years been widely advertised in the United States that an unconscionable number of political prisoners is held in Spanish prisons. But, from some first-hand investigations in Spain last summer, I do not think this statement is true. I have myself widely published denials of the truth of it.

But it is also widely asserted that the few Protestants in Spain are persecuted by the Spanish state and by the Catholic Church. And, while I am confident the extent of this persecution is exaggerated in the United States, yet I am satisfied, from my own investigation, that there is enough of it so that, in the United States, where millions of Catholics and of Protestants alike live and work peaceably side by side, even the very little persecution that may exist is used by left-wingers to stir up animosity toward Spain.

I appreciate that the number of Protestants in Spain is infinitesimal. Estimates range from 5,000 to 25,000. Even if the latter figure should be correct, Protestants would number less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the Catholic population.

Surely a charitable attitude toward this small but earnest little group of Christians would involve no risk to the Catholic Church or people or to the Spanish state. If the attitude toward them were even as liberal as it has actually been during various parts of the past hundred years, it would be a great improvement.

My interest lies, Your Excellency, in bringing the United States and Spain close together so that they may together present a solid front against communism, which is the greatest enemy that has ever threatened Christianity and Western civilization. I want to see my country extend loans to Spain. Many of the Members of Congress have this same desire. Some of them seem to be wavering in their zeal to vote loans, while many more refuse to do so, because they are unfavorably impressed with the stories they hear of the persecution of Protestants in Spain.

Hence, for the Government of Spain to improve this situation respecting the Protestants, unimportant numerically though they may be, will be, I am certain, in the joint interest of both Spain and the United States.

And the sooner such action can be taken the better it will be. For all appropriations of American funds have to be authorized by the Congress; and that Congress is still in session, though the session will end in about a month. When it adjourns, it will not meet again till next January.

In this connection, I am attaching hereto copy of a cable I sent August 17 to Senator James O. Eastland, United States Senator from Mississippi.

There is another matter of which I wish to speak. Several years ago the Spanish state abolished all censorship of news dispatches sent by foreign correspondents to their newspapers in other countries. This action created a favorable impression in the United States.

But the domestic censorship still remains. If I may say so, sir, this censorship seems to me to be burdensome to the life of Spain. It certainly creates a bad impression in the United States. I doubt whether, on balance, it brings benefit to the people and Government of Spain.

So, Your Excellency, I wish to say that if this censorship were to be removed, it would create a most happy impression in the United States. It would remove one of the chief excuses of many Members of Congress for refusing to sanction loans to Spain.

In my opinion, it is highly likely that the cessation of persecution of Protestants and the lifting of the censorship of the press would lead very shortly to United States loans to Spain. If these moves could be made while the present Congress is in session, these loans might be made before the present session of the Congress adjourns.

These, Your Excellency, are the things I would have told you had I been able to see you, and that I would have told His Excellency, the Chief of State, had I had opportunity to see him again.

I beg you to convey the above to His Excellency, the Chief of State, together with expressions of my highest regards.

I write this letter as a private American citizen, and as president of the National Economic Council, a citizens' organization with thousands of members in all parts of the United States.

Receive, Your Excellency, the expressions of my highest consideration.

MERWIN K. HART.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1940.

Mrs. ROSE WILDER LANE,

Route 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.

DEAR ROSE: I came across the enclosed in the newspaper the other day and, thinking it was very pretty, looked a little closer and found the dress came only in half sizes. I remember your asking me if I saw any pretty ones to cut them out and send them to you.

In case you do not have a charge account at Russeks, I would be glad to have you drop me a line and I will have it charged to my account. If you did not like the dress, you could send it back to me.

You will be interested to know Mr. Luhn timer ordered 11,000 copies of your Review for September. We ordered another 1,000 copies for here, so if you need a few more for distribution, let me know.

The boss will be home on Sunday. He seems in fine fettle from his letters and his phone conversation from London.

All the best to you.

Sincerely yours,

OUR SCORE TECHNIQUE

Following are more excerpts from Henry J. Taylor's broadcast—these from the one of September 19, 1940:

Subject

Frightening announcement from Washington officials warning that Russia has 5,000,000 men under arms.

Taylor

That's utterly misleading to us here at home.

It's another case of manipulating the news to support a money bill—like the manipulated Yugoslav border crisis I spoke about last week, which was a phony.

Of course, we must never relax in the face of Russian danger. But this announcement doesn't honestly inform us.

Why the excitement—just as the newest billion-dollar foreign-aid arms bill is sent to Congress? The Russians have had 5,000,000 men under arms for years. Why did the sudden report fail to tell us where the Red army is?

Here are the facts, given me in Germany and Austria by our own American military commanders. They showed me the maps and gave me the facts right there on the spot, where any Red army attack would come. Moreover, they're reassuring facts, giving a completely different picture from the Washington propaganda.

Russian soldiers in Germany

The Russians have three cushions of troops constituting the Red army of 5,000,000. The first cushion is in Germany itself. The troops in Germany are not placed there to attack us. They are not armed or supplied to attack in a sustained way—and, were they to attack, it would mean total war anyway.

No, they are in Germany so that they can live off the land; live off the Germans for free. As I attempted to report from Germany itself, every Communist principle operates that way—something for nothing whenever possible.

Further, the sudden Washington announcement over the week end highlights and emphasizes that the Reds have built up their force in Germany from

70,000 to 100,000 men. That is a cruelly misleading piece of scare technique, as the American people can recognize when they know the truth.

First, it happened long ago. Next, Washington neglects to say—but, believe me, I'm glad to say it—that, even taking this 100,000 figure, we have had for months, and now have, more American troops in Germany than the Russians have. I verified this fact myself with our highest American commanders in Europe.

Next cushion in Poland

The next cushion of Red troops is in Poland. Again, they are not there prepared to attack. They are there to live off the land, live off the Poles.

In Russia itself

The rest of the 5,000,000 men are salted away in towns and villages of Russia itself, where the Communist Red army can live off the Russians. Ninety-four percent of them are not members of the Communist Party and have no more to say about the quartering of the troops in their villages than a rabbit.

Again, these facts are official and first hand—free from propaganda.

But—as if there were not enough real danger from Russia's potential war power—we here at home are being propagandized to death in a false atmosphere of quick danger, great immediate alarm, instead of long-term danger, for which we must remain strong. We hear the same story every time the global spenders want quick money from Congress and the American public—money that may be spent neither wisely nor well.

PROPAGANDA RUNS RIOT

Now may I say something about what's being done to us in our own country, and how it looks to me?

Quite aside from world events and world affairs, we here at home are being propagandized to death, I think, by calamity preachers who want to scare us into socialism ourselves. They are trying to shake our confidence in our jobs and our pay and our whole American competitive-enterprise system.

I have come home to our wonderful country, from this trip around the world, more convinced than ever that we are being sold down the river and cheated of our real future in America by this fear technique.

There are always legitimate fears in any country about living conditions. Prudent men and women always must be aware of dangers they may face. But for a long, long time you and I have been beaten over the head by a calamity-to-come propaganda which assumes calamity. It assumes that business and employment under our system must be headed for a terrible crack-up.

They're trying to scare us

This fear propaganda is deliberate. It's untrustworthy, unworthy, greedy, and wrong. The chief dispensers of fear are a small group in politics and in labor-union pressure groups who have acquired actually a vested interest in frightening anybody who holds a job on his own two feet, and anyone who intends to plan his future like a free man or woman.

Year after year they argue that free enterprise economic disaster is on the way to murder us. They predicted, and molded, national policy on the basis of 10,000,000 permanently unemployed after the war, as you recall.

Every day they scare us half to death in our homes and workplaces about tomorrow—and for their own purposes. They frighten us down the pork-barrel, money-juggling road to socialism, a paradise for politicians and pressure groups. They predict gloom and calamity unless they get more control over your life and mine, your health, your pay, your job, your savings, your insurance, your future.

What must they frighten us into thinking? That the American way, that made this country great—American independence, individual self-reliance, initiative, personal thrift, and responsibility, American competitive enterprise—has failed, or will fail, and that no man or enterprise that is successful can be trusted.

By their calamity-technique they do you and me and this country and the world an enormous disservice. Actually, all we need to in order to live better, live happier, expand our hopes and dreams—not alone for ourselves but for our children—is to pierce this fear technique and realize the future that can be ours for the making.

Truth is all we need

If we were allowed to know the plain, unvarnished truth about the possible future of our country, American capital would flow more freely. Taxes could be cut enormously. Venturesome folks, especially young folks, and venture capital would not be driven to cover. More and more new businesses would start. Job opportunities would open up in a scale undreamed of by the professional dispensers of calamity.

Tell them to look at the record

Tell the preachers of calamity to quitte giving lip service to our freedom while they apply their own pet measures to socialize us, like England, in your land and mine.

Tell them to look at the American record, over the long haul. The American horse can run, and will run, if they will kindly drop their poison bottles and get up off the horse's head.

This is the wonderland of the world. We work the shortest hours for the highest pay of any country on earth. The life we live, the health of our population enjoys—and without socialized medicine, I might add—the opportunities you and I have, the security we have, are the envy of the world.

Two billion people live elsewhere, in places I visited on my trip. Yet we Americans, only 7 percent of the world's population, have a greater purchasing power, and produce more for ourselves and others, than the whole 2,000,000,000 people of Europe and Asia combined.

There's not going to be any calamity here, unless the very men and pressure groups who are always predicting terrible unemployment and insecurity and calamity kick us into the calamity themselves.

Memo: Henry Hazlitt makes it very plain that so-called economists, the best buyable minds, are bought and paid for by those seeking to change our Government, including pressure groups, and to my mind they are preparing and having sung more songs of calamity than all of other persons combined.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1949.

Hon. RALPH W. GWINN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR RALPH: During a 2 weeks' stay in London I saw Lord Horder several times. He is apparently the outstanding physician in Great Britain, having been the King's physician under George V and now under George VI. At 79 years of age he has all of the appearance of a man 20 years younger.

Lord Horder is leading the fight to restore the system of medicine they had in Britain before nationalization. He told me of the visit of some 15 Members of the House of Representatives (a visit that was still in progress as I talked with him one day last week.) He said that when these men arrived there they went to see Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health and one of the most left-wing members of the Government. And that Bevan unquestionably put them in touch only with left-wing people.

He said that some physician on the staff of the American Embassy telephoned him and asked him if he had seen any of these Congressmen. He had not. This physician then said in substance that these Congressmen were seeing only the left-wing elements in Britain and asked him if he would receive them that day. Lord Horder told me that he was under great pressure that day and felt he could not give the time to seeing the entire delegation of 15. He said he would see three of them if they would care to come. They came and spent an hour or two.

From the above it seems to me, and this also was Lord Horder's opinion, that these 15 Members of Congress will return, if they are not already back, and will probably give the House of Representatives and the country generally a glowing account of the success of socialized medicine in Britain.

I am reporting these facts to you for what value they may be to you. I thought that if you do not know what has been transpiring the above may be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 10, 1949.

Miss FREDA UTLEY,

1717 Twentieth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

DEAR FREDA: I have been most neglectful in failing to write you of my trip, particularly and especially of my visit to Germany.

The detailed suggestions that you sent me and which I received en route, were most useful. I really got no further, however, than meeting Dr. Kutscher in Frankfurt, who dined with me two or three times, and who spent a whole day driving down into Bavaria with me.

I am enclosing council letters Nos. 222, 223, and 224, one of which deals with the situation in Germany.

I found Dr. Kutscher a very fine individual. He was most helpful in every way, and if I had been able to stay there longer than 6 days, he would have gone the limit for me—all because of his friendship and admiration for you. As it was, I got around the Ruhr quite a good deal, and then we visited one DP camp and one refugee camp in Bavaria.

I arrived back about 3 weeks ago.

What is the news of yourself? When you are next in New York, please let me know. I am most anxious to talk over the German situation with you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 11, 1949.

II. E. SENOR DON JUAN F. DE CARDENAS,

Serrano 86, Madrid, Spain.

DEAR JUAN: I am sending you under separate cover in this mail, copy of John T. Flynn's book, *The Road Ahead*, which has just been published. I think you will find this of unusual interest.

I shall be glad to hear from you after you have read it.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARINE BANK & TRUST, CO.,

Tampa, Fla., October 10, 1949.

MRS. CONSTANCE G. DALL,

Assistant to the President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR CONNIE: I have yours of October 6 and am enclosing herewith copy of letter which I have sent to Ned Berriman this morning. I sincerely hope that it will be possible to have Mr. Palmer in Tampa this winter.

I am signing the two subscription blanks for Oh and Pete Nichols. Frankly, I was quite shocked at the attitude of many of the faculty members at Cornell, especially as regards not only our economic situation but the trends which communism is making in many of our larger universities. If the men who are teaching these boys take the attitude that they should tell them everything and let the student make up his own mind, we are certainly doomed. I always thought it was the purpose of a teacher to guide young men in their thinking along the right lines. From the number of educators among the "fringe" group, it looks as though too many brains call for too much free thinking.

I know that Trice and I are going to enjoy our trip a great deal and had hoped that we could come by New York on our way home but this will be impossible as I have to spend several days in Chicago.

With best wishes and hoping to see you soon, I am

Sincerely,

GEORGE B. HOWELL.

OCTOBER 13, 1949.

Mr. GEORGE B. HOWELL,

Marine Bank & Trust Co., Tampa, Fla.

DEAR GEORGE: Thank you so much for your letter and the copy of the letter you wrote Mr. Berriman. Thank you also for your generosity in underwriting \$100 of the fee for Mr. Palmer in case the Free Enterprise Foundation decides to engage him. If we do, at a later date, hear favorably from Mr. Berriman, I will write you what date and you may want to try and arrange a speaking date at the university for him also. According to the tentative itinerary, Mr. Palmer will probably be there during March.

Your secretary apparently forgot to enclose the two subscription blanks for Oh and Pete. No doubt by this time you have noticed the omission and will forward them. Thanks a lot for subscribing for them. I will write them as soon as the subscription is ordered.

Hope you and Trice have a wonderful vacation. Please send me the new address for the bride and groom. I asked Trice 10 days ago to send it to me so I could send them a present but have not heard.

With love to you both,

MRS. C. G. DALL.

OCTOBER, 1940.

Memo to: Mr. Barger.

From: Mr. Hart.

I understand that the investigation of lobbying by the House committee will shortly get under way. There are good chances that we will be among those invited to come and be investigated, and we should be prepared to express ourselves.

In our Council Letter No. 215 we intimated that if the truth were told there would be a great stench about the illegal influencing of legislation by Government employees, and promised to bring out such facts in any investigation.

We have here in our files considerable of such evidence, but most of it does not relate to events subsequent to the Eightieth Congress. Knowing that this matter is down your alley, I suggest that you make a factual study of such recent illegal lobbying—showing it so far as you can both in relation to congressional committees and to pressures exerted in other ways. We want to be loaded for bear if, as, and when we are asked to present our evidence.

This evidence should not only be specific as to times and places, it should also so far as possible be related to the socialistic character of what the Government lobby has advocated. And there should be accurate estimates of how much these activities have cost the American people directly, not to mention what the indirect cost will be because of adoption of the measures advocated. We ought to have both.

The source of the information should, of course, be noted in every case, and the documents giving it held in reserve wherever possible.

OCTOBER 17, 1940.

Memo to Mr. Barger.

From Mr. Hart.

As soon as the session is over—and there is no reason why you should not start sooner than that if you feel you have the time—will you please compile the voting record on important measures of each Member of Congress who was elected in 1948 by any majority up to 15 percent, that is, by anyone who had 15 percent more votes than the next man?

We want to leave out the men in those districts, most of them in the cities and in the South, who are elected by overwhelming majorities.

As to the Senators, we want those Senators who were elected in '44 and '46, as well as those elected in '48.

Don't think we are going into politics; we are not. But in our effort to educate the public in various sections of the country, we want to concentrate in those places where it will really pay a citizen to write or otherwise communicate with his Congressman and two Senators. If he is sure of his seat by reason of having had a large majority, he may be unresponsive to public opinion, even from a citizen of his own district.

28 GREENACRES AVENUE,
Scarsdale, N. Y., October 20, 1940.

DEAR MR. HART: Re prosecution of the A. & P., or should it be persecution? Mr. John Hartford is president of the A. & P. and as you may recollect, he loaned Elliott something like \$200,000, which old Moose Jaw subsequently bliked him out of. This affair occasioned considerable unpleasant odor.

Is it possible that the action against A. & P. has any relation to the above, say as a warning to others to behave. You may remember how "they" treated that fine man Andrew Mellon, and how the Aluminum Co. was, and still is, harassed because he was interested in it.

Very truly yours,

E. Y. GALLAGHER.

OCTOBER 21, 1949.

Mr. E. Y. GALLAHER,
28 Greenacres Avenue, Scarsdale, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GALLAHER: Answering your letter of the 20th, it is entirely possible that the present action against the A. & P. is in some respects in the nature of a punishment of A. & P. for not somehow preventing the facts about the \$200,000 "loan" to Elliott from leaking out. I thought of it when the letter was being written. However, it seemed just as well, at the moment, not to speak of it.

Thank you for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 22, 1949.

Mrs. ROSE WILDER LANE,
Route 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.

DEAR ROSE: Thanks for letting me see Howard Pew's letter. I have destroyed it as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

OCTOBER 24, 1949.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Mr. Hart has asked me to send you a list in triplicate of 500 educational institutions to which you are making gift subscriptions to the publications of the council.

If you approve of the list as presented, please sign one copy and return to the council, retaining the other two for your files.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

OCTOBER 24, 1949.

Mr. Lammot du Pont:

Suggested list of colleges, universities, and libraries to receive National Economic Council publications as gift subscriptions for 1 year.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Howard College	Birmingham, Ala.	H. G. Davis, president.
Howard College Library	do	Mabel Willoughby, librarian.
Mills College Library	do	May M. Shepard, librarian.
Walker County Library	Jasper, Ala.	Elizabeth Wiggins, librarian.
State Teachers College Library	Jacksonville, Ala.	Mrs. C. R. Wood, librarian.
Judson College	Marion, Ala.	J. I. Riddle, president.
Judson College Library	do	Eugenia Collins, librarian.
Public library	Mobile, Ala.	W. F. Morse, information service librarian.
State Teachers College Library	Montgomery, Ala.	Ollie L. Brown, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Selma, Ala.	Attention: The Librarian.
Public library	Talladega, Ala.	W. W. Welch, librarian.
Arizona State College	Flagstaff, Ariz.	L. A. Eastburn, president.
Arizona State College, Gammage Library	do	Althea Ragsdale, librarian.
Prescott Library	Prescott, Ariz.	Janet Lindrooth, librarian.
Henderson State Teachers College	Arkadelphia, Ark.	D. D. McBrien, president.
Henderson State Teachers College, Hule Library	do	Fatsy Koonce, librarian.
Arkansas College Library	Batesville, Ark.	Inez S. Bishop, librarian.
Independence County Library	do	Mrs. Terry Griffith, librarian.
Yell County Library	Danville, Ark.	Billie J. McBride, librarian.
Washington County Library	Fayetteville, Ark.	Mrs. O. Hively, librarian.
Poinsett County Library	Harrisburg, Ark.	Mrs. B. Underwood, librarian.
Hot Spring County Library	Malvern, Ark.	Mrs. F. R. Young, librarian.
Conway County Library	Monticello, Ark.	Mrs. E. Johnson, librarian.
Southwest Arkansas Regional Library	Nashville, Ark.	Isabel Wynn, librarian.
Jackson County Library	Newport, Ark.	Mrs. Jessie Bach, librarian.
North Little Rock Public Library	North Little Rock, Ark.	Myrtle Deason, librarian.
Public library	Paragould, Ark.	Mrs. Pearl Diggs, librarian.
Arkansas State College Library	State College, Ark.	Dorothy M. Fenton, librarian.
Pacific Union College	Angwin, Calif.	P. W. Christian, president.
Pacific Union College Library	do	Lola J. Walker, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Free public library.....	Calverce, Calif.....	Mrs. B. H. Wofford, librarian.
Chico State College.....	Chico, Calif.....	A. J. Hamilton, president.
Chico State College Library.....	do.....	Allice Anderson, librarian.
Public Library.....	Carona, Calif.....	Mrs. M. E. Baker, librarian.
Do.....	Coronado, Calif.....	Gabrielle Morton, librarian.
Do.....	Escondido, Calif.....	Mary E. Binford, librarian.
Fresno State College.....	Fresno, Calif.....	Arnold E. Joyal, president.
Fresno State College Library.....	do.....	Agnes M. Tobin, librarian.
Kings County Free Library.....	Hanford, Calif.....	Harriet S. Davids, librarian.
Public library.....	Hayward, Calif.....	George F. Farrier, librarian.
Do.....	Lodi, Calif.....	Amy L. Boynton, librarian.
Madera County Free Library.....	Madera, Calif.....	Blanche Galloway, librarian.
Do.....	Merced, Calif.....	Minette Stoddard, librarian.
Public library.....	Monrovia, Calif.....	Anne L. Crows, librarian.
Do.....	National City, Calif.....	Mrs. E. Paecker, librarian.
Do.....	Oxnard, Calif.....	Emile Ritchon, librarian.
Do.....	Pacific Grove, Calif.....	Mrs. J. O. Vandoren, librarian.
A. K. Smiley Public Library.....	Redlands, Calif.....	Mabel Inness, librarian.
University of Redlands.....	do.....	G. H. Armacost, president.
University of Redlands Library.....	do.....	Esther Hill, librarian.
San Mateo County Library.....	Redwood City, Calif.....	Clara B. Dills, librarian.
Public library.....	Richmond, Calif.....	Colt Coolidge, librarian.
Riverside College Library.....	Riverside, Calif.....	Eugene McKnight, librarian.
Monterey County Free Library.....	Salinas, Calif.....	Ellen B. Frink, librarian.
San Bernardino Valley College Library.....	San Bernardino, Calif.....	Mrs. E. S. Bauer, librarian.
San Francisco College for Women.....	San Francisco, Calif.....	Mother Mejia,
San Francisco College for Women Li- brary.....	do.....	Mary Fitzpatrick, librarian.
Public library.....	San Mateo, Calif.....	Mrs. K. B. Larson, librarian.
Do.....	Santa Cruz, Calif.....	Mrs. G. Work, librarian.
Do.....	Santa Maria, Calif.....	Mrs. D. D. Nelson, librarian.
College of the Pacific Library.....	Stockton, Calif.....	Allan R. Laursen, librarian.
Ventura County Free Library.....	Ventura, Calif.....	Elizabeth Topping, librarian.
Public library.....	Whittier, Calif.....	Ruth Ellis, librarian.
Yolo County Free Library.....	Woodland, Calif.....	Mrs. I. C. Bruton, librarian.
Sutter County Free Library.....	Yuba City, Calif.....	Mrs. J. S. Hurst, librarian.
Public library.....	Boulder, Colo.....	Iola Nell, librarian.
Do.....	Colorado Springs, Colo.....	Reference department (Paul G. Ried, librarian).
Baca County Library.....	Springfield, Colo.....	Mrs. M. E. Jackson, librarian.
The Ansonia Library.....	Ansonia, Conn.....	Margaret Woodruff, librarian.
Berlin Free Library.....	Berlin, Conn.....	Emily Brandeges, librarian.
Public Library.....	Cheshire, Conn.....	Mrs. H. Williams, librarian.
Danbury State Teachers College Li- brary.....	Danbury, Conn.....	Mrs. M. S. Green, librarian.
Enfield Free Public Library.....	Postoffice Thompsonville, Conn.....	Pauline Miller, librarian.
Village Library.....	Farmington, Conn.....	Ruth D. Scudder, librarian.
Free Public Library.....	Hamden, Conn.....	Eleanor Phinney, librarian.
Taylor Library.....	Milford, Conn.....	Rev. Howard C. Meserve, libra- rian.
Howard Whittemore Memorial Library.....	Naugatuck, Conn.....	J. F. DeShong, librarian.
Otis Library.....	Norwich, Conn.....	E. Harrington, librarian.
Free Public Library.....	Putnam, Conn.....	Abbie F. Scott, librarian.
Plum Memorial Library.....	Shelton, Conn.....	J. Ward, librarian.
Public Library.....	Wallington, Conn.....	Dorothy C. Nunn, librarian.
Guilford Smith Library.....	Post office, South Wind- ham, Conn.....	Mrs. Ruth D. Potter, librarian.
Public Library.....	Windsor, Conn.....	Clarice Fitch, librarian.
Frankfort Library.....	Frankfort, Del.....	Mrs. A. H. Gum, librarian.
Public Library.....	Delmar, Del.....	Mrs. C. W. Phillips, librarian.
Wesley Junior College Scott Library.....	Dover, Del.....	Bernice Bell, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Bradenton, Fla.....	Mrs. P. L. Meyers, librarian.
Public Library.....	Coral Gables, Fla.....	M. M. Beaton, librarian.
University of Miami.....	do.....	B. F. Ashe, president.
University of Miami Library.....	do.....	William G. Mackins, librarian.
Public Library.....	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.....	Dorothy Barrow, librarian.
Do.....	Hollywood, Fla.....	Mrs. John Whelan, librarian.
Do.....	Lakeland, Fla.....	Sorena C. Bailey, librarian.
Jackson County Public Library.....	Marianna, Fla.....	W. D. Bennett, librarian.
Bay County Free Public Library.....	Panama City, Fla.....	D. Hurlburt, librarian.
Pensacola Free Public Library.....	Pensacola, Fla.....	Lucia N. Tryon, librarian.
Free public library.....	St. Augustine, Fla.....	Mrs. A. L. Fleisher, librarian.
Memorial Library.....	West Palm Beach, Fla.....	Z. D. Adams, librarian.
Public library.....	Winter Park, Fla.....	Mrs. M. R. Farrar, librarian.
Athens Regional Library.....	Athens, Ga.....	Mary Townes, librarian.
Bainbridge-Decatur Public Library.....	Bainbridge, Ga.....	Mrs. G. T. Tonge, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Cordoba, Ga.....	Martha Lassetter, librarian.
Dalton Regional Library.....	Dalton, Ga.....	Mrs. R. E. Hamilton, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Dublin, Ga.....	Ruth Chapman, librarian.
Brenau College Library.....	Gainesville, Ga.....	Olive B. Counts, librarian.
La Grange Memorial Library.....	La Grange, Ga.....	Mrs. Evelyn H. Rutledge, libra- rian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Washington Memorial Library.....	Macon, Ga.....	Mrs. J. E. Powers, librarian.
Wesleyan College.....	do.....	Stas Johnson, president.
Wesleyan College Library, Candler Memorial Library.....	do.....	Katharine Carnes, librarian.
Clarke Library.....	Marietta, Ga.....	Florence Sibley, librarian.
Baldwin County Library.....	Milledgeville, Ga.....	Mrs. Lillian Webber, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Rome, Ga.....	C. J. Smith, librarian.
Do.....	Savannah, Ga.....	M. G. Hatcher, librarian.
Savannah Regional Library.....	do.....	Dorothy Raymond, assistant director.
Lowndes-Echols Regional Library.....	Valhalla, Ga.....	Frances Hinton, librarian.
Public library.....	Waycross, Ga.....	Edna Warren, librarian.
Towns-Union Regional Library.....	Young Harris, Ga.....	Roxanne Austin, librarian.
Public library.....	Blackfoot, Idaho.....	Edna Gillespie, librarian.
Do.....	Rupert, Idaho.....	Myrtle Reynolds, librarian.
Summit-Argo Public Library.....	Argo, Ill.....	Mrs. H. L. Urban, librarian.
Ida Public Library.....	Belvidere, Ill.....	Ruth Wilcox, librarian.
Public library.....	Blue Island, Ill.....	B. E. Lietzan, librarian.
Free public library.....	Brookfield, Ill.....	Mrs. F. Wiley, librarian.
Public library.....	Carmi, Ill.....	Etta Brandt, librarian.
Do.....	Danville, Ill.....	Sara B. Seiwoll, librarian.
Do.....	Des Plaines, Ill.....	Mrs. Alice Smith, librarian.
Do.....	Duquoin, Ill.....	Mrs. D. Pritchett, librarian.
Do.....	East St. Louis, Ill.....	Dr. J. T. Murphy, librarian.
Do.....	Edwardsville, Ill.....	W. Burroughs, librarian.
Free public library.....	Forest Park, Ill.....	Edith Blackstock, librarian.
Public library.....	Galesburg, Ill.....	Carlita Wynn, librarian.
Mitchell-Carnegie Public Library.....	Granite City, Ill.....	Mrs. O. B. Stallings, librarian.
Public library.....	Harrisburg, Ill.....	Frances Cummings, librarian.
Do.....	Highland Park, Ill.....	Mary Egan, librarian.
Do.....	Hinsdale, Ill.....	Irene Helland, librarian.
Do.....	Kankakee, Ill.....	Dorothy Brown, librarian.
Do.....	Kewanee, Ill.....	B. B. Curry, librarian.
Do.....	Lincoln, Ill.....	Blanche Gray, librarian.
Do.....	Mattoon, Ill.....	Mrs. E. Steel, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Mount Carmel, Ill.....	Margaret Blakely, librarian.
Public library.....	Riverside, Ill.....	Louise Keuk, librarian.
Do.....	St. Charles, Ill.....	Mrs. R. Mayfield, librarian.
Eckhart Public Library.....	Auburn, Ind.....	Harriet Carter, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Elkhart, Ind.....	Marie Stouder, librarian.
Do.....	Goshen, Ind.....	Att: The Librarian.
Do.....	Greencastle, Ind.....	Mrs. E. B. Stroh.
Public library.....	Garrett, Ind.....	Helen Teal, librarian.
Do.....	Kendallville, Ind.....	Kathryn Smith, librarian.
Lagrange-Lagrange County Library.....	Lagrange, Ind.....	Gorrala R. Tebbis, librarian.
Public library.....	Lawrenceburg, Ind.....	Margaret Dixon, librarian.
Madison-Jefferson County Public Library.....	Madison, Ind.....	Lola E. Nolte, librarian.
Alexandrian Free Public Library.....	Mount Vernon, Ind.....	Elva Straesweg, librarian.
Public library.....	New Albany, Ind.....	A. V. Haworth, librarian.
Do.....	Noblesville, Ind.....	Mrs. A. C. Baber, librarian.
Do.....	Peru, Ind.....	Bertha Bowley, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Seelyville, Ind.....	Della Tilman, librarian.
Community library.....	Warsaw, Ind.....	Miriam Netter, librarian.
Public library of Warsaw.....	Wabash, Ind.....	Beth Annis, librarian.
Public library.....	Alcona, Iowa.....	Robert W. Orr, director.
Iowa State College Library.....	Ames, Iowa.....	Helen Stevens, librarian.
Eriksen Public Library.....	Boone, Iowa.....	Thelma Kirkpatrick, librarian.
Drake Free Public Library.....	Centerville, Iowa.....	Mrs. F. K. Byers, librarian.
Public library.....	Charles City, Iowa.....	Margaret Ball, librarian.
Matilda J. Gibson Memorial Library.....	Creston, Iowa.....	Rev. F. J. Kaufman, librarian.
Loras College Library.....	Dubuque, Iowa.....	Mrs. R. W. Haas, librarian.
Public library.....	Emmetsburg, Iowa.....	Karl Kiedalsch, librarian.
Do.....	Keokuk, Iowa.....	Ethel Schabbe, librarian.
Western Union College Library.....	Lo Mars, Iowa.....	Blanche Maytag, librarian.
Public library.....	Newton, Iowa.....	Mrs. J. Thostenson, librarian.
Central College Ludwig Library.....	Pella, Iowa.....	Mrs. G. H. Stephen, librarian.
Public library.....	Washington, Iowa.....	Gertrude Hull, librarian.
Do.....	Arkansas City, Kans.....	Rev. Boniface E. Moll, librarian.
Saint Benedict's College Abbey Library.....	Atchison, Kans.....	Anna B. Webb, librarian.
Johnston Public Library.....	Baxter Springs, Kans.....	Mrs. Fred Layton, librarian.
Free public library.....	Concordia, Kans.....	Mrs. M. L. Pritchard, librarian.
Public library.....	Fort Scott, Kans.....	Mrs. I. D. Sullivan, librarian.
Do.....	Great Bend, Kans.....	Ralph VanHandel, librarian.
Free public library.....	Lawrence, Kans.....	A. B. Martin, president.
Ottawa University.....	Ottawa, Kans.....	Ruth A. Warnock, librarian.
Public library.....	Wellington, Kans.....	Mrs. T. Trimmell, librarian.
Friends University Library.....	Wichita, Kans.....	P. Bushelman, librarian.
Public library.....	Ashland, Ky.....	P. L. Garrett, president.
Western Kentucky State College.....	Bowling Green, Ky.....	Maigle Helm, librarian.
Western Kentucky State College Library.....	do.....	Mrs. L. B. Bryant, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Corbin, Ky.....	Mrs. R. R. Elliott, librarian.
Public library.....	Frankfort, Ky.....	Mrs. V. R. Jones, librarian.
Mary Wood Weldon Public Library.....	Glasgow, Ky.....	Margaret Anderson, librarian.
Bethel Woman's College Library.....	Hopkinsville, Ky.....	

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Lincoln Institute Library	Lincoln Ridge, Ky.	Mildred S. Pope, librarian.
Louisville Municipal College Library	Louisville, Ky.	Mrs. R. M. Banks, librarian.
Public library	Madisonville, Ky.	Mrs. M. H. Lavan, librarian.
Maysville and Mason County Library	Maysville, Ky.	Lillie R. Peacor, librarian.
Public library	Paris, Ky.	Hurriet Gilkey, librarian.
City-County Public Library	Richmond, Ky.	Mrs. J. Q. Snow, librarian.
Kentucky Wesleyan College Library	Winchester, Ky.	Emily Dawson, librarian.
Rapides Parish Library	Alexandria, La.	Kathryn Adams, librarian.
Pointe Coupee Parish Library	New Roads, La.	Dora L. Beridon, librarian.
Louisiana College, Henry A. Sumrell Memorial Library	Pineville, La.	G. E. Maddox, librarian.
Madison Parish Library	Tallulah, La.	Anna M. Cannaday, librarian.
Winn Parish Library	Winnfield, La.	Mrs. R. Hanks, librarian.
Lithgow Library and Reading Room	Augusta, Maine	Constance Randall, librarian.
Patten Free Library	Bath, Maine	Mrs. B. C. Dean, librarian.
Free library	Belfast, Maine	Gladys Thurston, librarian.
McArthur Library	Biddeford, Maine	Dane Yorke, librarian.
Free library	Cahus, Maine	Mrs. B. T. Adams, librarian.
Thompson Free Library	Dover-Foxcroft, Maine	Mrs. E. Bartlett, librarian.
Cutler Memorial Library	Farmington, Maine	Shirley Marcous, librarian.
Cary Library	Houlton, Maine	Evelyn Pearce, librarian.
Community Association Library	Lisbon, Maine	A. S. Goody, librarian.
Memorial Library	Millinocket, Maine	A. L. Healey, librarian.
Public library	Old Town, Maine	Lulu J. Brown, librarian.
Hamlen Memorial Library	Paris, Maine	Mrs. C. E. Shaw, librarian.
Free library	Presque Isle, Maine	Dorothy Winslow, librarian.
Thornton Academy Memorial Library	Presque Isle, Maine	Agnes A. Walsh, librarian.
Lewis B. Goodall Memorial Library	Sanford, Maine	Mrs. C. L. Prescott, librarian.
Free Public Library	Skowhegan, Maine	Mrs. M. E. Marston, librarian.
Free library	Winterport, Maine	Mrs. Clara A. Cole, librarian.
Charles M. Bailey Public Library	Winthrop, Maine	Mrs. E. M. Walton, librarian.
Public library	Abington, Mass.	Thelma M. Stone, librarian.
Free library	Adams, Mass.	C. M. St. John, librarian.
Public library	Amesbury, Mass.	Marguerite Morrill, librarian.
Memorial Hall Library	Andover, Mass.	Miriam Putnam, librarian.
Public library	Athol, Mass.	Gladys Greene, librarian.
Babson Institute Library	Babson Park, Mass.	Ruth W. Bailey, librarian.
Public library	Belmont, Mass.	Lucy D. Luard, librarian.
Do	Beverly, Mass.	Marjorie Stanton, librarian.
Peabody Institute Library	Chicopee, Mass.	Mrs. B. W. Kerr, librarian.
Free public library	Danvers, Mass.	Elizabeth Putnam, librarian.
Southworth Library	Dartmouth, Mass.	Emma E. Sherratt, librarian.
Moses Greeley Parker Memorial Library	Post Office, South Dartmouth, Mass.	Mrs. A. D. Meyers, librarian.
Public Library Association	Dracut, Mass.	Mrs. L. A. Putnam, librarian.
Free public library	Easthampton, Mass.	Mrs. A. P. Hall, librarian.
Magnolia Library Association	Falmouth, Mass.	Mrs. Joseph Farrell, librarian.
Public library	Gloucester, Mass.	Mrs. Jean Cook, librarian.
Do	Greenfield, Mass.	Edward O. Perry, librarian.
Free public library	Hingham Center, Mass.	Mrs. L. L. Mead, librarian.
Hubbard Memorial Library	Ipswich, Mass.	Mrs. O. E. Baxter, librarian.
Public library	Ludlow, Mass.	Ruth T. Abbott, librarian.
Do	Malden, Mass.	Irving S. Cole, librarian.
Do	Marlboro, Mass.	Katherine Gorman, librarian.
Town library	Middleborough, Mass.	Mrs. M. E. Whitbeck, librarian.
Montague Public Library	Millford, Mass.	May A. Combs, librarian.
Free public library	Montague, Mass.	Mrs. Phyllis M. Brown, librarian.
Public library	Needham, Mass.	Charlotte Oldie, librarian.
Free library	Newburyport, Mass.	Katherine Kuehle, librarian.
Richards Memorial Library	Newton, Mass.	H. A. Wooster, librarian.
Whitinsville Social Library	North Attleboro, Mass.	Ethel M. Rix, librarian.
Young Men's Library Association	Whitinsville, Mass.	Ethel M. Pope, librarian.
Peabody Institute Library	Palmer, Mass.	Charles L. Wald, librarian.
Public library	Peabody, Mass.	N. F. Masterson, librarian.
Do	Plymouth, Mass.	Hazel M. White, librarian.
Memorial Library	Reading, Mass.	Grace Abbott, librarian.
Pierce Memorial Library	Rockland, Mass.	A. Elda Butler, librarian.
Free town library	North Scituate, Mass.	Mrs. S. H. Knowles, librarian.
Jacob Edwards Memorial Library	Somerset, Mass.	Flora B. Wood, librarian.
Public library	Southbridge, Mass.	Elaine Van Nostrand, librarian.
Do	Swamscott, Mass.	Edith N. Snow, librarian.
Do	Taunton, Mass.	Maydell Murphy, librarian.
Free public library	Towksbury, Mass.	Mrs. A. M. Dempsey, librarian.
Do	Uxbridge, Mass.	Mary L. Gillis, librarian.
Chester C. Corbin Public Library	Walpole, Mass.	Gertrude Hendrickson, librarian.
Public library	Webster, Mass.	Ruth E. Dickinson, librarian.
Fogg Library	West Springfield, Mass.	Marion Boler, librarian.
Public library	Post Office, South Weymouth, Mass.	Helen S. Tirrell, librarian.
Flak public library	Whitman, Mass.	Grace Holbrook, librarian.
Public library	Wrentham, Mass.	Ernest A. Hall, librarian.
Ferris Institute Library	Berkeley, Mich.	Mrs. M. B. Murphy, librarian.
Public library	Big Rapids, Mich.	Mrs. O. T. Nott, librarian.
	Buchanan, Mich.	Mrs. B. Bigansky, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Wayne County Library.....	3661 Trumbull Ave., Detroit 8, Mich.	Walter Kaiser, librarian.
Public library.....	East Lansing, Mich.	Alma Huggins, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Escanaba, Mich.	Mrs. N. B. Thomas, librarian.
Genesee County Library.....	Flint, Mich.	Dorothy Olmstead, librarian.
Public library.....	Grand Haven, Mich.	Helen DeYoung, librarian.
School-public library.....	Greenville, Mich.	Marjorie Hoag, librarian.
Public school library.....	Hancock, Mich.	Grace E. Wagner, librarian.
McGregor Public Library.....	Highland Park, Mich.	Georgia Skinner, librarian.
Public library.....	Hastings, Mich.	Jean Barnes, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Howell, Mich.	Mrs. M. L. VanSlyke, librarian.
Hall-Flower Memorial Library.....	Ionia, Mich.	Thomas Davies, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Iron Mountain, Mich.	Daisy Fisher, librarian.
Do.....	Ishpeming, Mich.	Margaret Dundon, librarian.
Jackson County Library.....	Jackson, Mich.	Maudie E. Grill, librarian.
Public library.....	Kalamazoo 0, Mich.	William Chait, librarian.
Public library, 5 branches.....	do.....	Jeanette Sagers, librarian.
Mason County Library.....	Ludington, Mich.	Ruth Wittbecker, librarian.
Manistee Public Library.....	Manistee, Mich.	Eleanor B. Short, librarian.
Spies Public Library.....	Menominee, Mich.	Mary Meinberg, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Midland, Mich.	Mrs. M. L. Kelcher, librarian.
Public library.....	Mount Clemens, Mich.	Ann Crocker, librarian.
Do.....	Niles, Mich.	Maureen Fisher, librarian.
Do.....	Owosso, Mich.	Mrs. M. C. Thompson, librarian.
Township library.....	Roseville, Mich.	Mrs. J. B. Ewles, librarian.
Public library.....	St. Joseph, Mich.	Attention: The Librarian.
Carnegie Free Public Library.....	Sturgis, Mich.	Hannah J. Kelley, librarian.
Public library.....	Traverse City, Mich.	Alice M. Walt, librarian.
Do.....	Warren, Mich.	Mrs. A. Zorn, librarian.
Do.....	Wyandotte, Mich.	Hazel Adair, librarian.
Do.....	Albert Lea, Minn.	Gyla Caulfield, librarian.
Do.....	Bemidji, Minn.	Mrs. K. Sauterman, librarian.
Do.....	Cloquet, Minn.	Helen Jensen, librarian.
Do.....	Columbia Heights, Minn.	Lucille Hawkins, librarian.
Do.....	Eveleth, Minn.	Mrs. B. G. Norrid, librarian.
Blue Earth County Library.....	Mankato, Minn.	Mrs. M. Leonard, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Marshall, Minn.	Daisy Fisher, librarian.
Concordia College.....	Morehead, Minn.	J. N. Brown, president.
Public library.....	do.....	Myrtle Rundquist, librarian.
New Ulm Public Library.....	New Ulm, Minn.	Erna Holzinger, librarian.
Public library.....	Rochester, Minn.	Luella Guttery, librarian.
Do.....	St. Cloud, Minn.	Mrs. M. Lennartson, librarian.
Gustavus Adolphus College Library.....	St. Peter, Minn.	Grant D. Hanson, librarian.
Public library.....	South St. Paul, Minn.	Marie Knudson, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Stillwater, Minn.	Gertrude Gelinon, librarian.
Do.....	Thief River Falls, Minn.	Mrs. H. Halgrim, librarian.
Public library.....	Willmar, Minn.	Amy Hanscom, librarian.
College of Saint Teresa Library.....	Winona, Minn.	Sister Mary Eone Kling, librarian.
Saint Mary's College Library.....	do.....	Bro. A. Luke, F. S. C., librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Zumbrota, Minn.	Mrs. E. W. Johnson, librarian.
Evans Memorial Library.....	Aberdeen, Miss.	Lucile Peacock, librarian.
Alcorn County Library.....	Corinth, Miss.	Mrs. A. B. Richardson, librarian.
Washington County Library.....	Greenville, Miss.	Mrs. L. R. Flinn, Jr., librarian.
Laurel Circulating Library.....	Laurel, Miss.	Attention: The Librarian.
Public library.....	Vicksburg, Miss.	Do.....
Carnegie public library.....	Aurora, Mo.	M. E. Townsend, librarian.
Do.....	Brookfield, Mo.	Mae Snow, librarian.
Do.....	Cape Girardeau, Mo.	R. L. Origer, librarian.
Do.....	Carthage, Mo.	Jessie Stemmons, librarian.
Public library.....	Caruthersville, Mo.	Mrs. D. V. McGee, librarian.
Christian College Library.....	Columbia, Mo.	Mrs. L. W. Collins, librarian.
Public library.....	Excelsior Springs, Mo.	Mrs. Anna McKinney, librarian.
Central College Library.....	Fayette, Mo.	Suth M. Cain, librarian.
Public library.....	Fulton, Mo.	Mary B. Brown, librarian.
Hannibal-Lagrange College Library.....	Hannibal, Mo.	Mary H. Rumsey, librarian.
Public library.....	Kirkwood, Mo.	Mrs. E. M. Becker, librarian.
Do.....	Maplewood, Mo.	O. C. DuCarmont, librarian.
Cottay College Library.....	Nevada, Mo.	Nellie Homes, librarian.
Public library.....	Poplar Bluff, Mo.	Helen Cain, librarian.
Fontbonne College Library.....	St. Louis, Mo.	Mrs. C. Clemens, librarian.
Maryville College Library.....	Maramee St. and Nebraska Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	Mother Mary Dowlin, librarian.
Public library.....	Springfield, Mo.	Harriet Horne, librarian.
Do.....	West Plains, Mo.	Mrs. John C. Evans, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Hearst free library	Anaconda, Mont.	Florence E. Catlin, librarian.
Blaine County Library	Chinook, Mont.	Mrs. C. E. O'Brien, librarian.
Carroll College	Helena, Mont.	Msgr. E. J. Riley.
Carroll College Library	do	Rev. James R. White, librarian.
Public library	Lewiston, Mont.	Mrs. E. C. Robinson, librarian.
Toole County Library	Shelby, Mont.	Mrs. W. M. Black, librarian.
Public library	Wolf Point, Mont.	Mrs. George Maloy, librarian.
Do	Alliance, Nebr.	Mrs. Letha May, librarian.
Do	Aurora, Nebr.	Maisel Moredith, librarian.
Do	Bloomfield, Nebr.	Mrs. E. L. Durbin, librarian.
Nebraska Central College Library	Central City, Nebr.	Mrs. Hazel Day Campbell, librarian.
Public library	David City, Nebr.	Mrs. M. M. Schweser, librarian.
Do	Gothenburg, Nebr.	Mrs. Chester Hugo, librarian.
Do	Hartington, Nebr.	Mrs. Edna T. Eby, librarian.
Do	Kearney, Nebr.	Mrs. Maud S. Knight, librarian.
Do	Lexington, Nebr.	Mary Cooper, librarian.
Do	McCook, Nebr.	Millie M. Slady, librarian.
Do	Nebraska City, Nebr.	Mrs. C. Thornby, librarian.
Do	Norfolk, Nebr.	Ajma Wickman, librarian.
Carnegie-Gratton Township Library	O'Neill, Nebr.	Mary McLaughlin, librarian.
Public library	Randolph, Nebr.	Mrs. C. A. Kerr, librarian.
Concordia Teachers College Library	Seward, Nebr.	Eslo Wuerffel, librarian.
Public library	Stanton, Nebr.	Mrs. Leo Pilger, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library	Tekamah, Nebr.	Mrs. L. Wilson, librarian.
Public library	Valentine, Nebr.	Josie Wolse, librarian.
Pershing County Library	Loveock, Nev.	Laura J. Fouch, librarian.
Lyons County Library	Yerington, Nev.	L. W. Churchyard, librarian.
Public library	Albiontown, N. H., Post Office Suncook.	Mrs. Yvonne Laplante, librarian.
Do	Derry, N. H.	Edith O. Hall, librarian.
Memorial Library	Goffstown, N. H.	Anno Harrington, librarian.
Lano Memorial Library	Hampton, N. H.	Mrs. W. S. Noyes, librarian.
Library Association	Haverhill, N. H.	Mrs. M. C. Paulsen, librarian.
Tucker Free Library	Henniker, N. H.	Mrs. F. W. Bennett, librarian.
Public library	Littleton, N. H.	Mary Emes, librarian.
Frost Free Library	Marlboro, N. H.	Ruth Hemenway, trustee.
Nute Library	Milton, N. H.	Mrs. H. B. Pinkham, librarian.
Cook Memorial Library	Tamworth, N. H.	Mrs. H. B. Hadden, librarian.
Public library	Whitfield, N. H.	Mrs. A. E. Humphrey, librarian.
Gregg Free Library	Wilton, N. H.	Mrs. Peter Gay, librarian.
Brewster Free and Wolfeboro Town Library	Wolfeboro, N. H.	Wilma M. Paine, librarian.
Public library	Atlantic Highlands, N. J.	Violetta Murray, librarian.
Free public library	Audubon, N. J.	Anna M. Keiton, librarian.
Jackson Memorial Library	Bolvidere, N. J.	Martha Johnson, librarian.
The Holmes Library	Boonton, N. J.	Mrs. O. W. Klein, librarian.
Library Company of Burlington	Burlington, N. J.	Margaret Dunn, librarian.
Free public library	Caldwell, N. J.	Mrs. C. H. Brookshank, librarian.
Hammond Memorial Library	Closter, N. J.	Mrs. G. McCune, librarian.
Free public library	Cranford, N. J.	Mrs. H. Haugenson, librarian.
Dixon Homestead Library	Dumont, N. J.	Louisa Frantz, librarian.
Free library	Dunellen, N. J.	Mrs. E. Hoogberg, librarian.
Public library	East Rutherford, N. J.	Emma B. VerNooy, librarian.
Do	Fairlawn, N. J.	E. M. Bogart, librarian.
Hunterdon County Library	Flemington, N. J.	Mrs. S. G. Fox, librarian.
Free public library	Glen Ridge, N. J.	Mrs. R. E. Thulin, librarian.
Public library	Gloucester City, N. J.	Ellin Young, librarian.
Free public library	Haddonfield, N. J.	Mrs. H. M. Stuckert, Jr., librarian.
Do	Hasbrouck Heights, N. J.	Mrs. C. McCloskey, librarian.
Public library	Hillside, N. J.	Mabel S. Rhodes, librarian.
Do	Long Branch, N. J.	Mary Clarkson, librarian.
Free public library	Lyndhurst, N. J.	Mrs. M. W. Stuart, librarian.
Do	Maplewood, N. J.	E. C. Trudeau, librarian.
State Teachers College Library	Upper Montclair, N. J.	Margaret Cook, librarian.
Dennis Memorial Library	Newton, N. J.	A. Elizabeth Case, librarian.
Public library	Pallades Park, N. J.	Mrs. H. Robertson, librarian.
Free public library	Ridgefield Park, N. J.	Mrs. M. Kern, librarian.
Somerset County Library	Somerville, N. J.	Dorothy Van Gorder, librarian.
Public library	South Orange, N. J.	Margaret Fansler, librarian.
Township library	South Plainfield, N. J.	Att: The Librarian.
State Teachers College Library	Trenton 5, N. J.	
Union Township Public Library	Union, N. J.	Mrs. J. Hunt, librarian.
Free public library	Westwood, N. J.	Sarah A. Van der Clute, acting librarian.
Reptford Institute Free Library	Woodbury, N. J.	Mrs. E. F. Derby, librarian.
Public library	Wood-Ridge, N. J.	Eleanor Noble, librarian.
New Mexico Highlands University	Las Vegas, N. Mex.	Edward Fyring, president.
New Mexico Highlands University, Rodgers Library	do	Vivian Hedgcock, librarian.
North Castle Free Library	Armonk, N. Y.	Mrs. H. Hadley, librarian.
Free library	Amityville, N. Y.	Caroline Fltz, librarian.
Public library	Bay Shore, N. Y.	Miriam Mills, librarian.
Babylon Library Association	Babylon, N. Y.	Gladya W. Conklin, librarian.
Peninsula Community Library	Cedarhurst, N. Y.	Miriam Rowe, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Saratoga Springs Free Library.....	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.....	Mary Foley, librarian.
Community library.....	Roosevelt, N. Y.....	Mrs. A. Sottani, librarian.
Merrick Library.....	Merrick, N. Y.....	Miss E. Macfarland, librarian.
Weed Library.....	Malone, N. Y.....	Louisa F. Merritt, librarian.
Public library.....	Kenmore, N. Y.....	Mrs. O. E. Williams, librarian.
Free library.....	Frankfort, N. Y.....	Anna B. Piper, librarian.
Do.....	East Syracuse, N. Y.....	Mrs. B. M. Ries, librarian.
Croton Free Library.....	Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.....	Mrs. S. Loehner, librarian.
Free library.....	Dunkirk, N. Y.....	Marcus A. Wright, librarian.
Public library.....	Ellenville, N. Y.....	Mrs. F. T. Taylor, librarian.
Do.....	Franklin Square, N. Y.....	Helen E. Clinch, librarian.
Free library.....	Hamburg, N. Y.....	Mrs. A. F. Hammersey, librarian.
Free public library.....	Hicksville, N. Y.....	Mrs. Marian C. Cecil, librarian.
L. V. Blakeman Library.....	Mechanicville, N. Y.....	Patricia A. Golden, librarian.
Middletown Collegiate Center Library.....	Middletown, N. Y.....	A. E. Lillibridge, librarian.
Middletown Collegiate Center Library.....	Middletown, N. Y.....	A. E. Lillibridge, librarian.
City library.....	Oswego, N. Y.....	Juanita Kersey, librarian.
Champlain College Library.....	Plattsburg, N. Y.....	J. I. Newcomb, librarian.
State Teachers College Library.....	do.....	Louise M. Hoxie, librarian.
City library.....	Rensselaer, N. Y.....	Attention: The Librarian.
Free library.....	Riverhead, N. Y.....	Do.
Monroe County traveling library.....	Rochester, N. Y.....	Mrs. E. B. Walker, librarian.
Public library.....	Solvay, N. Y.....	Mrs. Zephyr Thorpe, librarian.
Free library.....	Valley Stream, N. Y.....	Attention: The Librarian.
Public library.....	Williston Park, N. Y.....	Do.
Biltmore College Library.....	Asheville, N. C.....	Glady's Williams, librarian.
John S. Smith University, Carnegie Library.....	Charlotte, N. C.....	Theodus L. Gunn, librarian.
Sampson County Library.....	Clinton, N. C.....	Margaret Faison, librarian.
Davidson College Library.....	Davidson, N. C.....	C. G. Davidson, librarian.
Shepard Pruden Memorial Library.....	Edenton, N. C.....	Mrs. S. M. McMullan, librarian.
Brown-Carver Library.....	do.....	Mrs. S. M. Fayton, librarian.
Greensboro College Library.....	Greensboro, N. C.....	Mrs. E. Woodcock, librarian.
Public library.....	do.....	Mrs. N. B. Jones, librarian.
Davidson County Library.....	Lexington, N. C.....	Mrs. D. E. Shue, librarian.
Franklin County Library.....	Louisburg, N. C.....	Nannie Crowder, librarian.
Public library.....	Mooresville, N. C.....	Mrs. B. McNeely, librarian.
Do.....	New Bern, N. C.....	Mary S. Gurley, librarian.
Do.....	do.....	Mrs. S. McManus, librarian.
Merced College Library.....	Haleigh, N. C.....	Hazel Batty, librarian.
Thomas Hackney Braswell Memorial Library.....	Rocky Mount, N. C.....	Mrs. R. Jeffreys, acting librarian.
Catawba College Library.....	Sallisbury, N. C.....	Lulu R. Reed, librarian.
Rowan Public Library.....	do.....	Edith Clark, librarian.
Public library.....	Shelby, N. C.....	Dorothy Grigg, librarian.
Do.....	Statesville, N. C.....	Mrs. E. B. Conway, librarian.
B. H. M. Regional Library.....	Washington, N. C.....	Mrs. F. S. Worthy, librarian.
Wilson County Library.....	Wilson, N. C.....	Nancy Gray, librarian.
Bertie County Library.....	Windsor, N. C.....	Mrs. J. Bird, librarian.
Public library.....	Castleton, N. Dak.....	Mrs. M. B. Correll, librarian.
Do.....	Dickinson, N. Dak.....	Gertrude Boldal, librarian.
Do.....	Mandan, N. Dak.....	Mrs. E. Trzinski, librarian.
Do.....	Rolla, N. Dak.....	Mrs. C. R. Jacobson, librarian.
Do.....	Rugby, N. Dak.....	Mrs. P. E. McMahon, librarian.
Barber Public Library.....	Barberton, Ohio.....	Jean Galehouse, librarian.
Public library.....	Bellaire, Ohio.....	Betty Harris, librarian.
Do.....	Bellefontaine, Ohio.....	Mrs. M. H. Morehouse, librarian.
Do.....	Chillicothe, Ohio.....	B. E. Stevenson, librarian.
Do.....	Circleville, Ohio.....	Mrs. E. Denham, librarian.
Do.....	417 Walnut St., Dover, Ohio.....	Attention: The Librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	East Liverpool, Ohio.....	Mary H. Hall, librarian.
Hayes Memorial Library.....	Fremont, Ohio.....	Mrs. H. Grimes, librarian.
Public library.....	Portsmouth, Ohio.....	Mrs. F. W. Moulton, librarian.
Do.....	Shaker Heights, Ohio.....	Ellen Ewing, librarian.
Carnegie public library.....	Chickasha, Okla.....	Mrs. I. M. Sherman, librarian.
Public library.....	Cushing, Okla.....	Mrs. O. S. Humphreys, librarian.
Carnegie public library.....	El Reno, Okla.....	Lucile Glover, librarian.
Do.....	Lawton, Okla.....	Mamie Small, librarian.
City library.....	Oklmulgee, Okla.....	Mrs. Jennie Elrod, librarian.
Pottawatomie County Library.....	Shawnee, Okla.....	Mrs. T. S. Funk, librarian.
Public library.....	Wewoka, Okla.....	Mrs. Dorothy Williams, librarian.
Do.....	Baker, Oreg.....	Mrs. L. Fleetwood, librarian.
Do.....	Collingdale, Pa.....	Mrs. A. Heimach, librarian.
Do.....	Ellwood City, Pa.....	Mrs. O. M. Charles, librarian.
Do.....	Latrobe, Pa.....	S. C. McComb, librarian.
Annie Halenbake Ross Library.....	Lock Haven, Pa.....	Isabel E. Welch, librarian.
Carnegie free library.....	McKeesport, Pa.....	Miss Jean May, librarian.
Free public library.....	New Kensington, Pa.....	Vincent P. Conway, librarian.
Do.....	Pottsville, Pa.....	Edith Paterson, librarian.
School and public library.....	Shenandoah, Pa.....	M. H. Danks, librarian.
Free public library.....	Sharon, Pa.....	D. V. Hall, librarian.
Carnegie free library.....	Swissvale, Pa.....	Juliette Campbell, librarian.

Approved:

Dated:

OCTOBER 29, 1949.

Mr. HARRY S. BARGER,
608 National Union Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HARRY: Thank you for your recent letters. This is with particular reference to your two letters of October 25 and 26 relative to Government lobbying.

We have here the material you have previously sent, as well as other similar material we have gathered here. It is all good, but most of it is outdated. When we go before the committee and offer proof of illegal Government lobbying, we cannot possibly get anywhere if all we offer is old stuff that has already been published.

The material we need must be current and it must be specific. By current, I mean as nearly as possible that we should confine ourselves to attempts to influence the Eighty-first Congress, or Members of either House individually since the Eighty-first Congress convened.

By specific, I mean that every piece of evidence offered should contain names, dates, and places. While it may be true as you say in your letter of the 26th that what can be alleged in general against Government lobbies cannot be denied, we have to do more than offer such general charges. We have to treat this as an indictment. You are a lawyer, and you know that an indictment or charge must be meticulously specific or it will be knocked out on motion. Unless we have specific evidence to offer we had better not offer any.

I suggest that one way of assembling such information is by consulting the appendixes of the Congressional Record. There is information telling who appeared before the various committees. You will have to check, if you can, whether Government-employed witnesses were requested to appear, or whether they asked to appear. If you can gain access to the printed records of such hearings, as I presume you can in the Library of Congress, you can examine them for covert threats or pressures put on committees on such grounds as that appropriations must be continued or increased because of activities not originally authorized. You ought also to be able to get information from friendly Congressmen and Senators on such pressures.

You will recall that the majority report of the committee of the Eightieth Congress investigating illegal lobbying came up with several illustrations, very hot ones, about Congressmen having been told that certain public works—in one case, airports—would be discontinued in their districts if they did not vote for certain appropriations. I feel sure that similar pressures have been used in the Eighty-first Congress, and that you can dig them up.

You may find pay dirt especially when you come to the matter of deficiency requests.

Admittedly, it is much more difficult to uncover the kind of evidence we need than to assert what everybody knows. But it can be done, and with the combination of your legal experience, your flair for sensing where to look, and your tenacity, I am sure that you can do it.

Sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

OCTOBER 29, 1949.

The Reverend CHARLES T. LEBER, D. D.,
*Secretary of the Board of Missions of the
Presbyterian Church, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR DR. LEBER: Yesterday an Arab, Mr. Yusif El-Bandak, came to me saying that he had been sent by a very warm friend of mine, Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan.

Mr. Bandak told me that his father is mayor of Bethlehem in Palestine; that he himself attended Cambridge University (he speaks perfect English), and that he had been sent to England and to the United States to enlist help for the Arabs, including the large number of refugees now in and about Bethlehem. He says there is very grave danger that this whole community will be wiped out, and he adds that if this were done Christianity would perish in the Holy Land.

Mr. Bandak tells me that in England he succeeded in forming a large and influential committee entitled the "Committee for Christian Relief in the Holy Land." The letterhead, of which he gave me a copy, contains some imposing names.

Mr. Bandak arrived in the United States early in September. He succeeded in having a resolution favorable to his cause adopted by the general convention of the Episcopal Church in San Francisco. He tells me that the Catholics are favorable to his cause, and he would like to get in touch with other religious groups on the subject.

I thereupon telephoned to my friend, Thomas E. Whiteman, of the Woolworth Co., who promptly told me to send him to you. Mr. Whiteman said he himself would write you yesterday about Mr. Bandak, and you have doubtless heard by this time.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you if you will see Mr. Bandak and let him tell his story. He is staying at the St. Moritz Hotel, 50 Central Park South (telephone PLaza 5-5800). I hope you will make an appointment to see him.

I was favorably impressed by Mr. Bandak.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

606 National Union Building, Washington, D. C., November 3, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: The following is in further reply to your letter of October 20, 1949, on the subject of governmental lobbying.

FOREWORD

Lobbying by governmental agencies and officials is a very subtle and nebulous thing—it is practiced in various ways and through numerous devices. Title 18, section 201, United State Code, makes it a criminal offense for Government officials to use appropriated public funds * * * directly or indirectly to pay for any personal service, advertisement, telegram, telephone, letter, printed or written matter, or other device" as a means, or with the intent, of influencing * * * in any manner a Member of Congress, to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress. * * *"

In addition to undoubted personal contacts and solicitation by Federal officials, here are some of the ways in which such officials engage in lobbying at the taxpayers' expense:

1. Through tons and tons of press releases issued by departments, agencies, and officials (including speeches) which "slant" information to support whatever the administration wants.

It has been said that departments and agencies furnished the New York Times materials for as many as 800 columns in 1 week—much of which, of course, the New York Times did not use. It is known at one time independent contractors were used to distribute the press releases and other material to the press in Washington, D. C.

2. Through close contacts between departments, agencies, and officials with numerous private organizations such as the CIO, A. F. of L., women's voters' organizations, and many others which take, and use as their own, the governmental hand-outs prepared at taxpayers' expense.

One of the book reviews by Rose Wilder Lane portrayed this practice rather well.

3. Possible employment of newsmen and writers and their compensation, directly or indirectly, to "slant" and color the governmental information to whatever the administration wants to accomplish.

In recent months, it has been published in the press that newsmen had been employed and put on the public payrolls of the State of Illinois, Florida, and New York, and in perhaps other States. Although it has never been established, it is within the realm of possibility that the same has occurred in respect of the Federal Government, through juggling of payrolls and employment titles. It is well known that many prominent newspapermen and writers have been appointed to high positions in the Federal Government; and it hardly appears likely that they thereupon forgot their professional training and attributes in the performance of their duties.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that newsmen and writers are almost solidly organized into a newspaper guild, under the CIO; and that union certainly exerts a very great influence on its members, and in favor of the administration.

4. Unknown numbers of Federal officials and employees travel annually at the taxpayers' expense to attend conventions and meetings of many hundreds of organizations and associations, which organizations usually adopt resolutions favoring various and sundry activities and proposed activities of the Federal Government.

It has been charged on the floor of the House that such officials, in 1 year, attended as many as 1,000 such meetings, which lasted from 2 to 3 days to a week; and that often such officials and Federal employees are members of, and have their dues paid to such organizations with Federal funds.

5. The Department of State maintains a separate division or unit to keep in touch with numerous organizations, such as women's clubs, local business clubs, and the like.

It is known, too, that State Department sends out officials and employees to visit and address such organizations, and furnish them information and data concerning the functions and doings of the Department and its policies.

On unknown occasions, State Department has brought many persons to Washington, at Federal expense, where meetings were held to brief such persons on matters of interest to the Department, and return them to indoctrinate and propagandize their members for State Department policies.

Some years ago, it was brought out in an appropriation hearing that the State Department had diverted its appropriated funds to the payment of salaries, traveling expenses, etc., to send out lecturers to espouse the establishment of the United Nations, Bretton Woods, the World Bank, and the like. Some of the "lecturers" were State Department officials and employees, and others were hired especially for the purpose because of their connection with particular organizations.

So, a new and most insidious form of lobbying has come into vogue, which, when analyzed, is clearly in violation of title 18, section 201, United States Code. Through this new and prohibited form of lobbying, there was generated support for the following programs and policies:

1. The North Atlantic Pact
2. The arms-for-Europe program
3. The United Nations
4. Numerous adjunct organizations of United Nations
5. Extension of reciprocal trade agreements
6. Extension and expansion of public housing
7. Extension of social security coverage
8. Establishment of the Bretton Woods proposals
9. Establishment of the World Bank
10. Establishment of the Marshall plan
11. Extension of the Marshall plan
12. Approval of the International wheat agreement
13. Approval of World Health Organization

and many others of like character and import.

LOBBYING DURING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

As you know, from reports and documents already sent to you, there were numerous formal exposures of governmental lobbying activities during the Eightieth Congress, many of which were referred to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution under title 18, section 201, United States Code. However, nothing was done to abate the criminal practice, either by the Department of Justice or the Congress itself.

You have also been furnished a careful analysis of the hearings on the civil functions bill in the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, showing how more than 100 Members of Congress appeared before Senate and House Appropriations Committees and "lobbied" for funds for their pet projects under that "pork barrel" bill.

In this connection, it is pertinent that Members of Congress, in varying numbers, almost always appear before House and Senate Appropriation Subcommittees urging appropriations for projects in their districts or States. Sometimes they testify personally, and, at other times, they obtain permission for, and introduce constituents, to testify in support of or in opposition to appropriations. The House hearings are in executive session, but Senate hearings are, for the most part, open to the public.

Senators and Representatives doubtless consider themselves without the law (title 18, sec. 201, U. S. Code) in their conduct; but the fact remains that the

law prohibits the use of appropriated funds for lobbying, and provides that public officials shall be permitted, without violation, to testify and furnish information on their official requests for funds. Of course, Congress itself operates on appropriated funds; and, when Members appear, their salaries, etc., are coming out of public funds. Hence, it seems they are in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the act.

In line with your instructions, I have not only examined the principal appropriation hearings of the Senate and House for the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, but have conferred with the clerks of both Appropriations Committees, and with the individuals in both committee offices who read and prepare the transcripts of hearings for printing, in an endeavor to locate any mention made of lobbying during the first session, Eighty-first Congress.

All I have been able to unearth on the subject of governmental lobbying during the session just ended is as follows:

House appropriation hearings

The House hearings on the second deficiency appropriation bill, 1940, which opened March 10, 1940 (pp. 406-409 and 414), show that the United States Office of Education (a constituent agency of the Federal Security Agency) had asked the Bureau of the Budget to recommend appropriation of \$90,000 for payment of salaries and expenses incident to the agency's cooperation in the disposition (by donation) of surplus property to educational institutions.

The Budget Bureau recommended a sum precisely \$13,000 less than that requested; and, on the very day hearings were held on the agency's request before the House subcommittee, members of the subcommittee were flooded with letters and telegrams (1½ inches thick) urging that the Budget Bureau cut be restored. The letters and telegrams were from educational institutions, their officials, and the like.

Mr. Rall I. Grigsby, director, Division of Auxiliary Services, Federal Security Agency, was questioned as to how the various educational institutions and individuals had learned of the budget cut, and how it happened members of the committee were flooded with their letters and telegrams. Grigsby denied that anyone in his Agency had communicated with the educational institutions or individuals sending the letters and telegrams and told them of the reduction, or that appropriation hearings had been set. Grigsby did, however, admit that the Agency's representatives in the field had probably been told of those facts.

In short, there was a general denial that the Agency or anyone for it had inspired the letters and telegrams, or requested that they be sent. And, as usual in such cases, the subcommittee was left to infer that the sending of the letters and telegrams had been inspired by officials of the Government. That inference seemed inescapable.

The hearings show also: (1) That Subcommittee Chairman Rabaut reminded Grigsby that existing law prohibited the "use of appropriations to pay for personal services to influence Members of Congress to favor or oppose legislation. Thereupon, Representative Wigglesworth observed that "It is not only a violation of law; I think it is a criminal offense under the law"; to which Chairman Rabaut said: "I just did not want to read that harsh clause because I want everybody to sleep tonight."

Representative Wigglesworth requested that there be furnished for the hearing record a copy of the notification sent to field representatives of the Agency concerning the budget cut in the appropriation request, etc., but the record fails to show that this was done. On the contrary, another and different representative of the Agency did appear at a later date and said, in substance, that no such notice had been sent to the field; that he was supposed to have sent it; but that he found he had not done so. (Hearings, p. 414.)

In reporting this second deficiency bill, 1940, to the floor of the House, the Appropriations Subcommittee had this to say:

"The committee wishes to call to the attention of the Federal Security Administrator and the Bureau of the Budget the fact that nearly every Member of Congress was bombarded with letters and telegrams in support of this item and in protest against a budget reduction of \$13,000 in the Office's request. The information in these communications left no doubt that the contents originated within the Office of Education. Aside from the fact that it is a violation of the law for any officer of the Government to participate in efforts to bring pressure on Congress, the committee can only look upon such activity as an admission of weakness of the case and an unwillingness on the part of the Agency to permit the matter to be determined on its merits."

It cannot be questioned that Congress has long known that title 18, section 201, United States Code, has been flagrantly violated by Federal officials.

For several years last past, Congress has seen fit to incorporate in the acts making annual appropriations for the Department of Agriculture reiterating and reasserting the substance of title 18, section 201, United States Code, as shown by the following, contained in the act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal year ending June 30, 1950 (Public Law 146, 81st Cong., 1st sess.):

"* * * *Provided further*, That no part of any funds available to the Department, or any bureau, office, corporation, or other agency constituting a part of such Department, shall be used in the current fiscal year for the payment of salary or travel expenses of any person who has been convicted of violating the act entitled 'An act to prevent pernicious political activities,' approved August 2, 1939, as amended, or who has been found in accordance with the provisions of title 18, United States Code, section 1913, to have violated or attempted to violate such section which prohibits the use of Federal appropriations for the payment of personal services or other expenses designed to influence in any manner a Member of Congress to favor or oppose any legislation or appropriation by Congress except upon request of any Member or through the proper channels."

It's ironical that such a provision should be inserted in annual appropriation acts because the law is on the books anyway, and the proviso makes conviction a precedent to a violation the proviso itself. Congress is presumed to know there have been, and there are unlikely to be, any convictions for violating the antilobby statute by Federal officials.

CONCLUSION

There simply have been no investigations, as such, of lobbying by Federal officials during the first session of the Eighty-first Congress; and, as heretofore stated, all I have been able to find on the subject is the case of the Office of Education, in its appropriation hearing, *supra*—concerning which nothing drastic was done.

It has long since been disclosed that the Department of Agriculture, through its field representatives, committees of farmers and other prominent private persons, and the like, did extensive lobbying for appropriations, administration plans, and the like; but, as can be seen, nothing has been done that closely approaches punishment or stopping the violations. As recently as the consideration of the Brannan farm plan, Brannan and others toured the country at Federal expense trying to sell his plan. But nothing came of it, and nothing will come of it, the inhibition in the annual appropriation acts, and title 18, section 201, to the contrary notwithstanding.

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

I have combed the index to such parts of the Congressional Record as are available for the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, and located the following items (pages of record and subject matter mentioned):

(A1688) Buchanan (Democrat, Pennsylvania), chairman of the House Committee To Investigate Lobbying, inserted in the Record a letter from Leon H. Keyserling, Vice Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, to the Washington Post, defending the administration's "economic platform." This seems to be propaganda and lobbying by a Government official.

(A1828) Reed (Republican, New York) inserted an editorial from the Evening Star of March 25, 1949, discussing the "pattern of propaganda which will seek, in the months to come, to identify the Atlantic Pact with a multibillion-dollar rearmament plan for western Europe. It set forth the kind of arguments then already beginning to appear in columns, editorials, and comments of commentators. This was prophetic, and proved to be true.

(A1943) Reed (Republican, New York) pointed out that there were, all told, 45,000 publicity persons on the Federal payrolls, throughout the bureaus and departments—23,000 permanent and 22,000 part-time employees—costing the taxpayers more than \$70,000,000 annually. He inserted in the Record an editorial from the Evening Star commenting on the Hoover Commission's task force report on welfare, entitled "Government Propaganda." Note: That has been sent to you.

(A1935) Representative Clevenger (Republican, Ohio) inserted an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of February 6, 1949, entitled "Government Propaganda" and its enormous growth at the taxpayers' expense. The article states that the House Committee on Publicity and Propaganda (80th Cong.) reported, but hardly scratched the surface. The article recites that in one week the Government sent the New York Times 800 columns of material, and it mentioned that the Army had lobbied for universal military training—now, by the way, in the ashcan.

(B562) Representative Kirwan, in presenting Interior Department appropriation bill (1050) referred to a report made in the Eightieth Congress by a House Committee Appropriations investigator on the Bonneville Power Administration, and said that the report showed some incompetency on the part of the investigator. Kirwan is an administration supporter. **NOTE:** The investigative report disclosed that the BPA was engaged in propaganda and lobbying for expanded Federal power, and for destroying the private-power industry.

(A2001) Representative Cannon, chairman, House Appropriations Committee, inserted in the Record 38 letters from various persons and concerns demanding economy in Government.

(A2723) Representative Price inserted excerpts from a broadcast of Joseph F. McCaffrey on patronage by the Illinois Republican administration to 33 newspaper editors, who were on the Illinois payroll during Governor Green's administration. There's little or no difference between that and practices of the Federal Government.

(A2044) Representative Patman quoted an Assistant Attorney General as saying that 247 firms had been formally charged with violations of the antitrust laws in 1948, "according to a list published in the Machinist, official CIO labor publication, of May 5, 1949. That looks like Government propaganda and lobbying put out to come back through a CIO union for public consumption. **NOTE:** During the first session, Eightieth Congress, Representative Keefe made the self-same Patman admit that nothing had been done to enforce the antitrust laws during the Roosevelt-Truman administrations.

(A2004) West Virginia Chamber of Commerce complained that its request to be heard on Federal aid to education had been ignored by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education.

(0903) Representative Hoffman (Republican, Michigan) asserted that travel expenses and dues of Federal officials in various organizations, to attend 1,000 meetings of such organizations, had been paid at taxpayers' expense; and that the meetings lasted from 2 to 3 days, or a week. He also said that the actions of some of the organizations indicated that they were approved by the United States.

(A3121) Representative Reed (Republican, New York) inserted a David Lawrence column of the Evening Star charging that Truman had misled and deceived the public in his claim that he had made unprecedented reductions in the public debt, which as usual was generally publicized in the press. That's administration propaganda and lobbying. **NOTE:** On another occasion, Senator Taft charged that Truman had unnecessarily caused the sale and issuance of about \$20,000,000,000 of Government bonds shortly after the cessation of hostilities; and they had been redeemed from the proceeds of their sale; and that Truman had wrongfully claimed credit for reduction of the public debt to that extent.

(A3016) Representative White (Democrat, California) inserted an editorial from the Washington Post charging that the Hoover reorganization plan was likely to prove a "fraud on the people."

(A3320) Representative Price (Democrat, Illinois) inserted an article from the Sunday Star of May 22, 1949, disclosing that 51 newsmen were carried on the payroll of the State of Illinois. The article states the disclosure was first made April 14, 1949, by St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Chicago Daily Sun.

(A3316) Representative Heselton (Republican, Massachusetts) inserted in the Record a resolution by the General Court of Massachusetts memorializing Congress to enact a 75-cent minimum-wage law. **NOTE:** The action of that court was probably inspired by Federal officials, directly or indirectly.

(A3448) Representative Patterson (Republican, Connecticut) inserted a letter from Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency (now Chairman, United States Maritime Commission), outlining a program for Federal works "to accelerate employment." That letter from Fleming was requested by Patterson, but he gave it great publicity. **NOTE:** It is well known

the administration plans gigantic public works to make employment in event of a depression or recession; and the President already is scattering funds in areas where unemployment prevails, and large appropriations have been made for public works planning.

(A3445) Gentlewoman Woodhouse (Democrat, Connecticut) inserted in the Record a resolution of the Assembly of the State of Connecticut urging establishment of a Connecticut Valley Unified Planning and Development Administration. (This may have been inspired by Federal officials—see paragraph, *Infra*.)

(A3413) Senator Kem inserted a letter from an American citizen who had long lived in Switzerland, dated May 23, 1940, stating that European recovery was much further advanced than was represented by our Federal officials—that it was in excess of prewar days.

(7048) Representative White (Republican, Idaho) disclosed that Paul G. Hoffman, ECA Administrator, had failed and refused to answer questions whether European Marshall plan countries were using our funds to pay their debts and debt charges. He said he was told that Hoffman's time was up, and he didn't have time to answer such questions; that he should ask the questions in private; but "you must not ask him that question publicly."

(6989) Senator Byrd (Democrat, Virginia), in debate on Commodity Credit Corporation said: "We are gradually chipping away the protections which we have had in this democracy of ours. As soon as we establish something to protect the people the bureaucrats start to tear it down, because they want to control the affairs of the Government. This is one example." He was referring to the then attempt to have officials of Commodity Credit Corporation confirmed by the Senate, as previously required, and not as the administration and the bureaucrats wanted it changed, to empower the Secretary of Agriculture to make the appointments at will.

(A3388) Senator Cordon (Republican, Oregon), inserted in the Record at a cost of \$825 a series of articles dealing with the proposed establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority, as demanded by Truman. Whether Cordon meant it as such—and he probably did—those articles appear to be publicity, lobbying, and propaganda for the proposed Authority, to be fashioned after TVA.

(A3515) Senator Myers (Democrat, Pennsylvania) inserted in the Record a letter from the Washington representative of the Textile Workers' Union of America (CIO), to the Evening Star, pleading for the admission of displaced persons. (NOTE.—Looks like propaganda and lobby material initiated by Federal officials.)

(A3565) Representative Smith (Republican, Wisconsin) inserted an article by Prof. Curtis P. Nettles, Cornell University, pointing out that the State Department wanted the Atlantic Charter to confer sovereign powers on the President, and saying: "Adoption of the pact by the Senate would effect a political revolution. It would replace the Federal Constitution with a new charter." Smith also inserted an article from Chicago Tribune of May 15, 1940, of like tenor.

(A3564) Representative Patman (Democrat, Texas) inserted a statement of his own entitled "Corporate Propaganda Financed by Income Tax Deductions," etc. It was designed to support the administration's attack on "excessive corporate profits."

(A3597) Representative Mitchell (Democrat, Washington) inserted a statement that "The Washington Machinists Council has joined with other great labor organizations in the State of Washington to actively support CVA legislation. The Association of Machinists adopted a resolution favoring the project."

(A3658) Representative Smith (Republican, Wisconsin) inserted in the Record an article by Alfred M. Cooper from the May 1940, issue of Plain Talk relating to the part of the Government employee in politics, in the light of his own experience as such an employee.

(8548) Sabath (Democrat, Illinois) inserted in the Record a letter of November 30, 1948, from President Truman to Eric Peterson, general secretary-treasurer, International Association of Machinists, thanking Peterson for a copy of his association's resolution urging an investigation of lobbying. Truman thought such an investigation would have "a salutary effect."

(8801) Representative Brown (Republican, Ohio) disclosed how a representative of the Federal Housing Administration had been lobbying in Ohio.

(11015, 11016) Representative Sabath (Democrat, Illinois) inserted "a selected list of lobbyists," showing expenditures of organizations, in part, as follows: (partial)

Committee for Constitutional Government.....	\$140,000
National Association of Electric Companies (against Taft-Hartley)....	130,500
National Physicians Committee.....	130,969
American Medical Association.....	115,249
General Electric Co.....	91,075
National Association of Real Estate Boards.....	39,844
Association of American Railroads.....	33,000
Chamber of Commerce of United States.....	28,000
Southern Pines Industry Committee.....	36,377

(Of course, Sabath selected 'em "at random.")

He gave this breakdown of 258 groups "which spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in the first quarter of 1949."

Business (building, real estate, finance, food and agricultural products, oil, gas, mining, power, communications, transportation).....	\$552,421
Foreign policy groups.....	104,020
Farm groups.....	111,079
Reclamation, rivers and harbors groups.....	102,000

Sabath asserted that, "In the business group, NAM allocated \$80,019 for the year 1948. Total receipts by NAM for the second half of 1948 were \$2,280,980."

(8659) Senator Bridges, in his remarks on the Senate floor, inserted an article from the Saturday Evening Post of May 14, 1949, by Hon. Leslie A. Miller, National Resources Committee, Hoover Commission, and ex-Governor of Wyoming, charging "pernicious lobbying," waste, underestimating of costs, and the like by bureaucrats. This is worth reading and consideration. It is entitled "The Battle that Squanders Billions."

ADDITIONAL COMMENT

It is common knowledge that Government officials have lobbied through State legislatures measures which would help them establish their innovations and schemes, including those to circumvent the Constitution. This has been done in numerous instances.

The case of *Steward Machine Co. v. United States* (301 U. S., 548), shows that Federal officials, being fearful that the Social Security Act might not be constitutional, in that it might infringe on the rights and powers of the States, prepared drafts of legislation to make certain the success of their desires and efforts, then went to State legislatures and lobbied them through to final passage and approval. In the case of the Social Security Act, Federal officials procured State legislatures to, and they did, enact "enabling legislation," as the Supreme Court called it, as a means of having the States surrender their necessary powers to the Federal Government for the enforcement of the Federal act.

In view of the State legislation so procured to be enacted, the majority of the Supreme Court—a majority of one—upheld the Social Security Act. The dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Reynolds is a masterpiece, and well worth any man's time to read.

Of course, when Federal officials indulged in such conduct as that, they were engaged in spending appropriated funds for lobbying, or worse.

Sorry, sir, but the foregoing seems to be about all I have been able to unearth for the first session, Eighty-first Congress, having to do with lobbying by Federal officials, but I believe you will discern the fine Italian hand of such officials in much of the data cited. If you know of anything additional that has escaped me, or have any further suggestions, let's have them.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

(This document is in response to Barger letter on p. 511.)

Mr. WALTER TROHAN,
Albee Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR WALTER: I have got this added information about what I told you on the phone Wednesday:

NOVEMBER 8, 1949.

It seems that there was a dinner on October 20 at which several businessmen undertook to complain of what had been said or done recently by the Government.

Among those present was one Harry Truman, who thereupon got to his feet and made the remarks that I repeated to you on the phone, namely, that those men present knew all about economics and business, and he knew nothing about them; but that he knew all about politics, and that they had better play with him or take the consequences.

I understand it was some steel man who made the remarks that brought H. S. T. to his feet.

I have not yet learned just what the dinner was, but my informant thought it was some business advisory committee of the Department of Commerce. I could not find out where the dinner was held, but it was not at the White House.

I tried to get you on the phone to give you this today.

I shall be in my office at Utica during the forenoon of Friday, November 4, at the Lake Placid Club, Essex County (telephone Lake Placid 300), until Tuesday morning, and shall be at the Chicago club Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and back in New York on Saturday morning.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

MORVEN, OXTED, November 7, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1.*

DEAR Mr. HART: I have received at last, and thoroughly enjoyed, Mr. J. T. Flynn's book *The Road Ahead*. I am arranging that a short note on it shall appear in an early issue of the Individualist Bulletin.

Yours sincerely,

HONOLULU, T. H., November 9, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

MY DEAR HART: Returned yesterday and found a busy schedule ahead of me and, surprisingly, a little money in the bank.

I enclose a bank draft in the sum of \$400 and, incidentally, you may tell Senator Hawkes that I believe I did a good job for Bob Taft on the boat as I interested a farmer and a Democrat in Senator Taft's campaign to the tune of an investment in the Taft campaign fund. I hope in the amount of over \$1,000.

I sent Taft a copy of a speech that Mr. Camp had made before the Southern Cotton Belt Conference, thinking it might interest him.

This gentleman's name is W. D. Camp, Bakersfield, Calif., and, if no money has arrived from him, suggest someone on Taft's campaign committee write him as he definitely said he was going to make such an investment.

I enclose a copy of the Hawaii Residents' Association paper, which will give some idea of the progress of this organization since I organized it last June.

It still requires considerable of my financial support but I believe is destined to be a power in maintaining American principles in our local government.

Very truly,

W. TIP DAVIS.

NOVEMBER 17, 1949.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,

Box 2495, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR TIP: Senator Hawkes says in a letter to me:

"Thanks for your letter of November 14, relative to the message that came to you from W. Tip Davis of Honolulu.

"Won't you be kind enough to thank W. Tip Davis for his effort in Senator Taft's behalf."

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

NOVEMBER 21, 1940.

Mr. W. TIF DAVIS.
Post Office Box 2495, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: The reprint from the Congressional Record of Mr. Gwinn's speech, Socialism, American Variety, was sent to you by the Committee for Constitutional Government.

I have just called the committee and they will ship you today 1,000 reprints and a bill to cover.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

OCTOBER 17, 1940.

Mr. WILLIAM BREWSTER,
*Cure of Calice Co., 7 Place Vendôme,
 Paris, France.*

DEAR MR. BREWSTER: I am sending you, under separate cover, copy of a book entitled "The Road Ahead," by John T. Flynn, who is the author of The Roosevelt Myth.

In this book Mr. Flynn undertakes to show that, for America, the danger in the near future is not so much Russian communism as British socialism.

The book is being received very well here, and it is short. I shall be glad, if you have the time to read it, to have you tell me what you think of it.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

7 PLACE VENDÔME,
Paris, November 18, 1940.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
 Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: I have just finished reading the copy you were good enough to send me of The Road Ahead, by John T. Flynn. I am afraid I agree in general with the ideas Flynn expresses, but regret that those of us who hold these same ideas are very much in the minority.

To me the great difficulty in getting a book like The Road Ahead widely read is that so many people today are unwilling to face the issue it raises and after reading a few pages, put it down, remarking "Fascist propaganda." In my opinion the majority of the people in the United States and England today belong in this category. Further, this majority is so blind that all outpourings from the Socialists and Communists are taken as gospel, and, even though it is clearly evident, they are never recognized as propaganda.

Many thanks for sending me The Road Ahead, which I have already passed on to a friend who, I hope, will "read, mark, and inwardly digest" its contents.

Yours very sincerely,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

HONOLULU, T. H., November 16, 1940.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: As an enclosure in one of the Economic Council letters sent me recently was an extract from the Congressional Record of a speech by the Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn entitled "Socialism, American Variety."

I would like a thousand reprints of that circular mailed parcel post to the above address. I believe the letter accompanying this pamphlet said that additional copies would be available. I do not know however at what price, so please mail them to me as above indicated and send a bill with them.

It is just barely possible that I may be mistaken as to who sent this to me as there was quite a pile of correspondence piled upon my desk when I returned from the mainland. However, I am sure that if it did not come from you that you can and will get the thousand copies requested and mail them to me at your earliest convenience.

I am anxious to get them at as early date as is possible as we are about to have an election of delegates to a Statehood Charter Convention and already the leading Socialist of our community has signified his intention to stand for one of the delegates to this convention.

I may enter the race although I have not yet made up my mind as I have consistently refrained from running for public office. Much depends upon who files for delegates.

Thanking you for your prompt attention to this request, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. TIP DAVIS.

NOVEMBER 23, 1949.

Mrs. ROSE WILDER LANE,
Route 4, Box 42, Danbury, Conn.

DEAR ROSE: You will be interested to know that I have just made an appointment by telephone to see Mr. Pew in Philadelphia next Tuesday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

WALTER O. CALDWELL, JR.,
*Second National Bank Building,
Houston, Tex., November 21, 1949.*

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MERWIN: I have forgotten the exact date but sometime just prior to the last Republican convention in Philadelphia preceding the last national election you wrote suggestions as to a platform for the party. If you have any copies of that particular letter I'd like to have some.

Now that the various columnists are kidding the life out of the Republican Party because they don't have any platform and a good many members of the Republican Party are convinced that they don't have any platform, I'd like to send some of these gentlemen a copy of that letter and tell them that the platform problem is very simple, if they'd follow what is suggested in that particular letter they'd have one which would elect their candidate.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

WALTER O. CALDWELL, JR.

NOVEMBER 25, 1949.

Mr. WALTER O. CALDWELL, JR.,
*Second National Bank Building,
Houston 2, Tex.*

DEAR WALTER: I have your letter of the 21st, and am enclosing a dozen copies of Council Letter 193, entitled, "A Letter to each Delegate to the Republican National Convention." I think this is the one you want.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MALLINCKRODT CHEMICAL WORKS,
St. Louis 7, Mo., November 28, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you for your interesting memorandum on your recent trip to Europe. I had not realized that Spain was in such a strategic position, and this morning I noticed an article by David Lawrence in the same vein.

I am glad to enclose a check for \$250 to help you with your various personal expenses, which will cover my contribution for the year 1950.

We were in the Adirondacks this year and had a very good summer. We always think of you in connection with the years when our children and your children were young. I hope you are all well and prospering.

Yours as always,

(Handwritten.)

TED M.

The Panther Dam fight goes on and Dewey has not been of much help, although he did appoint a committee of the legislature to draft new laws as you no doubt know.

MALLINCKRODT.

DECEMBER 2, 1949.

Mr. EDWARD MALLINCKRODT, Jr.,

Mallinckrodt Chemical Works,

Second and Mallinckrodt Streets, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR TED: Thank you for your very friendly letter of November 28 and for the check for \$250 which you sent. This is greatly appreciated.

I do have a good many expenses that arise really out of the work of the council but which I do not see how I can well reimburse myself out of the council funds.

Over the years I have found that several of the smaller organizations that are doing good work and should be supported get in a jam once in a while and come to me to tide them over. In some cases, it seems appropriate for the council to advance them money and in those cases the money has always eventually been reimbursed. But in other cases, I have advanced them money myself. Usually it is repaid but not always. So your truly has something of a charge-off to make.

My dear fellow, I appreciate more than I can tell you your generosity to us and to me over the years. I know of your interest in the cause but I cannot help feeling there is also a personal element in it, and this pleases me very much.

Give my love to Bess, in which Margaret would join if she were here.

Very sincerely,

MERWIN K. HART.

EDWARDS & ANGELL,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I., December 2, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,

President, National Economic Council, Inc.,

Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you very much for your letter of December 1 regarding Nathan Boone Williams.

I have just received today the page proof of the Report of the Committee on Fundamental Principles of the Republican Roundup Committee, and expect to have printed copies sometime next week. How many would you like?

I shall be very glad to send you a few. If you wish a supply you can get them from Fred Virkus.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

NOVEMBER 14, 1949.

Mr. WILLIAM H. REGNERY,

2141 South Jefferson Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. REGNERY: I was glad to have the chance to talk with you the other day in Chicago. I returned Saturday morning, after taking active part in the deliberations of that Republican Roundup Committee. I was, I think, responsible for inserting several items in the platform that had some teeth in them. On the whole, I thought it was an excellent platform.

The New York Herald Tribune ignored the conference; the New York Times had a rather good account on Friday and Saturday mornings, but no editorial comment. I am watching to see what the Chicago Tribune has to say about it.

I am looking forward to hearing from you in response to my request that you loan us \$5,000 for the du Pont mailing, and I imagine I shall be hearing from you within a day or two.

As I told you, I would send you the Economic Council's note for 60 days, endorsed by myself.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

33-27 EIGHTIETH STREET, JACKSON HEIGHTS, N. Y.,
December 6, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council,
New York City*

DEAR MR. HART: This is to thank you for your replies to my letter, and for your offer to send me your publication regularly, because of my offer to circulate it. I appreciate your generosity, but want to make it clear—that I am not familiar with all the functions of your Economic Council, and would not be offering to circulate any literature to purely advertise an organization. I am interested in awakening the American public to the dangers with which we are confronted and any literature that will help accomplish that end interests me for the purpose of distributing to others, hoping it will have some effect.

While have read your articles in *Common Sense*, the letter 226 (and which I enclosed in a letter to General Eisenhower) is the only one I have seen in regular form. That was sent to my husband's office, and all such literature comes home to me. Incidentally I hope the little paper *Common Sense* is able to continue, I received the "appeal" for funds.

"Where there is no vision—the people perish." That seems exactly the situation. I believe one should put their love of country above their party, if a situation arose which was serious enough to call for that, as I think it is today. I suggest that a new party be formed if need be, of all Americans who believe explicitly in the "American way," if that is the only way our freedom can be saved. Call it the Constitution party, or free American party, and get all real Americans from both major parties to support it. The Democrat Party has been so infiltrated with all sorts of "isms" and "ists," purposely to destroy it, that the good old time Democrats do not approve of its policies. The Republican Party has lost the confidence of the people (although I have always been a staunch Republican—and still am at heart) and it almost seems as if we have a one party system. It now amounts to socialism versus Americanism. That is why a new party is needed, of all who do not want to lose our freedom, but the politicians do not have that necessary vision and so my ideas are no doubt wishful thinking though I am right, old-time Democrats just will not vote a Republican ticket, but they might join with them in a new party. We really have a new party; so-called Fair-Deal is actually socialism. That is why the other side need a new party to offset it. I know I am right and that is the only way, but I have not yet convinced the top leaders. Radical times need something drastic. The same old stuff will never win. If we lose again, we're sunk. If New Zealand pulled out of socialism, we should be able to prevent it. But there they had an opposition party to do it. Eisenhower is neutral, more or less. He could lead such a party, so I'm trying to tell him.

Sincerely

HELEN P. LASELL.

[Paul Revere Messages, including Bi-Weekly News Letter, defending freedom and the Constitution, distributed by Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-Second Street, New York 17, N. Y. Release No. 30, May 12, 1951]

OLD-AGE SECURITY FUNDS DISAPPEAR

(By Ralph W. Gwinn)

One of my Yonkers constituents has been disturbed by the discovery that all the trust funds accumulated for social security are "gone with the wind." The fact is a fantastic scandal.

Millions of workers are compelled by Federal law to pay insurance premiums to unemployment and old-age security funds. The law treats them as it treats Indians—as wards incapable of taking care of themselves. The Federal Government says the rank and file of our wage earners are no longer capable of taking care of themselves. The Fair Deal Congress admits that our grandfathers and great-grandfathers—with none of the blessings of modern science and modern schooling—seemed to feel themselves equal to supporting their families and providing for their old age. But Congress denies that modern Americans can do it.

So, this Congress is compelling every employed person in the stores, factories, and offices of the Nation to pay 1 percent of his wages every payday to the Government so it can manage his savings for him. For a man making \$60 per week, this is 60 cents. His employer also contributes 60 cents to his old-age security fund. In addition he must pay about 60 cents for unemployment insurance. This averages around \$93 a year, enough to buy a winter overcoat and a pair of shoes, or several suits for the boys, or to pay the doctor or coal bill or 2 months' rent. The Government in this way has collected over \$24,000,000,000 from the wage earners. All this money was to have been reinvested as a trust fund to accumulate earnings for the 2,450,000 people now past 65 who depend on it for their old-age income.

As of the end of February of this year, \$21,184,528,734.50—over \$21,000,000,000—is supposed to have been saved and to have been accumulated as insurance, like savings in a bank. But it is not there. It will never be seen again. It has not been saved at all. This incredible sum was entrusted to three trustees: to Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, and John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, or their predecessors. They have spent every dime of the collections taken by force from the wage earners. Instead of saving the collections they spent them and entered on their books that they owe \$21,184,528,734.50 to the wage earners. In private finance the act would be called embezzlement.

Congress passed a law that saves these men from arrest. But how any self-respecting person can lend his name to this kind of chicanery is impossible for most of us to understand.

There is no way now to pay old-age security but to levy taxes and the taxpayers are becoming less able to pay. For that reason old-age security is growing less and less secure.

The heaviest drain on the taxpayers to make good the savings which have been lost is yet to come in the 1950's. Then, many, many people will become 65 and add daily to the list of pensioners who have nothing behind them but the promise of a near bankrupt Government to levy taxes to pay the pensions.

On top of this, bills have been introduced in Congress to compel farmers, self-employers, and very nearly everybody in the country to pay into the fund. Some Members of Congress propose to add compulsory medical insurance to all this.

It is said by a clergyman from Munich, Germany, now visiting us in Washington, that the workers' unemployment insurance and sick benefits together exceed their wages. So, everybody in Germany is tempted to be unemployed and sick at the same time. So it will be with us when we complete our European socialization.

There is one possible restraint. The people may not continue to depend on a system of misappropriating the funds collected and an immoral political scheme that promises without limitation to pay for unemployment and sickness that can be turned into a vacation.

Until these funds are administered as savings banks and insurance companies administer the funds entrusted to them—by investing them instead of spending them—not only my troubled constituent but every American worker should be worried. The fantastic fiction that these trustees have 21,000,000,000 in assets to provide social security when they have nothing but a worsening taxing power must bring misery to many old people in the near future. That's what inflation does.

So, the evils of that false god socialism accumulate even in America.

[Paul Revere Messages, including Bi-Weekly News Letter defending freedom and the Constitution, distributed by Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y., release No. 76, October 20, 1949]

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ILLUSION

(By Ralph W. Gwinn)

The administration's social-security bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, provides social security in name only. Under it, the Administration does not save the money for security. It spends every dime of the money collected for social security and buys votes with some of it. It increases taxes on the 35,000,000 workers who have been paying for their security for years. And it adds 11,000,000 more workers to the tax rolls. As before, the workers will be paid in future promises, worth little more than the volkswagen promised by Hitler.

The taxes on the 35,000,000 workers and their employers, to date, have already provided the New Deal and the Fair Deal with \$23,000,000,000. This \$23,000,000,000, which was over and above all income, excess, death, and corporate taxes the Government collected, was spent as quickly as it was received.

The elaborate Rube Goldberg machinery of Federal social security is designed to hide the fact that when the Government spends the taxpayer's savings, his only old-age security is in the form of a promise to collect future taxes to pay him. All that the 46,000,000 workers have as social-security savings are Government IOU's for which nothing has been produced. The security taxes collected by Government are used to buy eggs or potatoes that spoil or to pay other subsidies or social experiments that mean more votes for the party in power. The only way these IOU's can be redeemed, to raise the money to pay social security, is to levy new taxes in the future.

Future administrations and Congresses may refuse to levy such taxes. History shows that governments are likely to be indifferent toward debts that provide few benefits for the voters affected at the time. Then, too, the future dollar is not likely to be worth anything like as much as it is today. The first "social security" tax dollars of 13 years ago are now worth only about 50 cents in terms of their purchasing power at the time of collection.

The Fair Deal now wants more money to spend and spend and elect and elect. The Government can't collect any higher taxes from the rich, the corporations, and the farmers. So it has turned to the workers who always pay a majority of all taxes, to enact even more taxes. The workers are fooled by calling these taxes "social security."

The Government's take is now running to more than \$2,000,000,000 annually, of the workers' hard-earned cash. Thus, the administration gets more revenue without the public protest that would be raised against an outright boosting of income taxes by another \$2,000,000,000. Taxing low-income workers, and wasting the proceeds while calling it social security, is damnable.

The obligations to the workers will double in 5 years. In 40 years, they will have increased by about \$80,000,000,000—\$80,000,000,000 which will all be gone, spent by the politicians in power. There will be no actual savings, no accumulated earnings on which the aged and disabled workers can rely for their pensions. The only hope they can have under this law is the possibility that future taxpayers will make good the embezzlement of their hard-earned savings. Stalin never had a greater stranglehold on the earnings of Russian workers.

On September 1, Senator Harry Byrd said: "We are rapidly approaching a financial crisis in the fiscal affairs of our Government. When Congress convenes next January it will be in the fateful position of determining whether: (1) To retrench drastically; (2) to impose staggering new taxes; (3) to embrace deficit spending again. * * * The solvency of our Government can be preserved only by the mobilization of public sentiment."

Americans will bitterly regret the day when they gave our Socialist administration this chance to plunder our workers' savings.

DECEMBER 7, 1949.

Miss HELEN P. LASELL,
33-27 Eightieth Street, Jackson Heights, N. Y.

DEAR MISS LASELL: Thank you for your letter of December 6. The enclosed leaflet tells about the Economic Council.

The council is one of the oldest organizations to champion private enterprise, and to defend private property and the preserving of individual initiative. It was formed after a New York State legislative investigation from 1926 to 1929 which confirmed the fears of some of us that Government was even then encroaching too much on the liberty of the individual and threatening to despoil him by taxation.

We are a nonprofit organization, supported by some thousands of Americans in practically all the States of the Union. Our publications, incidentally, go to people in some 15 foreign countries. They are frequently quoted in Congress, or are introduced bodily into the Congressional Record.

You will find that all Senators and Representatives who are for the preservation of America are for us, while, on the other hand, those who are willing to give America away are against us.

Each year I go to Europe trying to learn what is going on, and upon my return I prepare a memorandum on my trip. I was over this year for several weeks visiting half a dozen different countries, and if you would care to see the memorandum I made on it I will be glad to send it to you.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

W. TIP DAVIS,
P. O. Box, 2495, Honolulu, Hawaii, December 7, 1949.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have in the past here made several financial advances to your organization to help in your work. I would be interested in knowing as quickly as possible whether such donations are deductible from my tax return.

Thanking you for a prompt reply.

Very truly,

W. TIP DAVIS.

DECEMBER 9, 1949.

Mr. W. TIP DAVIS,
Postoffice Box 2495, Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: In answer to your inquiry, contributions to the council are not deductible before taxes.

However, if in the future you wish to make gift subscriptions to educational institutions such as churches, colleges, and libraries, money so given is deductible before taxes. The names for gift subscriptions may be supplied by you or if you prefer the council is glad to submit a list of such institutions.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 10, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Replying to your letter of December 3. Politically speaking, literally there is nothing for all patriotic groups to do, so important as organizing themselves into an army of volunteers at the election district level. Our enemies are already in possession of the election districts. They are the Socialist forces, with captains of 10 and auxiliary forces including their wives.

They have won so far by sheer default of our forces who believe in, but have not started to fight for, individual liberty under strict constitutional limitations of the powers of government, of mere men over other men.

These Socialist forces, now commanding the field, follow the pattern common in Europe, especially England. We find the astounding fact that an organized group of no more than 5 percent of party workers and voters can and do rule over whole nations. Such a group rules in England. It did rule in Germany. Less than that percentage rules in Russia today.

The same 5 percent force is organized in America. It finds it easy after a very few years to take us over, because Republicans for the most part will vote traditionally. So will Democrats. By organizing a solid bloc of 5 to 6 percent, in between, they find that they, too, control the outcome of our congressional elections in strategic districts. The workers in closed-shop unions are often compelled by their labor bosses to vote for the party the labor bosses designate, under threat of losing their jobs at the factory, or their apartments in political housing, or some other privilege.

In that way, by controlling 5 percent of the votes in 1948, they elected 100 Socialist members to the House of Representatives. Think of it! The outcome in 100 congressional districts was determined by not more than 5 percent of the voters.

And in most of them the percentage was much less. In some districts it was by a fraction of 1 percent which these organized forces controlled the results.

A similar force for the right can, of course, win. It's a better fight for the right than for exploitation and robbery. And it is so necessary because this 5 percent vote the way they are organized to vote, and control or influence the action of their Representatives in Congress after election.

Your forces must become election district leaders. Where that is not practical, they must be lieutenants in the district. They must influence the selection of the candidates in the first place, and after electing them, support them by a permanent organization on that is articulate.

Gradually the infiltration of good men and women for the right will take over the regular party machinery and thus replace the Socialist infiltration that has already succeeded 80 percent in the Democratic Party and 20 percent in the Republican Party. This is measured accurately by the vote in the House of Representatives on Socialist legislation, such as political or socialized housing.

When the constitutional limits of Government were first written, only property owners voted. Today every property owner must not only get himself out to vote, but he must persuade at least one person who is not a property owner to vote for the right.

I am sending you a little pamphlet called, Call for Action Now, which outlines the practical procedures necessary to the work. It is most reassuring to see you helping to organize the counterattack. We can win if we will. Surely we will.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. GWINN.

RALPH W. GWINN,
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.

I tried to set this out early in my congressional duties to Mr. "Blank."

R. W. G.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 9, 1945.

Mr. JAMES BLANK,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR MR. BLANK: Thank you for Victory for Freedom, sent to all Congressmen last month. It is splendid. But, like other thousands of pages we receive on freedom, and the need to defend individual rights against the encroachments of Government, it falls far short of securing volunteer sound workers for office and in the party to organize the voters to support them. Writing and speaking on the theory of freedom is fine, but what we need is determination on the part of industry and commerce to do something practical about it.

One thing is certain—freedom will not be won in Washington. It is being lost here because it has been lost, first of all, in the grass roots—via the election districts—in places where there is organization against it, but no adequate

organization of the voters for it. That's what a political party is for. People vote the way they are organized to vote. Since the political party for freedom is especially weak in those very districts where the industrial plants are located, responsibility is primarily on the industrial group for political conditions being what they are. Congressmen and their votes in Congress reflect exactly the conditions of the weak political district organizations back home in these industrial congressional districts.

Without the leadership in party politics of men in industry, the line of defense is thin, indeed. The party wheel horses, with political jobs, you depend on to go all out to organize the voters to support freedom. They can't do it alone. They must have help. You can help to make it "the thing" for American leaders to give part time to politics, which is the first duty of citizenship, and see to it that the same technique used in organizing industry, the Red Cross, community chest, civilian defense, world peace, etc., shall be used in practical party politics, the only practical force for freedom.

Surely we cannot win freedom without recruiting workers capable of organizing the party workers and a majority of the voters in the districts any more than we can win a war without recruiting an army of fit officers and men. There is no adequate source of the necessary leaders outside of organizations such as yours. This is especially true in the industrial fringes that lie between the country areas and the big cities. Gary and Hammond, Ind., will illustrate. There are other areas, such as the congressional district surrounding Lima, Ohio. There, under the leadership of John E. Galvin, president of the Ohio Steel Foundry, leaders have actually done what is suggested should be done in all areas.

Freedom is so precious to this group they will organize if they understand the need and the means by which our free institutions may be maintained—that is, they will become committeemen or district leaders. If there are no vacancies, they will become ordinary workers or aides to committeemen.

This summer the primary elections for committeemen will take place in many States. There will be tens of thousands of vacancies to be filled. Such workers as above described will be elected as soon as they make themselves known as willing workers. It all depends on volunteers. There is no inviting group. Freedom won on volunteers with ideas and willingness to work in the district for them.

Finally, this work to be done can't be bought from professionals like legal advice or publicity or engineering service. It's got to be given by many men, as soldiers give. It's that kind of a fight; nor can our industrial leadership continue to remain aloof, being friendly to both sides and taking no side, even for the right, in practical politics. It may hurt business for some to go to work in politics, but they will be hurt worse if they do not. Of course, the corporations, as such, can't enter politics, but the individual must.

Our Government is you. It reflects exactly your own work and attitude and those who are most vitally concerned, but up until now have left politics to whomsoever would take hold of the machinery and work it. Those who volunteer to take over our political machinery govern us.

And only those whose faith is strong volunteer in politics to make good their faith.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) RALPH W. GWINN.

18 WEST EIGHTY-NINTH STREET, APARTMENT NO. 5,
New York City 24, N. Y., December 12, 1949.

DEAR AMERICAN PATRIOT: Have a hunch that the contents of this letter will startle you.

Senator William Langer sent me a letter requesting that I give him my ideas on whether or not our Government should recognize the Red regime in China. My answer is:

A civil war has been going on in my mind these last few months—trying to decide what would be best for my own U. S. A. in regard to our attitude toward the Communist regime in China.

I have decided that since I have always believed that our U. S. A. should mind its own business—not meddle in foreign disputes, wars, etc.—remain neutral at all times—we should recognize the regime in control in any nation. This goes for Spain as well as for China.

If we send an Ambassador to China and fail to send one to Spain it will make no sense whatsoever.

I detest the Communists and I have no love for Franco's dictatorship, but as long as they leave my U. S. A. alone I do not care what they do.

If we do not recognize the Red regime in China then we should sever diplomatic relations with Red Russia and all the other Red regimes.

Since I am against the squandering of our money and natural resources on any foreign land I will fight against any attempt to supply China or Spain with U. S. A. funds etc.

Sincerely,

OPAL ESSANT.

P. S.—Mr. Hart, you and I were on opposite sides on the Greek-Turkey loan (gift). I do hope this will not be true ever again.

I know this Chinese issue is going to split the ranks of our American nationalists, but perhaps it will also split the ranks of the rabid internationalists.

DECEMBER 13, 1940.

Miss OPAL ESSANT,

13 West Eighty-eighth Street, Apartment 5, New York.

DEAR MISS ESSANT: Thank you for your letter of December 12.

I do not think we should recognize the Government of China. To do so is to register an acquiescence in the greatest failure of American foreign policy that ever took place. We went to war with Japan in order to protect the "open door" in China, and after losing tens of thousands of our men and spending vastly of our treasure we were completely defeated. We have enthroned Communist Russia in China.

The Spanish situation is totally different. I should think you would be impressed by the fact that an increasing number of Congressmen, both Democratic and Republican, have returned from Spain satisfied that every vital American interest demands that we reestablish close relations with Spain.

I can tell you truthfully that if you were living in Spain you would not know that it was a dictatorship. Even if you were a Communist, while you would be watched, you would not be molested unless you started something. Tens of thousands of men and women who took up arms against the Franco Government in the civil war, have long been walking the streets of Spain free people, and going about their affairs.

You must not believe all the tripe that the left-wingers of this country publish about Spain.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

DECEMBER 13, 1940.

Memo to: Mr. Palmer.

From: Mr. Hart.

I enclose herewith memorandum of suggestions of things from among which you may select what you want to say as occasion arises for you to speak of the National Economic Council.

Please note the attached leaflet, describing the work of the National Economic Council, listing officers, directors, etc.

Its directors as well as its membership are a cross section of American life. It does not represent big business—in fact, very few big businesses support it. It is essentially a middle-class movement.

Council publications go to subscribers in practically all States of the Union, and they are read eagerly by many Members of Congress. When Congress recessed last summer, more than 40 percent of the Members of both Houses sent the council mailing instructions for their copies while they were to be at their homes.

The council publications are read eagerly by many men in England, and other countries of Europe.

For nearly 20 years the National Economic Council has been opposing socialism and communism. Many years ago it predicted some of the very developments that have taken place in this country, and pointed out the danger. If warnings of the council had been heeded, there would be very little of either socialism or communism in the United States today.

The National Economic Council points out constantly what individual citizens can do to prevent the extension of socialism in the United States.

The National Economic Council is constantly increasing the scope of its work. It aims to become big enough to stop the whole Socialist program in the United States. In my opinion, the methods that it employs are such as to expose the fallacies of socialism and help American citizens to return to the sound paths of respect for private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative.

EDWARDS AND ANGELL,
COUNSELLORS AT LAW,

15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, R. I., December 14, 1949.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
Suite 7501-3, Empire State Building,
New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MERWIN: Thank you very much for your letter of December 13 with the additional copies of your excellent council letter of November 15.

The Buckley Committee to which I referred was the little committee which was appointed at your meeting at the University Club in New York the early part of October, consisting of William F. Buckley, head of the Pantepec Oil Co., General Disque, George Peck, and myself. The purpose of the committee was to work on a coalition between the southern Democrats and the northern Republicans.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. DRESSER.

Personal

DECEMBER 21, 1949.

Lt. Gen. P. A. DEL VALLE,
International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. Sud America,
Balcarce 220, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

DEAR GENERAL: Your letter of September 10 was received and has been carefully considered. I read portions of it yesterday at a meeting of the executive committee of the National Economic Council.

We understand entirely the situation in which you are, and we certainly would not wish to urge you to take any step that would be unfair in the slightest degree to Colonel Behn. But our executive committee were greatly pleased that you were willing to be a vice president of the organization, and I wish to report that at yesterday's meeting you were elected a member of the board of directors and a vice president of the council.

In the last few days former Congressman Howard Buffett, of Omaha, who represented the First Nebraska in Congress from 1943 to 1949, has been in New York at our invitation, and he, John T. Flynn, and I have held several talks.

We had thought that possibly Congressman Buffett, who is young and vigorous, might be willing to accept the executive vice chairmanship of a committee (whether it is to be a committee of the National Economic Council, or a new and separate committee) to set up district organizations in a number of the congressional districts of the country.

Mr. Buffett, however, on the second day of his stay here, told us that he had decided that he does not have the necessary organizing ability. But he said that after several days' reflection he was ready to recommend a man with whom he had been intimately acquainted for many years. This man is Rev. Elwood A. Rowsey, who for many years has been pastor of the Dundee Presbyterian Church at Omaha and who is retiring from the ministry.

Buffett says that he (Rowsey) thinks in all ways exactly as we all do—that he desires to devote his services to the country, that he is a very able public speaker, a natural-born salesman, and a good businessman. It seems that his church was carrying a mortgage which he set out to pay for within 15 years and that he had succeeded in paying it off in 8 years.

We have accordingly arranged for Dr. Rowsey to come to New York on January 2 or 3 for a conference. And, if he should seem to be the person to take on, we will probably take him on.

Now, there are two sides to the question of this new organization—whether it should be done under the auspices of the National Economic Council or by a separate committee to be set up.

The disadvantage of having the council do so is that the council has been bitterly attacked by the Walter Winchells and others, and this has scared some people. On the other hand, such men as Senator Hawkes have strongly urged that we should not set up another organization but should work through existing organizations. Furthermore, while the National Economic Council has enemies among the Zionists and those who are cowed by the Zionists, yet of course we have a host of friends. We were able in the fiscal year ending May 31, 1940, to raise about \$140,000 as compared to about \$85,000 in the previous 12 months. We could not have done this without a lot of friends.

It would be easier for the council to go out and raise additional money for this additional work than it would be to set up a new organization, find the necessary treasurer and other officers, secure quarters, etc. For the council, it would be just one more extension of its activity. I suspect that you will be inclined to agree that this is the thing to do in light of your statements, with which I agree, that there is no time to set up fresh organizations. However, we would be glad to have your frank comment on the whole picture.

You speak of Catharine Curtis and Conde McGinley. They are both good, each in their several ways. I feel sure that we will have their loyal support, although Catharine Curtis is very loath to mix up with other organizations. I have known her for at least 15 years and admire her courage and efficiency. However, when we called that meeting for October 4 and 5, she declined to let Mike Ahearn come, feeling that she did not want to get mixed up with other groups.

We have aided both Catharine Curtis and Conde McGinley financially in a modest way, so that you can see we have confidence in what they doing.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

POST OFFICE BOX D-4, ST. LOUIS 1, MO., December 31, 1949.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: I have just read your article entitled "Is Christianity To Die?" in your current bulletin. It is one of the most magnificent, well written, and logical articles that I have ever read. If there is ever any question in your mind as to what the Christian Nationalist Crusade stands for, always remember that it is summed up in your article. Until we face the truth contained in this article we cannot solve America's problems.

This, the beginning of the new year, I send you warmest personal greetings. I say, God bless you and your courageous soul. You have stood like a Gibraltar down through these years of persecution, reprisal, tyranny, and bureaucracy. We have reached the time when every Christian American will have to stand up and be counted and will be compelled to make a decision as to whether he shall be ruled by the elected officials of a republic or the manipulated officials of a puppet state, subject to the political pressure of Jew Zionism.

Mrs. Smith joins me in extending personal regards to you and your dear family. It must be a source of great pride to you to have a son who stands so firmly at your side upholding your hands.

Sincerely yours,

GERALD L. K. SMITH.

JANUARY 3, 1950.

MR. GERALD L. K. SMITH,
Box D-4, St. Louis 1, Mo.

DEAR MR. SMITH: I certainly thank you for your very friendly letter of December 31, and am delighted that you liked our council letter of December 15.

Let me compliment you, too, on the untiring courage you have shown in fighting for what you believe to be right.

If Mrs. Hart were here, she would join me in sending you and Mrs. Smith and your family our warm personal regards and best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 17, 1950.

DEAR GRIFF: Herewith is mimeographed statement made by me today to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in opposition to S. 2246 to establish a new agency for guaranteeing loans to cooperatives to establish housing for middle-income persons.

I also enclose a statement presented orally to the committee at the conclusion of my prepared statement.

In addition, I reminded the committee that President Pierce, in vetoing an act to make Federal funds available for the support of the indigent insane in the States, remarked that he found nothing in the Constitution making the Federal Government the great almoner of all the people in the United States, and pointed out that, with such a start, support soon would be demanded for all indigent, whether they were insane or not.

Further, I told the committee orally that Congress refused an appropriation for relief of the Galveston flood sufferers in 1901, because it would benefit a group or class only, and not all the people of the Nation.

I got respectful, but silent, attention; and, when finished, Senator Sparkman, of Alabama, presiding, said there were a few questions he'd like to ask, but time was short and near lunch hour. He gave no other member a chance to ask a single question.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

MEMORANDUM FILED BY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC., EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK 1, ON THE COMMITTEE PRINT DATED JANUARY 17, 1950, BEING A REVISION OF H. R. 5015 INTRODUCED JULY 12, 1949, BY MR. KEE

The committee print upon which a hearing was held by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Tuesday, January 17, 1950, is an improvement on H. R. 5015.

But for the following reasons we believe that the bill, in its new and present form, should not be passed.

1. So much machinery is involved in spending that part of the point 4 funds, which is to be taken care of by the United Nations and by one or more of its specialized agencies, that very little money will be left to be spent on the technical assistance and other benefits it is hoped to bring to the backward countries.

Can't we get out of our heads that every time we wish to transact some business with another nation or its people, we have to drag in a lot of other nations that will contribute little or nothing? Can't we keep our aid to other nations simple, rather than make it complex?

2. The bill sets up new spending machinery—machinery that at great cost will make just so much greater demands upon the American taxpayer. The American taxpayer is today confronted with a greater budget than apparently can be raised by taxation. To add to this budget is to pave the way for future disaster.

We believe that this measure should be amended by elimination of the vague provisions contained in this committee print, and provide merely for the making of bilateral agreements between the United States and each of such countries as it seems advisable and practical to assist with technical and other assistance and by the investment of money. The American Government should retain control of the spending of the money of its own taxpayers.

The simplest possible machinery is all that the American people can afford to pay for. And the American people will pay a substantial part of the whole cost—whatever pious provisions are inserted to the effect that other countries should pay their share. Or, if other countries pay their share, it will in most cases be out of grants or loans made by the United States to those countries.

In the past the Congress has repeatedly set up new spending machinery with respect to this or that project; and by the same kind of vague provisions as in this pending measure has turned over huge authority to national or international agencies, after which the United States has had little control over the spending of her own money.

Much is said about the world responsibilities of the United States. We believe that much of this talk is inspired by international socialism.

The first responsibility of the Congress of the United States is to render assistance to her own citizens by maintaining the solvency of the United States. We believe there is merit in some of the proposals for technical assistance. But, at

least at first, they should be on a modest scale and with the simplest possible machinery.

The American people are not rich or strong enough in resources for it to be done any other way.

MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Building,
New York (1).*

WINN PARISH LIBRARY,
Winnfield, La., January 11, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HART: We have received your letter of November 3 in which you stated that a public-spirited citizen who is familiar with the work of the National Economic Council had subscribed to the publications of the council to be sent to our library for 1 year commencing immediately.

Although we have not as yet begun to receive the publications, we appreciate the generosity of the donor and, unless it is his expressed wish to remain unknown, we would like to know the name so that we can express our appreciation.

We hope that the publication will begin to arrive at an early date.

Sincerely yours,

RUDIE M. HANKS.

JANUARY 18, 1950.

Mrs. RUDIE M. HANKS,
*Librarian, Winn Parish Library,
Winnfield, La.*

DEAR Mrs. HANKS: In answer to your letter of January 11 saying that you have not received our publications although you were informed November 3 that you would, we are writing to our mailing office to correct this error at once.

Enclosed are copies of our publications, starting with the November 1 issues. The man who is making possible your subscription to the council publications is Mr. Lamot du Pont, of Wilmington, Del.

At a later date if you care to write and let us know how useful our material is to you, we shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, January 24, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
*President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR Mr. HART: This is to acknowledge your letter of January 20, enclosing a statement of the National Economic Council, Inc., to be included in the record of the printed hearings on the point 4 legislation.

It will be a pleasure to have this statement included in the record when the hearings are printed on this measure.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN KEE, *Chairman.*

JANUARY 26, 1950.

Hon. JOHN KEE,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR Mr. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of January 24, acknowledging statement by the National Economic Council to be inserted in the printed hearings on the point 4 legislation.

May I ask that a copy of the volume containing this statement be sent us when it is printed?

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

806 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., January 30, 1950.

Personal.

DEAR MR. HART: A friend of mine today saw a memorandum of the Buchanan Lobby Committee's report on an executive session it recently held, and, in substance, it contained the following:

A finding that the National Economic Council, Inc., is not, itself, registered as a lobbyist, although it has had and received \$50,000 from the du Pont interests during the past few years; and that it seems to be out engaged in politics in an attempt to elect to Congress people suitable to it from about 150 congressional districts.

The intimation, also, is that the committee believes the Council is somewhat subversive in character.

The document, if correctly reported to me (and I have not the slightest doubt about the accuracy of the report), is strictly in line with (1) the material I sent you a few days ago from the UAW-CIO ammunition publication for January 1950, and (2) the utterances of Winchell on the radio last evening, concerning which I reported to you in a separate communication.

And it confirms my suggestion to you that the Buchanan Lobby Investigating Committee will be run, directed, and bossed by the CIO and commentators and columnists of the stripe which the CIO approves.

Undoubtedly, Winchell, Drew Pearson, Robert Allen (mentioned in the UAW-CIO publication), and others of their kidney, have had, and will continue to get, advance information and data from the files of the Lobby Committee.

I think, by all means, that set-up should be very carefully exposed if and when representatives of the council are called before the Buchanan committee; and the charge should be made that the CIO and kindred spirits are running the investigation.

This for whatever it may be worth.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BANCER.

FEBRUARY 1, 1950.

HON. ROBERT S. KERR,

Chairman, Subcommittee of Senate Finance Committee,

Considering Bill To Extend Social Security Coverage and Benefits,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In keeping with your permission I am furnishing this letter concerning investments of the trust funds of the Government, to supplement my prepared statement and oral testimony of yesterday in respect of pending legislation designed to extend social-security coverage and benefits.

There are several trust funds established by law on which the Government is crediting and paying large sums as earnings or interest from alleged investments of the funds in Federal securities, the ones with which your subcommittee is primarily concerned being the Federal old-age and survivors' insurance trust fund and the unemployment trust fund.

As to the former trust fund, the Social Security Act provides that "there is created on the books of the Treasury a trust fund to be known as the Federal old-age and survivors' insurance trust fund," which, under the act, is to be managed by a board of trustees.

As to the latter trust fund, the Social Security Act provides "there is established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund to be known as the unemployment trust fund," for the management of which no board of trustees appears to have been provided.

Both trust funds are authorized to be invested in securities of the United States to the extent to which they are not needed for payments to beneficiaries named in the act, and interest or earnings from such investments are to be credited to the respective funds.

I am told that the Treasury Department and the General Accounting Office will disclose that, at least as to the unemployment trust fund created with taxes collected in the States from employers of labor, has never been established as a trust fund in the Treasury, as required, but that the fund has been, and is being, handled as a special-deposit account.

Inquiry of the agencies mentioned will also disclose that, if the funds were established and handled as true trust funds, warrants covering expenditures and investments therefrom would have to be countersigned by the Comptroller General, which is not required in the case of withdrawals from special-deposit accounts. Such investments of the funds are, therefore, without supervision by the Comptroller General. The writer is informed and believes that, as far back as 1937, the Treasury Department was requested to establish the unemployment trust fund as a true trust fund, but it never did so, and no report of the failure was made to the Congress.

The view that these funds are not, in fact, treated and handled as true trust funds, but are really handled without regard to specific and plain provisions of law, finds support in the following language found at page M47 of the 1951 budget message:

"Trust accounts.—Under the old-age and survivors insurance, railroad retirement, and Federal employee retirement programs, benefit disbursements are made from the trust funds and are not included in budget expenditures. On the receipts side, the payroll contributions for old-age and survivors insurance are transferred directly to the trust fund and not included in total budget receipts. Receipts and payments under the proposed health-insurance plan would also be handled in this manner. Railroad-retirement taxes, on the other hand, are included in total budget receipts and are transferred to the trust account as a budget expenditure. The Government contribution to its employee-retirement funds is, of course, a budget expenditure (classified under general Government)."

The undersigned is informed and believes that no real investment of the trust funds are ever made but that, instead, those charged with handling the investments merely prepare memorandums reciting and purporting to show that, on given dates, certain parts of the funds have been or are invested in specified Federal securities; and that thereafter credits are made of interest or earnings to the respective funds in keeping with such memorandums. In other words, it is my information and belief that the memorandums purporting to show investments are nothing more than I O U's of the Government, in the nature of an unexecuted broker's order against which named securities are never issued to the purported purchaser. My sincere belief is that the alleged investments of the trust funds in Government securities are mere paper transactions, and that securities are not, in fact, issued to the funds purportedly used in making the investments.

At page M48 of the 1951 budget message there is found this statement:

"The money in these trust funds is invested in Government securities, and the interest earned is added to the principal of each trust fund. Accumulated assets now total \$18,000,000,000."

The Social Security Act merely authorizes the crediting of interest or earnings to the respective funds, and no provision is made for reinvestment of earnings credited. Generally speaking, interest on interest, or compound interest, is not payable in the absence of clear and specific provision or law or contract for reinvestment and payment of such interest. The writer is informed, however, that the Government is reinvesting interest credited to the trust funds and is, in effect, paying compound interest thereon.

At page M88 of the 1951 budget message, under the heading "Interest on the public debt," this statement is found:

"Apart from this nonrecurring item, total interest payments will continue to rise in the fiscal year 1951. Each year more of the savings bonds sold during the war reach the stage where interest accrues at higher rates. Moreover, continuing accumulation of Government trust funds will cause further increases in special issues to such funds of obligations bearing rates of interest higher than the average on the entire public debt. Finally, the budget deficits this year and next will add to the total volume of interest-bearing debt. * * *

"Interest payments on the Federal debt are widely distributed, and represent a particularly important source of income to certain institutions and groups. Almost \$2,000,000,000 of interest in the fiscal year 1951 is expected to go to individuals and unincorporated businesses. * * * Another \$1,000,000,000 will go to Government retirement funds, social-security funds, and various other Gov-

ernment trust funds to build up reserves out of which future benefits will be paid. * * *

It is thus seen that the so-called trust funds are being handled in a questionable way and manner; that they are operating greatly to increase not only the public debt, but also to increase at an alarming rate the rapidly growing interest on that debt.

Seemingly, while Congress makes no direct contribution in the form of appropriations to the trust funds, those funds are being augmented and supplemented through interest or earnings credited to them at the ultimate expense of the taxpayers, and to the enlargement of interest on the public debt.

It is the writer's sincere belief that, if this or some other committee of Congress will investigate the way and manner in which the so-called trust funds have been, and are being, handled, including their investments in Federal securities, some very startling facts will be developed that will lend strong support for the views I have expressed to your subcommittee.

I shall esteem it a favor if you will see that this letter is inserted in the record of your hearings in connection with, and as part of, my prepared statement and oral testimony.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. GRIFFITH,
Vice President, National Economic Council, Inc., New York, N. Y.
By HARRY S. BARGE,
606 National Union Building, Washington, D. C.

310 EAST FOURTH STREET, HINSDALE, ILL.,
February 7, 1950.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I am on the mailing list for your Economic Council Letters as well as for considerable other literature from various organizations who are attempting to combat the menacing trend toward socialism. I am in favor of such efforts and contribute to them. Also I am interested in the subject matter as a means of keeping posted on developments and getting the benefit of the thoughts of others.

However, as far as making any converts goes, your distribution to people like myself is wasted. It is my belief that in the case of the older man convictions and philosophies have pretty much crystallized, with the result people are inclined to read such material as favors their own viewpoint and to pay scant attention to anything else. I realize that there is value in this dissemination of information nevertheless.

However, it seems to me that both the opportunity and the need are much greater in the case of younger men, say from 18 to 25 or 30. The opportunity is greater, I think, because those men at the younger end of the bracket are still in the formative stage and those at the upper end are perhaps not too set. These are the fellows who are going to have much more to do with determining our country's future than those of middle age or beyond.

Then I say the need for your type of reading matter is greater with the younger men because they have been exposed to doctrines of an opposite nature and very little else. Some of the political and economic theories handed out by college professors and other teachers are really appalling.

This all leads me to believe that a significant part of your distribution of informational material should reach college students and other high school graduates up through the first several years of their vocational activity. May I ask what you may be doing along those lines or what you may have in prospect?

Trusting that you will accept my remarks in the cordial spirit given, I am

Very truly yours,

G. M. JACKSON.

Mr. GEORGE M. JACKSON,
310 East Fourth St., Hinsdale, Ill.

FEBRUARY 9, 1950.

DEAR MR. JACKSON: In answer to your letter of February 7, I agree with you that it is important to reach men and women between the ages of 18 and 30 with as much information as possible. We have many subscribers who are interested in exactly this situation; therefore, many of them subscribe for friends and relatives who are students in schools and colleges.

Many of our friends also make gift subscriptions to churches, colleges, and libraries so that our publications may be made available to a large reading public.

Enclosed are copies of one or two letters indicating the use to which they are put in these institutions.

At present Mr. Cecil Palmer of London is touring the country, speaking under the auspices of the council. In order to insure his speaking before as many student groups as possible we raised money for a special fund for this purpose. Schools are usually unable to pay the \$500 fee we must ask for Mr. Palmer's services and this fund is being used to make up the difference.

Also enclosed is a letter from one of these groups. We feel that it is vital for Mr. Palmer to get his important message to the youth of the country.

The above are some of the ways through which we are trying to reach the young men and women. If you have any other suggestions we would be glad to hear from you. If you are connected with some group who would like to have Mr. Palmer speak for them we will be glad to try and arrange it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

FEBRUARY 11, 1947.

Mr. ROBERT R. YOUNG,
The Towers, 548 North Country Road,
Palm Beach, Fla.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: For some time past certain of the libraries and educational institutions of the country have taken our Economic Council publications. We have been studying methods of extending the distribution of this material to all such institutions throughout the country.

A couple of weeks ago we received an order from a friend of ours in the Middle West for 800 sets of our publications at \$10 per set, to be sent to 800 public libraries, colleges, and universities in three or four certain Middle Western States. With the order came the assurance that he had obtained from his legal counsel an opinion to the effect that a contribution of printed matter (or anything else, for that matter) given by him to such institutions could be deducted before taxes. He specified that the material should each time go addressed to, say, the "Public Library of Ann Arbor, Mich., attention John Doe, Librarian."

We have had the matter up with our legal counsel, Mr. Mason H. Bigelow of Gould & Wilkie, 1 Wall Street, New York, who unhesitatingly confirmed this opinion, following it up with a written opinion of which the enclosed is a photostat copy.

This opens up a new and substantial field for the council, for in the United States there are about a thousand colleges and universities, some seven or eight thousand libraries, and perhaps sixty or seventy thousand Protestant Churches. We hope to organize in such a way that these publications will, within a fairly short time, be going to every one of these educational and religious organizations. For the deductibility privilege applies whether the material goes to an educational or a religious organization.

Incidentally, as examples of the satisfaction of various of the libraries and colleges now receiving this matter under the order of our midwestern friend, I am enclosing copies of two recent letters.

We are having lists prepared of all of the colleges, universities and public libraries, and the Protestant Churches in the United States. Satisfying the wishes of any donor, we can arrange for the material which he may order to go to whatever section of the country he may specify. We could, of course, be prepared to submit lists of names for his consideration, and copy of the list—with whatever additions or subtractions the donor cares to make—can be sent us with the order.

I write hoping that this matter will commend itself to you, and that you will feel you can personally send us an order for a quantity of our publications to be sent to certain libraries, colleges, and religious corporations.

I am enclosing form of letter we are sending to each beneficiary of those who are subscribing to our publications for some of these educational and religious corporations.

Check should be made payable to National Economic Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

FEBRUARY 7, 1950.

Mr. C. LEE DOWNEY,*President, The C. L. Downey Co.,
Ninth and Colfax Avenue, Hannibal, Mo.*

DEAR MR. DOWNEY: In answer to your inquiry as to the consolidation of organizations working along anti-Communist lines, it is the sense of the National Economic Council that instead of there being too many organizations like ours, there are far too few.

We have had many similar inquiries and our President, Mr. Hart, is strongly of this opinion. One reason for this is that each organization emphasizes a different aspect of the fight to preserve the American way of life.

The council makes more congressional appearances than any other organization as far as we know. If all groups were consolidated under one head, it might mean one congressional appearance to try to defeat a vicious bill. This way there may be three or four "on our side" appearing.

The committee for constitutional Government does a very fine piece of work but they will not touch the issues of foreign policy.

The National Economic Council takes a stronger line than most other groups. We therefore receive probably more smears than any others.

Enclosed is an extra copy of Council Letter No. 231, United World Federalists. This letter was published because of many requests from individuals and organizations who are fighting the world-government movement. Very little is known or has been written about this. The UWF has made tremendous headway in this section of the country. We are hard pressed to supply literature and speakers to help fight this group.

The National Association of Manufacturers is doing some very fine educational work. However, they are composed of heads of large industries, many of whom are easily intimidated. They therefore do not dare touch any very controversial issues or, if they do so, they do it with kid gloves. The National Economic Council never pulls any punches and is definitely not intimidated.

I hope that I have clarified for you somewhat the position which we have come to believe is the right one to take.

We have been complimented lately by subscribers and supporters who have read some of the recent attacks on the council and its president. They have remarked that one does not kick a dead horse, and that a man is known by the enemies he makes. If anything, smears consolidate our friends.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., February 9, 1950.

Subject: My appearance today before the Senate subcommittee re ratification of the Genocide Pact.

DEAR MR. HART: Everything was decidedly agreeable and pleasant, with expected differences of opinion discussed. I read every word of your statement and did my best to answer all questions.

McMahon presided, with Lodge in attendance.

They asked me to tell you why they were not impressed with your parallel of the doings of King George III, because, as they construe the proposed pact, extradition and trial of citizens is not provided or contemplated except under treaties providing therefor. I suggested that extradition is not prohibited, but appears to be contemplated, if not promised.

I told them I was presenting your statement and views; and that I, too, share the opinion that the pact is dangerous.

I further suggested that, if the pact is ratified, citizens of one of our States might be tried in an international tribunal, rather than in an American court, by their peers and American officials, for lynchings in one of our States. McMahon suggested that my view was contrary to opinions they had from governmental attorneys, who interpret the pact as not applying to an isolated case of genocide, but only to a situation where the killings occurred where they spread to other States. I insisted that the language seemingly would apply to a single instance, such as the occurrence in Illinois years ago where a mob killed a large number of persons in race riots. The discussion ended there.

When I had finished reading your statement, I ventured the suggestion that neither the Senate by treaty, nor both the Senate and the House by general legis-

tion, could surrender any sovereign rights and powers of this Government, as the genocide pact appears to contemplate and provide, by treaty.

Senator Lodge asked if the treaty making it a crime to tap international cables does not surrender part of our sovereignty. I suggested that such a treaty relates more nearly to civil compacts than does the proposed genocide pact; and that, so far as I know, no court of the United States has ever held that a treaty running counter to our Constitution was valid as the supreme law of the land. He adhered, however, to his view that the cable treaties do surrender some of our sovereignty, and reiterated that the genocide pact does not surrender jurisdiction in this country to punish violations of it.

I was tempted a time or two to suggest that Senator Lodge's illustrious ancestor probably would not concur in his views at this time; but, he was so infernally pleasant and genial that I refrained.

No comment was made when I suggested that the Genocide Pact, the one-world government, the International Labor Organization, International Trade Organization, and all kindred propositions constituted a pattern for taking the United States far afield, and should be brought together and considered in the light of the whole pattern.

So everything was lovely, and the goose hangs high, though I doubt whether my appearance made any converts.

Anyway, I did my "level bestest."

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building,
Wilmington 98, Del., February 7, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Referring to your letter February 4, I am returning herewith one copy of the list of churches, public libraries, and universities to which my subscriptions will go. I have signed the copy.

Yours sincerely,

LAMMOT DU PONT.

FEBRUARY 9, 1950.

Mr. LAMMOT DU PONT,
Du Pont Building, Wilmington, Del.

DEAR MR. DU PONT: Thank you for returning the signed copy of the list of 500 institutions to which you are making gift subscriptions.

Enclosed are copies of two letters from recipients of gift subscriptions which I believe will interest you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1950.

DEAR MR. HART: Senate Joint Resolution 153 appears to have for its purpose authorization by the United States to the United Nations to establish a Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

This resolution was placed on the Senate Calendar on February 14, 1950.

It looks like United Nations is establishing work-relief agencies after the fashion of our old Roosevelt New Deal.

Ain't nature and internationalism grand? The first session, "Eighty-worst Congress" authorized \$16,000,000 for the relief of Palestine refugees, without either Democratic or Republican eyes batting a bat.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE,
St. Louis 1, Mo., February 20, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
National Economic Council,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: The enclosed letter speaks for itself. Inasmuch as this man is a very sincere person I would appreciate it if you would answer his letter personally or handle it in some special way. Upon handling it would you kindly return it to me.

Sincerely yours,

GERALD L. K. SMITH.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., February 27, 1950.

DEAR MR. HART: Today, I examined the quarterly lobby return of United Federalists, Inc., for the period ended December 31, 1949; and it showed all expenditures for that quarter as having been \$71,073.07, with contributions of only \$4,000.

Clifton Fadiman is shown as having contributed \$1,000 on November 11, 1949. The lobby report mentioned was signed with the name of Alan Cranston, printed in ink; and it was not sworn to until January 30, 1950, which was 20 days after the report was due to be filed.

The headquarters of United World Federalists, Inc., was given as 7 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

It was recently published that the lobby expenditures reported for the outfit for the first 9 months of 1949 was more than \$200,000. On the basis of \$71,073.07 for the last quarter, the annual expenses would have been \$284,150.08.

Thought you may be interested in this.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., March 7, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: Herewith is copy of H. R. 6519, by Representative John Rankin, of Mississippi, designed to prohibit membership in, or participation in the activities of, the Anti-Defamation League.

As you will see, the bill was referred to the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 14, 1949; and there is grave doubt that it will ever get to the floor of the House for debate.

As requested, I spoke to Mr. Rankin, in confidence, and he thinks it will be well for you or the council to write each member of the committee urging hearings on, and passage of the bill. Unable catch Judge Cox so far.

Here's hoping you will pardon my usual frankness and bluntness of expression, along with my assumption; but I feel impelled to offer the following:

It may be better if you can get a considerable number of your friends and friends of the council, including individuals and concerns, to write the House committee instead of you or the council doing so. I believe such a course would avoid the possibility, yea, probability, that it could be said that you and the council are asking the Congress to fight your battles with another private organization which has, without just cause, made an attack on you and the council.

So far, you clearly have the best of the battle with the Anti-Defamation League and its supporters; and it seems to me that renewed attacks are the best defense. So, I make bold to suggest renewed attacks to expose the league to public gaze for what it is.

Anyone desiring to write the House committee may, with absolute assurance, cite the following facts concerning the league and its activities, among others:

The league, financed with B'Nai B'Rith funds, has established, and maintains, a national network of officers and employees throughout the country, where records of, and files on, individuals are kept—individuals who have dared to voice opposition to Jews, Jewish organizations, and activities. There is no

room for doubt that those files have been, and are being, used as "lost American citizens in matters of business, politics, and the like.

In 1943-44 a House committee was appointed to, and it did, investigate and report on the activities of the Federal Communications Commission, including, among many other things, charges that American citizens had been run off the air and their jobs at foreign-language broadcast stations, and supplanted with alien refugees, in many instances by alien enemy refugees.

That committee was originally headed by Representative Eugene E. Cox, of Georgia, and later by Hon. Clarence Lea, of California. The writer was chief investigator for the committee throughout its existence, and, in the latter part of the period, I acted as chief counsel and cross-examined the FCC's many witnesses.

The following facts were established by that committee, as our mutual friend Eugene Garey can verify:

Officials and employees of the Office of War Information (including Alan Cranston, now head of United World Federalists, Inc.) and officials and employees of the Federal Communications Commission, conspired and worked together to, and they did, procure American citizens to be run off the air and out of their jobs with licensed foreign-language radio stations, and caused them to be, and they were, supplanted by alien refugees, often enemy alien refugees. Some of the aliens supplanting Americans at such stations censored Easter and Christmas programs at such stations, including the religious phrase, "Peace on earth to men of good will." One such alien changed the word "Gluda," employed in the script to describe Judas, saying he did so because the name in Italian also meant "Jew."

Another fact established by said hearings is that OWI and FCC sought, by their conduct, to make assurance doubly sure that no adverse mention or criticism would be uttered concerning Russia, our then ally, over any of the foreign language stations. In that way, and for that purpose, those foreign language stations carried no news of Russia's slaughter of 20,000 Poles, though news thereof was handled by national and international news services and by some newspapers in this country.

The House FCC Committee also established that FCC's investigators, attorneys, officials, and employees drew heavily for leads and information upon the files and records of the Anti-Defamation League and the Anti-Fascist League, another organization supported by B'Nai B'Rith funds. Indeed, the files and records of those two Jewish leagues were usually the "first port of call," when the FCC commenced an investigation of the personnel at any foreign-language radio station.

I am sure you will recall that, when the State of Georgia prosecuted certain individuals for their connections with an organization called The Columbians, professedly anti-Jewish, investigations, reports, and testimony of the Anti-Defamation League were used by the State to obtain convictions in those cases. Many newspapers ran stories and pictures showing that the Anti-Defamation League boasted of its part in the prosecution of The Columbians. I am sure the New York Times Index will lead to such stories and pictures.

CONCLUSION

If, as I understand it is contemplated, you should charge to the House Un-American Activities Committee that the Anti-Defamation League obtained council information and data through the activities of "a faithless employee," would you not be weakening your case?

Such a charge, like perjury, usually is difficult of proof; and answer might be made that your own employee was more to blame for giving, than the league was for receiving information pertaining to the council, even if a bribe were passed and proved.

Frankly, for those and other reasons that suggest themselves, I would prefer to see you hold such charges in the background, using a lot of other available data in the meantime and pending a final possible showdown. There is a lot of other data that is far less nebulous than a charge of bribery.

Let us remember that Anti-Defamation League has many supporters—some who support it from choice, and some who support it through fear of its reprisals if support is not forthcoming. Then, too, many politicians will curry favor with the league, for votes they think it may command.

For my part, I shall welcome any attack the league chooses to make on me; but, above all, I do not want to see you or the council make any mistake in your battle with the league's forces of evil.

So far as I can ascertain, the league has no citations in the files of the Dies committee or the successor thereto; and I have little or no confidence in the successor's chief investigator-research man, Ben Mandel, who always discourages any comments concerning the league, and, when he can, of individual Jews. Mandel was an admitted one-time Commie, and, I understand, does not deny a leaning toward socialism.

I am inclined to view Mandel in the same light I view Isaac Don Levine, Fred Wolfman (who, though halfheartedly, joined Levine's attack on you), Alan Cranston, and others—while they disavow Communism, they are very ready to accept, and endorse, great gobs of socialism, and raise a hue and cry against anyone who speaks in a critical way of any Jew, Jews, Jewish organization, or what have you. In short, no matter what a Jew's fault, anything like communism, socialism, and all other isms are dismissed in the interest of the crucifixion of anyone who dares point out such faults.

Hope you will take all this in the spirit in which it is written—for whatever it may be worth.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY BARGER.

[H. R. 6519, 81st Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To prohibit membership in, or participation in the activities of, the Anti-Defamation League

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any individual to be a member, or to participate in the activities, of the un-American subversive organization known as the Anti-Defamation League.

Any individual who violates this Act shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$500 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

MARCH 6, 1950.

MR. GERALD L. K. SMITH,
Box D-4, St. Louis 1, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of February 20 in which you enclosed a letter from Mr. Don Lohbeck, we are returning his letter herewith, for we really do not know how to answer it.

This is entirely out of our line.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.

MARCH 8, 1950.

MR. WALTER O. CALDWELL, JR.,
Second National Bank Building,
Houston, Tex.

DEAR WALTER: Mr. John B. Trevor, who really was the author of the present law (passed in 1924) restricting immigration to the quota basis, called me this morning and asked if we could get any help in preventing radical amendments to the existing law, which amendment now threatens in Washington.

It seems that one of those who needs to be worked on is Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Johnson threatens to vote in favor of amendments to this "displaced persons" bill, as it is now called, which will greatly weaken it. The amendments would not only let down the bars further and admit many more immigrants, but it would legalize improper practices. We have actually been admitting many immigrants to this country whom the official representatives of the United States, supposed to be the ones to select those to be admitted, have not had the opportunity to see. They have been obliged merely to accept those that the International Refugee Organization passes.

If you and some of your friends would write or wire Senator Johnson urging him to support the position of Senator Eastland of Mississippi (Democrat) and Senator Jenner of Indiana (Republican), it would help materially to keep the

bars up against improper immigration, and build up bars that would keep unworthy people out.

Mr. Trevor tells me that the testimony of all the witnesses brought here from Germany to testify (all of them Americans, as I understand it, and some of them men who have been employed by our Government to sift applications but who have not had the opportunity to sift them) supports the position taken by Senators Jenner and Eastland.

If you can get a copy of the Congressional Record for Tuesday, March 7, you will find a great deal of good stuff in Senator Jenner's speech of that day.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 13, 1950.

Mr. F. P. KIRCH,

Treasurer, Stewart-Warner Corp.,

1828 West Diversey Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. KIRCH: I was very glad that you could give Dr. Rowsey and me a few minutes' time when we called Friday morning, March 10, and we enjoyed meeting and talking with you. We appreciated your taking the time out on an especially busy day.

Our luncheon came off very well, among those present being Gen. R. E. Wood and Mr. William H. Regnery.

Our plan is a little different from that of any other organization in the field. We have been at work 20 years trying to educate the public to the need of private enterprise, private property, and individual initiative. Our literature, some samples of which I enclose, goes every 2 weeks' mailing to not less than 10,000 key people throughout the country, and since many of these people frequently purchase quantities for distribution themselves, the circulation of our council letter has risen at times to 100,000 a single issue and, in one instance, over a million.

Our appearances before congressional committees in support of or in opposition to measures affecting the outcome of America's fight against socialism are probably more numerous than any other Nation-wide organization in the country. Members of Congress know us well and favorably. Last October when the Eighty-first Congress recessed until January, 230 of the total of 631 Members of both Houses gave us mailing instructions with respect to their copies of our publications.

Our speakers' committee is one of our most active works. I enclose three recent letters from organizations that have heard Cecil Palmer, who is now in his second season in the work of exposing the harm done to liberty in Britain by Fabian socialism. Incidentally, he is coming back next year for a third season.

Our new work is to be the organization of small committees in certain selected congressional districts. These committees will be of picked men and women who will be supplied with information and arguments with respect to the more serious pending legislation, and who will undertake to interpret effectively to their Congressman and two Senators the thoughts of the conservative-minded people of the congressional district on these vitally important measures.

Again, let me say it was a pleasure to both of us to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

217 WEST HORTER STREET,
Philadelphia 19, Pa., March 8, 1950.

DEAR MR. HART: General Del Valle told me to get in touch with you, as I am corresponding secretary to the Republican women of Pennsylvania, he thought that I could help materially in our campaign to save the United States of America from its traducers. He believes our women, once instructed, will be able to do twice as much as men could in this our greatest battle.

I am most anxious to do all I can to help.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) MARION FISCHER.

MARCH 16, 1950.

Mrs. MARION FISCHER,
217 Horther Street, Philadelphia 19, Pa.

DEAR MRS. FISCHER: Mr. Hart has been ill and has left for a short vacation, so he has asked me to answer your letter received several days ago.

A good many Republican organizations subscribe to our publications so that they can be informed about the vital issues of the day.

Right now, world government being one of the top matters pending, enclosed are two of our council letters on this subject. Many patriotic societies have been distributing copies of these two letters to their members.

We believe that council letter No. 231 was instrumental in bottling up the world government resolution in committee in the New York State Legislature.

Enclosed are some other publications of the council and a folder concerning it. Won't you use the attached subscription blank and become a subscriber?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

VAN DUSEN HARRINGTON Co.,
Minneapolis 15, March 15, 1950.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. Totton Heffelfinger has referred to me your letter addressed to him dated February 3, 1950, in regard to the Economic Council program.

I note your brochure states that your council letter is sent to "thousands of readers, including individuals, corporations, libraries, churches, and colleges and universities."

I am wondering if you could advise me as to the nature of your reader audience. Have you any assurance that your material is going to not only those persons who are already persuaded of the dangers of socialism. I would be quite interested in what information you may have as to how your mailing list was developed.

Yours very truly,

KENT C. VAN DEN BERG,
Attorney.

MARCH 17, 1950.

Mr. KENT VAN DEN BERG,
Van Dusen Harrington Co.,
Minneapolis 15, Minn.

DEAR MR. VAN DEN BERG: In answer to your letter relative to the nature of our reader audience, may I say this is very diversified. The council has subscribers in all walks of life—school teachers, farmers, union members, businessmen, doctors, housewives, students, ministers, Members of Congress—practically every occupation and profession is represented.

Our reader audience is considerably larger than our actual number of subscribers, due to the extra quantity of publications ordered by our readers.

Council letters are often inserted in the Congressional Record and thus are widely read. Council letters and book reviews are sent to libraries, both public and college, in every one of the United States. In some instances they are sent in a complimentary way; in others, as gifts of corporations or individuals.

We receive many letters from students who read our issues, requesting information on many subjects to help in their debates, term papers, and other work. Enclosed are one or two letters indicating their value to educational institutions.

Some corporations have our publications sent regularly to all their members; others order copies of letters they particularly like for distribution. The enclosed pamphlet, *Tax Dollars Are Your Dollars*, has been ordered in large quantities for distribution to both employees and stockholders. In one factory we know of this pamphlet was posted on the bulletin board, causing much comment and discussion. The manager reported that 30 of his workmen were writing letters to Washington as a result.

When Congress recessed last fall, 281 Members gave us instructions as to where they wished our publications sent during the recess.

Block gift subscriptions made to educational institutions are deductible for income-tax purposes.

We look forward to hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant of the President.

MARCH 15, 1950.

Memo to Mr. Otis Lyle.
From Mr. Hart.

We need to get out a leaflet, more or less like the leaflet on taxes, on each of the subjects contained in this tax leaflet.

This is the situation: The National Economic Council now has three principal activities:

1. Its ordinary publications—the Council Letter and the Review of Books.
2. Its appearances before congressional committees.
3. The activities of its Speakers' Bureau.

We are just launching a fourth activity. This is the setting up in each of certain congressional districts of a small committee that will become a focus of conservative sentiment in that district. More particularly, this committee will undertake to get people in that district to write to the congressman and the two Senators representing the State in which the district is located, with respect to certain pending legislation. Each of the subjects listed in the tax leaflet is pending before Congress.

This tax leaflet is the first we put together, the work being largely that of Mr. T. J. Lucey, who has left us, but part of whose time is available to us without charge. He did the illustrations, and has given a good deal of thought to this kind of thing. He would be available for consultation.

The idea underlying the leaflet is this: The committee in each district will wish to get persons to write letters to their Senators and Congressman. In order to write a letter, a person has got to have some reliable, briefly stated information. This leaflet will contain sufficient information to enable the citizen to write an intelligent letter. We wish each subject to be treated somewhat lightly, as indicated by the little illustrations.

Each subject has got to be analyzed and thoroughly understood, and then we have got to give the reader the essential pieces of information, each in a nutshell.

From what I understand of your experience and talent, this work would be rather in your line.

Since our tax leaflet has come out, Dr. Rowsey, who is in charge of organizing these district committees, said he thought a pamphlet on spending and taxes should be gotten out especially directed to the housewife. I am attaching a rough sketch of the cover for such a leaflet entitled "Mrs. Missus Went to Market." This will give you an idea of what Lucey thought about it, and it seemed to me pretty good.

Incidentally, I think one of the early subjects to be taken up in a leaflet is this business of world government. There we could have a little fun with the faddists who have fallen for this idea of world government. We ought to be able to make them a little ashamed—make them want to forget all about it, and have their friends forget that they were ever taken in with the idea. Read Council Letters 216 and 231, and glance at the book by Joseph P. Kamp entitled "We Must Abolish the United States."

MARCH 27, 1950.

Mr. HARRY S. BARGER,
806 National Union Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HARRY: Thank you for the data on the McCarthy investigation. I acknowledge with thanks, too, your telephone call this morning following your talk with the two newspapermen.

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART.

2 Brookshire Road, Worcester 2, Mass., March 20, 1950.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have recently become slightly acquainted with your organization through friends and would like to know more about it. Would you be kind enough to give me the names of people that run it, as well as those who own it and some of their past background.

If you seem to me to be as capable as my friend suggests, I will be interested in subscribing to your economic council letter.

You might let me know also if you have any other functions than this letter.

Yours very truly,

CARLETON KNIGHT, Jr.

MARCH 30, 1950.

Mr. CARLETON KNIGHT, Jr.,
2 Brookshire Road, Worcester 2, Mass.

DEAR MR. KNIGHT: Complying with your request enclosed is a copy of a folder giving the information about the council you wish. There is a profile of the president, Mr. Hart, in Who's Who if you wish further background.

Perhaps you heard Mr. Cecil Palmer, of London, who is in this country under the auspices of the council. Mr. Palmer spoke before the Worcester Economic Club last January (1950). He is ———— has been travelling extensively throughout the United States.

Enclosed are some sample copies of recent publications of the council. As you may know the world government resolution was in the committee in the New York State Legislature recently and the United World Federalists were doing everything in their power to have it brought out on the floor. Copies of council letter 231 were sent to every member of the legislature and our readers sent many letters and telegrams to the members. We believe the council was instrumental in bottling up this legislation in the committee.

Won't you use the subscription blank attached to the folder so that you may receive our material regularly?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

FUNDAMENTAL EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION,
Los Angeles 26, Calif., March 25, 1950.

Mrs. C. G. DALL,
National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. DALL: Permit me, in behalf of the Fundamental Bible Institute and our Evangelistic Association, to thank you heartily for your letter of March 21.

We appreciate your placing our association on your complimentary mailing list, and you may rest assured such literature as comes our way will be utilized to the fullest extent, both in the library, over the air, and amongst our student preachers.

I am especially thankful for your January 15 issue of the council letter, No. 231. If someone could make this particular issue available, I would be glad to circularize all of our men in the State legislature. The matter was brought to their attention, and only Thursday, the matter was brought to the floor at Sacramento to repeal their former action of endorsement. Those opposed to repealing beat us by just one vote; however, parliamentary procedure permits the matter to be brought up again in this session, and notice has been given that it will be brought up.

I am sure many of our State senators can be induced to revert their action if they had these facts in their hands. I have informed Senator Jack Tenny, and our organization would be glad to do everything within their power to back him in this effort.

Let me know what you can do about the matter.

I would greatly appreciate a sample copy of all of your bulletins as a permanent file in our library, if someone could make these available.

Personally, I feel that it is only as we get such information in the hands of folks who can spread it, that we will be able to accomplish our purposes in keeping America free.

With cordial good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

FUNDAMENTAL EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION;
M. H. REYNOLDS, Sr., Superintendent.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. March 31, 1950.

(Attention C. G. Dall.)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL,

Empire State Building:

Suggest you circularize State legislature with 231 and cover letter in my name before next Tuesday. Senate voted to rescind yesterday

FUNDAMENTAL EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION,
M. H. REYNOLDS, Superintendent.

MARCH 31, 1950.

M. H. REYNOLDS, Sr.,

Fundamental Evangelistic Association,

205 North Union Avenue, Los Angeles 26, Calif.:

Re your letter March 25. Do you wish copies of council letter 231 to circularize the legislature. Would you like us to do same with covering letter using your names? We believe either preferable to our sending it 42 independently.

Please wire collect.

APRIL 3, 1950.

Mr. H. M. REYNOLDS, Sr.,

Fundamental Evangelistic Association,

205 North Union Avenue, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

DEAR MR. REYNOLDS: Your telegram saying that you wished us to circularize the State legislature with our Council Letter No. 231 was received Saturday morning. You sent it at 2:55 California time which, of course, is 3 hours earlier. There were only one or two of the staff in the office on Saturday morning so it was impossible to attend to this matter until this morning.

However, at 12 o'clock we had all the copies like the enclosed in the main post office and they were sent airmail to the assemblymen at the State Capitol with the hope that they will arrive Tuesday morning. As it was necessary to get the information to the assemblymen with the greatest possible dispatch, we sent the material in this manner because it was far quicker than personal letters to each one. Under these circumstances we hope this meets with your approval.

We were glad to note that the Senate had voted to rescind the world government resolution and we would appreciate your advising us as to the House vote.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

APRIL 3, 1950.

Mr. W. H. REGENERY,

Joanna Western Mills Co.,

Twenty-second and Jefferson Streets, Chicago 16, Ill.:

DEAR MR. REGENERY: I am enclosing a list of 600 names of public libraries, churches (Catholic and Protestant), and colleges, most, if not all, of them in the Southern States. You seemed to have this area in mind when I talked with you at your plant on one of my recent visits about the part of the country that you would prefer that these subscriptions would service.

As I recall it, it was your idea to divide these subscriptions among two or more companies as the lists are arranged. You can divide them in any way you wish. If these names are satisfactory, will you kindly indicate approval of the list, or making any changes you would like to see made, sending one copy to us and keeping the other copy for your files. I am also enclosing offset copy of the opinion of our lawyer, Mr. Mason H. Bigelow, that money which is spent in this way is deductible before taxes.

I hope that you are feeling better.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, *President.*

MARCH 1950.

(Mr. WILLIAM H. BEAVER)

Suggested list of churches (Catholic and Protestant) to receive gift subscriptions to the publications of the National Economic Council, Inc., for 1 year.

Institution	Location	Minister or rector
St. Philip's Cathedral	Atlanta, Ga.	Rev. J. B. Walthour.
All Saints' Episcopal Church	do	Rev. M. M. Warren.
Epiphany Episcopal Church	do	Rev. W. E. Polley.
Incarnation Episcopal Church	do	Rev. C. L. Allgood.
Our Savior Episcopal Church	do	Rev. L. H. Portway.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. J. M. Richardson.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. S. C. Usher.
St. John's Episcopal Church	College Park, Ga.	Rev. S. M. Hopson.
Trinity Episcopal Church	Columbus, Ga.	Rev. C. B. Campbell.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church	Decatur, Ga.	Rev. C. H. Tisdale.
St. George's Episcopal Church	Griffin, Ga.	Rev. M. J. Ellis.
Christ Episcopal Church	Macon, Ga.	Rev. R. E. Fuesole.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. T. S. Matthews.
St. James' Episcopal Church	Marietta, Ga.	Rev. J. T. Walker.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church	Rome, Ga.	Rev. W. R. Daniel.
St. John's Episcopal Church	Brownwood, Tex.	Rev. B. V. Hayes.
do	Corsicana, Tex.	Rev. B. Q. Kennebaugh.
St. Matthew's Cathedral	4000 Ross Ave., Dallas, Tex.	Rev. C. G. Moore.
All Saints' Episcopal Church	Dallas, Tex.	Rev. L. W. Thaxton.
Christ Episcopal Church	108 South Lawellyn St., Dallas, Tex.	Rev. B. L. Smith.
Incarnation Episcopal Church	3906 McKinney Ave., Dallas, Tex.	Rev. O. G. Marniton, Jr.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church	Denison, Tex.	Rev. O. D. Reed.
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church	Fort Worth, Tex.	Rev. L. F. Martin.
St. John's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. J. R. Leatherbury.
St. James' Episcopal Church	Texarkana, Tex.	Rev. T. H. Carson.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church	Wichita Falls, Tex.	Rev. C. A. Beasley, D.D.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Newport, N. C.	Rev. William B. Daniels, Jr.
do	Edenton, N. C.	Rev. H. W. Gilmer.
Christ Episcopal Church	Elizabeth City, N. C.	Rev. G. F. Hill.
St. John's Episcopal Church	Fayetteville, N. C.	Rev. J. F. Ferrywrough.
St. Joseph's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. B. P. Williamson.
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church	Goldstboro, N. C.	Rev. J. C. Granger.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Greenville, N. C.	Rev. R. C. Hauser, Jr.
Christ Episcopal Church	New Bern, N. C.	Rev. C. E. Williams, Jr.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church	Wilmington, N. C.	Rev. H. W. Glazier.
St. James' Episcopal Church	Wilmington, N. C.	Rev. M. W. Glover.
St. John's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. E. W. Hullock.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. Alexander Miller.
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church	Wrightsville, N. C.	Rev. B. L. Sturgis.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church	Albion, Md.	Rev. J. W. Atkinson.
Christ Episcopal Church	Cambridge, Md.	Rev. William E. Tompson, Jr.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Centerville, Md.	Rev. Thomas Donaldson.
Christ Episcopal Church	Easton, Md.	Rev. D. B. Harlin.
St. Mary's Episcopal Church	Denton, Md.	Attention: The Rector.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church	Fallsburg, Md.	Rev. N. M. Gauge.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church	Gainesville, Fla.	Rev. G. M. Alexander.
All Saints' Episcopal Church	Jacksonville, Fla.	Rev. A. R. Chalmers.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church	do	Rev. L. V. Lee, D. D.
St. John's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. Newton Middleton.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. D. B. Leatherbury.
St. Mary's Episcopal Church	do	Rev. F. P. Deering.
Grace Episcopal Church	Orange Park, Fla.	Attention: The Rector.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church	Palatka, Fla.	Rev. W. F. Jones.
Christ Episcopal Church	Pensacola, Fla.	Rev. H. B. Hodokins.
St. John's Episcopal Church	Tallahassee, Fla.	Rev. W. J. Aftand.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Albany, Ga.	Rev. O. B. Hudson.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church	2230 Walton Way, Augusta, Ga.	Rev. A. B. Clarkson.

Institution	Location	Minister or rector
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Augusta, Ga.....	Rev. Hamilton West.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church.....	Brunswick, Ga.....	Rev. Talbert Morgan.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	Savannah, Ga.....	Rev. F. B. Tucker, D. D.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	20 West Charlton, Savannah, Ga.....	Rev. Ernest Hisey.
St. Matthew's Episcopal Church.....	Savannah, Ga.....	Rev. G. H. Caution.
St. Michael Episcopal Church.....	do.....	Rev. Theodore Patton.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	Waycross, Ga.....	Rev. C. M. Wyatt-Brown.
Calvary Episcopal Church.....	Ashland, Ky.....	Rev. F. M. Cooper.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	Covington, Ky.....	Rev. P. D. Wilbur.
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church.....	Fort Thomas, Ky.....	Rev. Allen Person.
Ascension Episcopal Church.....	Frankfort, Ky.....	Rev. E. W. Baxter.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	Lexington, Ky.....	Rev. J. W. Kennedy.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church.....	do.....	Rev. D. C. Clark.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Newport, Ky.....	Rev. William B. Dorn.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	Paris, Ky.....	Attention the rector.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	Versailles, Ky.....	Rev. E. L. Baxter.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	Alexandria, La.....	Rev. J. H. Alves.
do.....	Baton Rouge, La.....	Rev. P. P. Werline.
Grace Memorial Episcopal Church.....	Hammond, La.....	Rev. H. S. Gelfo.
St. Matthews' Episcopal Church.....	Houma, La.....	Rev. G. P. Pardington.
Annunciation Episcopal Church.....	South Claiborne Ave. at Jean St., New Orleans, La.....	Rev. S. L. Vail.
Grace Episcopal Church.....	New Orleans, La., Canal and Marais Sts.	Rev. S. S. Clayton.
Mount Olivet Episcopal Church.....	Pelleau Ave. and Officier St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. D. S. Crumley.
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church.....	Carrollton Ave. and Zimple St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. G. M. Jones.
St. Anna's Episcopal Church.....	Bapilinde Ave. near North Villere St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. A. R. Price.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	St. Charles Ave. at Cadiz St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. A. S. Christy.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church.....	Fourth between St. Charles Ave. and Canondelet St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. J. W. Temple.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Camp & Galennie St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. C. L. McGavern.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	Jackson Ave. and Coliseum St., New Orleans, La.	Rev. William S. Turner.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church.....	Shreveport, La.....	Rev. F. E. Walters.
Redeemer Episcopal Church.....	Bloom, Miss.....	Rev. E. A. De Miller.
St. George's Episcopal Church.....	Clarksdale, Miss.....	Rev. E. L. Malone.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Columbus, Miss.....	Rev. C. B. Jones.
St. James' Episcopal Church.....	Greenville, Miss.....	Rev. A. C. Morris.
Nativity Episcopal Church.....	Greenwood, Miss.....	Rev. J. S. Hamilton.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church.....	Gulfport, Miss.....	Rev. G. R. Stevenson.
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church.....	Jackson, Miss.....	Rev. V. C. Frank.
St. Columba's Episcopal Church.....	do.....	Rev. P. E. Engle.
St. John's Episcopal Church.....	Laurel, Miss.....	Rev. William S. Mann.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church.....	Meridian, Miss.....	Rev. D. M. Hobart.
Trinity Episcopal Church.....	Natchez, Miss.....	Rev. L. O'V. Thomas.
do.....	Pass Christian, Miss.....	Rev. W. C. Clark, D. D.
Christ Episcopal Church.....	Vicksburg, Miss.....	Rev. Warwick Aiken.
Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.....	do.....	Rev. R. M. Allen.
St. Francis Xavier Cathedral.....	Alexandria, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. F. J. Plutz.
Our Lady of Prompt Succor.....	Post Office Box 403, Alexandria, La.....	Rev. A. Olinger.
St. Frances Xavier Cathedral.....	Post Office Box 1169, Alexandria, La.....	Rev. M. Prevot.
St. Rita's Church.....	17th and Astley Sts., Alexandria, La.....	Rev. H. Dube.
St. James' Memorial Church.....	Post Office Box 606, 714 Winn St., Alexandria, La.....	Rev. J. H. Cronenberger, C. S. Sp.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	Bastrop, La.....	Rev. Elsie Landolt, O. F. M.
Christ The King Catholic Church.....	Bossier City, La.....	Rev. A. M. Chenevert.
St. Anthony's Catholic Church.....	Bunkie, La.....	Rev. L. R. Aycock.
Church of the Nativity Catholic Church.....	Camp, La.....	Rev. Leonard Curtis.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	Colfax, La.....	Rev. William Neldert, C. P. P. 8.
St. Margaret's Catholic Church.....	Homer, La.....	Rev. Clement Goubeaux, C. P. P. 8.
St. Patrick's Catholic Church.....	Lake Providence, La.....	Rev. J. B. Greimillon.
St. Michael's Catholic Church.....	Leesville, La.....	Rev. F. J. Ratteau.
St. Paul's Catholic Church.....	Mansura, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. P. Nothofer.
Our Lady of Prompt Succor Catholic Church.....	do.....	Rev. James A. Murnahagal.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	Marksville, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. Van der Putten.
St. Paul's Catholic Church.....	Minden, La.....	Rev. R. H. DeVriendt.
St. Mathew's Catholic Church.....	Monroe, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. O. Marsh.
St. Theresa's Catholic Church.....	do.....	Rev. Clement Martin, O. F. M.

Institution	Location	Minister or rector
Immaculate Conception Catholic Church	Natchitoches, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. John C. Vande- gaer.
St. Anthony's Catholic Church.....	5th and Pable Sts., Nat- chitoches, La.	Rev. Eugene L. Lavery, C. S. Sp.
Sacred Heart Catholic Church.....	Post Office Box 467, Pine- ville, La.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. E. Howard.
Our Lady of Sorrow's Catholic Church...	P. O. Box 404, Pineville, La.	Rev. Hugh M. Bryers, O. S. M.
St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church....	Ruston, La.....	Rev. Soverin Nelles, O. F. M.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	St. Joseph, La.....	Rev. Walter E. Mulroney, S. S. J.
Holy Trinity Catholic Church.....	Shreveport, La.....	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. V. Plauché.
St. John Berchmans' Catholic Church...	923 Jordan St., Shreveport, La.	Rev. John J. Gruhan, S. J.
St. Theresa's Catholic Church.....	2711 Portland St., Shreve- port, La.	Rev. M. F. Walsh.
St. Catherine of Siena, Catholic Church..	7109 Henderson St., Shreve- port, La.	Rev. B. V. Scanlan.
Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church.....	1856 Buena Vista St., Shreveport, La.	Rev. E. J. Knaebel, C. S. Sp.
St. Daniel's Catholic Church.....	do.....	Rev. A. J. Walsh, O. S. Sp.
St. Edward's Catholic Church.....	Shreveport, La.	Rev. R. M. Maure.
St. Paschal's Catholic Church.....	Post Office Box 810, Tallu- lah, La.	Rev. A. Gatzemeier.
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	711 N. 7th St., West Mon- roe, La.	Rev. R. J. Swift, S. S. J.
Cathedral of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church.....	Post Office Box 152, Winna- boro, La.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. A. Steinlage.
Blessed Martin de Parres Mission.....	817 Taylor St., Amarillo, Tex.	Rev. J. J. Hegan, O. P.
Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church.....	Box 1851, Amarillo, Tex.	Rev. A. Rodriguez.
St. Thomas' Catholic Church.....	1210 E. 11th Ave., Ama- rillo, Tex.	Rev. T. Francis, O. M. I.
St. John's Catholic Church.....	508 N. Main St., Big Spring, Tex.	Rev. M. F. Schaffe.
Holy Angels' Catholic Church.....	204 S. Hedgebrooke St., Borger, Tex.	Rev. R. M. Schindler.
St. Anthony's Catholic Church.....	404 So. St. NW., Childress, Tex.	Rev. J. E. Fitzgerald.
Do.....	Post Office Box 1020, Dal- hart, Tex.	Rev. A. Heald, S. A.
Sacred Heart Catholic Church.....	Hartford, Tex.	Rev. F. M. Higgins.
St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church.....	Post Office Box 1047, Little- field, Tex.	Rev. W. F. Blakeslee, C. S. P.
St. George's Catholic Church.....	Post Office Box 1656, Lub- bock, Tex.	Rev. F. Triggs, O. M. I.
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	417 E. Texas Ave., Mid- land, Tex.	Rev. W. J. Riechel.
Holy Souls' Catholic Church.....	Box 2367, Odessa, Tex.	Rev. Otto Meyer, C. M.
St. Alice's Catholic Church.....	612 Browning St., Pampa, Tex.	Rev. William Lensing.
St. Mary's Cathedral.....	1111 Galveston St., Plain- view, Tex.	Rev. J. R. McAllister, C. S. C.
St. Austin's Catholic Church.....	209 E. 10th St., Austin, Tex.	Rev. G. W. P. Johnson, C. S. P.
Holy Family Catholic Church.....	21st and Guadalupe Sts., Austin, Tex.	Rev. E. C. Bauer, C. S. C.
St. Patrick's Catholic Church.....	618 W. Johanna St., Aus- tin 22, Tex.	Rev. J. P. Buckley, O. M. I.
Immaculate Conception Catho- lic Church.....	Box 387, Brady, Tex.	Rev. O. Wianrowski.
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	719 Church St., Brenham, Tex.	Rev. E. P. Harrison, O. M. I.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	1013 Main St., Brown- wood, Tex.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. B. Cleasner.
St. Helen's Catholic Church.....	Box 697, Bryan, Tex.	Rev. T. J. Guilham, C. S. C.
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	Georgetown, Tex.	Rev. F. J. Potena, S. T. D.
St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church..	Lockhart, Tex.	Rev. J. J. Wianrowski.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church.....	Box 631, Luling, Tex.	Rev. E. A. Braden.
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	Box 371, Marlin, Tex.	Rev. Juvenio Bucno, C. M. F.
St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church..	Box 371, Marlin, Tex.	Rev. Stephen B. Brown.
Assumption Catholic Church.....	San Marcos, Tex.	
St. Mary's Catholic Church.....	303 East 4th St., Taylor, Tex.	Rev. P. J. O'Reilly.
Assumption Catholic Church.....	1018 South 7th St., Tem- ple, Tex.	Very Rev. J. J. Kearns.
St. Patrick's Church.....	1401 Washington Ave., Waco, Tex.	Rev. C. R. Mullen.
Christ the King Catholic Church.....	2350 South Alameda Dr., Corpus Christi, Tex.	Rev. A. D. Canon.
Cathedral of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church.....	201 Fannin St., Corpus Christi, Tex.	Very Rev. Msgr. Wilfred J. Bender.
Cathedral of St. Joseph the Baptist.....	2215 Ross Ave., Dallas, Tex.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. J. May, V. G.
	115 Broad St., Charleston S. C.	

Institution	Location	Minister or rector
St. Mary's Catholic Church	73 Hassle St., Charleston S. C.	Rev. J. W. Carmody.
St. Patrick's Catholic Church	124 S. Phillips St., Charleston, S. C.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. L. O'Brien, S. T. D.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church	91 Anson St., Charleston S. C.	Rev. J. A. Westbury.
Sacred Heart Catholic Church	884 King St., Charleston S. C.	Rev. Henry F. Wolfe.
Our Lady of Mercy Catholic Church ..	79 America St., Charles- ton 14, S. C.	Rev. A. W. Calner.
St. John's Catholic Church	Post Office Box 216, Naval Base, Charleston, S. C.	Rev. A. A. Pilkinas.
Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church ..	Savannah Rd., Hyman Downs, Charleston, S. C.	Rev. J. J. McCarthy.
St. Peter's and Immaculate Conception Catholic Churches.	34 Wentworth St., Charles- ton 9, S. C.	Rev. W. F. Cleary, C. S. Sp.
St. Mary Help of Christians Catholic Church.	725 York St., Aiken, S. C.	Rev. George L. Smith.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church	134 N. McDuffy St., Anderson, S. C.	Rev. M. R. Dally.
Our Lady of Perpetual Help Catholic Church.	Camden, S. C.	Rev. J. E. Burke.
St. Peter's Catholic Church	1829 Assembly St., Colum- bia, S. C.	Rt. Rev. M. C. Murphy, V. F.
Mission of Blessed Martin de Porres ..	Hamilton and Oak Sts., Columbia, S. C.	Rev. A. O. McKay, O. P.
St. Louis' Catholic Church	St. Eugene Hospital, Dil- lon, S. C.	Rev. C. L. Sheedy.
St. Anthony's All Souls Memorial Cath- olic Church.	117 W. Palmetto St., Florence, S. C.	Rev. W. A. Tobin.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	313 Broad St., George- town, S. C.	Rev. A. A. Frase.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	238 W. Washington St., Greenville, S. C.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. K. Gwynn, P. A. V. F.
St. Anthony's Catholic Church	307 Gower St., Greenville, S. C.	Rev. T. A. McLaughlin, O. F. M.
Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church ..	Greenwood, S. C.	Rev. W. O. Doyle.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	Pinewood Ave., Harris- ville, S. C.	Rev. L. R. Williamson.
St. Andrews' Catholic Church	Myrtle Beach, S. C.	Rev. R. C. Madden.
Holy Trinity Catholic Church	27 E. Amelia St., Orange- burg, S. C.	Very Rev. J. T. Rodig, C. SS. JR.
St. Anne's Catholic Church	The Oratory, Box 895, Charlotte Ave., Rock Hill, S. C.	Very Rev. E. G. Ernst.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	911 Crawford Rd., Box 982, Rock Hill, S. C.	Rev. Edward Wahl.
St. Paul the Apostle Catholic Church ..	169 North Dean St., Spar- tanburg, S. C.	Rev. Charles J. Baum.
St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church.	Post Office Box 922, Sum- merville, S. C.	Rev. J. A. McElroy.
St. Anne's Catholic Church	611 West Oakland Ave., Box 81, Sumpter, S. C.	Rev. J. P. Ciancy.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church	Mansfield, La.	Rev. Patrick O'Brien.
Sacred Heart Catholic Church	19 South Oak St., San An- geles, Tex.	Rev. J. J. Meister.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church	Mansfield, La.	Rev. Patrick O'Brien, O. M. I.
Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church	231 North Marsalis Ave., Dallas 8, Tex.	Rev. James F. Burnes.

Approved _____
Date _____

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

1337 Connecticut Ave. NW., Washington 6, D. C., April 6, 1950.

Mr. JOHN J. FLECK,
4741 Leiper Street, Philadelphia 24, Pa.

DEAR MR. FLECK: This will acknowledge receipt of the copy of your letter addressed to Senator Robert A. Taft, together with a copy of your letter to the Scientific American, and the copy of Common Sense which you also enclosed.

I was very much interested in what you had to say to Mr. Taft, and there is much food for thought in your letter to the Scientific American. I have noted with interest the marked portions of the article on German communism in Common Sense, and you may be sure I shall have the disclosures therein very much in mind as we plan for the future.

With appreciation of your continued interest, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

GUY GEORGE GABRIELSON, Chairman.

APRIL 6, 1950.

Mr. JOHN J. FLECK,
4741 Leiper Street, Philadelphia 24, Pa.

DEAR Mr. FLECK: Thank you for sending copies of letters you wrote to Taft, the vice president, and other various people; also, a copy of your letter as reprinted in *Common Sense*. These were all read with great interest and particularly the Challenge to the Republicans in 1948. This latter is certainly as pertinent now as then.

You will be interested to know that our new vice president, Dr. Rowsey, is going to organize congressional districts along educational lines, teaching them the principles of good government.

Mr. Hart and some of his associates believe that awakening the voters in this manner is the one way of saving the country.

Keep up your good work of trying to inform as many people as you can of just what is going on.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

APRIL 10, 1950.

Memorandum to: Mrs. DALL.
From: Mr. Hart.

Will you please have 500 colleges and universities made out on one list for the William Volker Charities Fund, and send two copies to Mr. W. H. Luhnaw, president of that fund, referring to my letter to him of today, of which the attached is a copy.

Please let me know when this list has been sent.

MERWIN K. HART.

APRIL 8, 1950.

Memorandum from desk of Allan P. Kirby to Mr. Hart:
Letter sent to both Senators, at your request.

APRIL 8, 1950.

Hon. H. ALEXANDER SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: The charges made by Senator McCarthy against the personnel of the State Department, coming as they do hard on the heels of the conviction of Alger Hiss, should be completely and thoroughly investigated. The situation demands the appointment by Congress of a competent bipartisan committee to examine, and, if necessary, make public the complete file of every person named as suspect. Neither President Truman nor anyone else has the right to refuse this information and these files to Congress, on any grounds. No innocent person will object to such publication, and it is the only way to insure against a white-washing procedure that will leave the public uneasy and dissatisfied, to say nothing of the dangers involved.

This is no time for hair splitting and petty personal consideration—the country's safety and future is at stake.

If it is true, as stated by David Lawrence (report for the Business Executive, April 6, 1950, issue) that the Russians, with large Embassy and Consular staffs, with a news gathering organization, are allowed to have representatives at press conferences, including conferences in the defense department, and are permitted to sit in at conferences, even with the President and Secretary of State, I say that this is a stupid, dangerous, and impossible condition of affairs.

At this point, according to the press, everyone is innocent. I believe where there is so much smoke, there is some fire. The Congress can and should do whatever is necessary to rid the State, as well as all other departments of the Government, of Communists and all other undesirables.

Yours very truly,

ALLAN P. KIRBY.

APRIL 10, 1950.

Mr. ALLAN P. KIRBY,
17 DeHart Street, Morristown, N. J.

DEAR MR. KIRBY: In Mr. Hart's absence from the city, I am writing to acknowledge the receipt of the copy of the letter that you wrote to your two Senators. I know Mr. Hart will read this with interest when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

SECRETARY TO MR. HART.

APRIL 15, 1950.

Mr. ALLAN P. KIRBY,
17 DeHart Street, Morristown, N. J.

DEAR MR. KIRBY: Thank you for your memorandum of April 8 with copy of letter that you sent to Senators Smith and Hendrickson. I think you stated the situation admirably.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MERWIN K. HART, President.

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
Kansas City 10, Mo., April 17, 1950.

Mr. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: We will be forced to limit our contribution to the National Economic Council for the fiscal year of 1950 to \$5,000 as per check enclosed.

We prefer that this contribution cover the mailing of your council letters to our various colleges and universities of the country.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM VOLKER CHARITIES FUND,
By H. W. LUHNOW, President.

600 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., April 20, 1950.

DEAR MR. HART: All sources failed in getting me a good location to hear Budenz's testimony today, but when the common herd started to move, I managed to get standing room near the entrance door to the caucus room, despite the greater part of the room had been reserved for (1) the press and (2) seats reserved for pass holders. I personally saw some Senators come up and push several persons past the guards, including Wiley, of Wisconsin.

Despite poor acoustics, I heard Budenz carefully outline the organization of the Communist Party in the United States, from the top down, and relate his own connections with and as a member of the party.

Budenz stated that the Institute for Pacific Affairs was and is an organization designed to influence our affairs in the Far East, and stated that to his knowledge Lattimore was connected with the IPA, and was the editor of its official publication, *Amerasia*. He further stated that the IPA and *Amerasia* received funds from the Communist Party. He said he did not, of his own knowledge, know that Lattimore was a party member, but was merely stating facts he did know concerning Lattimore.

Lattimore has admitted publicly and under oath that he was connected with IPA, and was editor of *Amerasia*, so to my mind his own statements and those of Budenz taken together establish facts from which but one inevitable conclusion must be drawn, to wit, that Lattimore has been and is what McCarthy charged him with being—just the same as Judess Kenyon.

Budenz spoke without a prepared statement—extemporaneously, and on a subject he knows well, and I don't see how his statements can be laughed off. However, I assume in advance, that the commies and homosexuals will blent to high heaven that Budenz failed to support McCarthy's charges, and they'll probably content themselves with broadcasting the part wherein he said he had no personal knowledge, and leave everything else off the air and from the press. I think he made a very good impression on everybody, and judging today's crowd with those I've often seen in the past, it looked better than former assemblages.

Apparently they are going to permit Lattimore's counsel to interrogate Budenz, in fact they allowed a few questions before adjournment for luncheon, and then took up a discussion of whether they will break the procedure to permit some general (supposedly a Lattimore witness, to testify and leave the city tonight. I suspect they will try, through Lattimore's counsel (Abe Fortas, of New Deal fame) to smear Budenz as much as possible, and play down his testimony. I suspect, however, he can take care of himself.

The Catholic clergy was well represented, in seats of honor, and throughout the crowd. Maybe I imagined it, but I thought Tydings was somewhat subdued.

The first thing tomorrow morning, I will have available a transcript of today's record, and will write you further after I have reviewed it and sought the impressions of Kent Hunter, Willard Edwards, and others who had ringside seats for the press.

Time was in Washington when congressional hearings were conducted with some semblance of dignity, and it is a sin and a shame that they have been turned into vaudeville shows, what with the television, radio, and other gadgets which make for distortion of happenings when they are passed on to the public. Then, too, the latter-day fourth estate, with its overwhelming disciples of the newspaper guild, does nothing consciously to deal fairly with the public in its handling of the true facts.

I believe, however, that the case against Mr. Lattimore and others mentioned by McCarthy is in a better position, at an earlier stage, than was the case against Hiss, and McCarthy's charges can finally be made to stick, if future procedures are half-way decently and properly handled. Much is said about guilt by association. Time was when men's characters and reputations were sustained or fell on proof of what they did, with whom they associated, and what they said. Proof of a set of facts from which but one conclusion may be drawn proves the fact involved in the conclusion, often more forcefully than any direct evidence.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARGER.

606 NATIONAL UNION BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., April 27, 1950.

MR. MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.,
7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HART: The House Foreign Affairs Committee spent more than 2 hours with the CIO's chief research man, in support of the ITO charter; and I then went on the stand for as much as or more than an hour.

I read your statement, in full, without interruption; then Fulton, Republican-Fair Dealer, took out after me when I had finished your statement and suggested the regulation of trade with foreign nations could not be delegated by Congress, especially to an international organization.

Fulton tried in various ways to get me to say that, in the main, I subscribed to the charter; and always, by correcting his remarks as to what I said, brought him back to my original proposition, namely, that regulation of foreign trade could not be delegated.

He tried to convince me that the Charter provides that any agreements made must be approved by Congress; and my answer was that I could not reconcile that provision (which he read) with articles 96 and 102 which, respectively, provide that any Organization decision not acceptable to a Member may be referred to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion (which shall be binding upon the Organization; and that a member may not withdraw until after 3 years, plus 6 months after notice of withdrawal is given.

Mention was made by a prior witness, and discussion was had between him and Representative Burleson, of the importation of crude oil from abroad, which is throwing oil workers out of employment; and, in the course of Fulton's discussion with me, I made mention of the Waltham Watch Co., the ceramic industry, and other concerns that have been injured by the reciprocal trade agreements. Fulton asked whether the other watch companies were making out, and I told him I understood that Elgin Watch Co. is getting by, but through side lines, such as vanity cases for women, etc., and that I had heard that the Hamilton Watch Co. had been complaining about competition. The latter is in his State, but he made no correction.

I told Fulton also that several American companies had moved their plants abroad, and that, as I am told, ECA funds have been used to reestablish them there.

I summed up my colloquy with Fulton by saying that the ITO Charter seems to have for its object putting labor and industry all over the world on an even keel as to wages, living conditions, etc., and that I doubted whether this could be done without lowering the wages and standards of living of our own people, and damaging our private industry. He didn't question that very seriously.

The discussion was rather wide, and ranged all over the lot; but it was decidedly pleasant, and I think I held my own with him. When I had finished Fulton complimented me on my statement, and said it pointed up some things that should be given most careful consideration by the committee.

Fulton expressed the view that the Charter does not give the Organization power to make binding agreements; and that such power as it has is to recommend to Congress. With that, I differed and gave my own reasons, which seemed somewhat to shake his view. He then asked whether I would agree to the approval of ITO if he could convince me that whatever it does must come to Congress for approval; and I answered that didn't seem to be the case, because there was an irreconcilable conflict in the provisions of the Charter.

I can't remember everything, but think I did rather well with the matter. I pointed out that, while the AFL had supported reciprocal trade agreements, it had recently held one or more meetings protesting the effect of the agreements and demanding protection against cheap imports and competition.

When Fulton finished, Burleson of Texas took over and said, in substance: I know Mr. Hart, read all of his literature, and think him one of the sincerest of Americans; but I do resent the statement about Communists in the State Department, as it has not been established as fact. I didn't reply at once, and he added, I think the Senate should get down to facts, and stop warring and wrangling. I replied, Mr. Burleson, you've been in Congress long enough to know that many changes have taken place in congressional investigations in the past decade, and there is a lot of lost motion. He smiled, and that was the end of that.

Whether it was just usual bushwa or not, Fulton, Burleson, and the chairman all complimented me and said my discussion had given them some new ideas.

I usually feel that I have failed to do a good job; and maybe I didn't, since I believe today's work represented a fair effort and worth-while presentation. Any way, I did my level best.

Confirming our conversation: I'll receive the Buchanan committee investigators, treat them O. K., and tell them what they ought to know.

I am bitten with the idea that administration columnists and commentators have access to the committee files; and, for my part, I should not be offended if I were called up there to answer questions. I would not go with a prepared statement, and let them ask their own questions.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. BARBER.

APRIL 26, 1950.

Mr. W. H. LUENOW,
William Volker Charities Fund,
Post Office Box 168, Kansas City 10, Mo.

DEAR MR. LUENOW: Mr. Hart has asked me to forward you a list of 500 colleges and universities to which you are making gift subscriptions.

Enclosed is a list in duplicate. If you approve of the list as presented please sign one copy and return to us, retaining the other for your files.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) C. G. DALL,
Assistant to the President.

APRIL 20, 1930.

Suggested list of colleges, universities, and libraries to receive gift subscriptions of Economic Council publications for 1 year.

(William Volker Charities Fund, Mr. W. H. Luhnow)

Institution	Location	Governing official
Carnegie Library	Clay Center, Kans.	Mrs. L. D. Miller, librarian.
Public library	Emporia, Kans.	Nora Daniel, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Eureka, Kans.	Emma L. Smith, librarian.
Public library	Garden City, Kans.	Mrs. M. S. Finnup, librarian.
Carnegie Public	Goodland, Kans.	Mrs. B. Grant, librarian.
Iowa County Library	Greensburg, Kans.	Mrs. B. L. Russell, librarian.
Labor College Library	Lilaboro, Kans.	Mary Kiewer, librarian.
Public library	Kingman, Kans.	Ethel Sumner, librarian.
Quinn Memorial Library	Larned, Kans.	Emma V. Peak, librarian.
Public library	Lyons, Kans.	J. J. Wakefield, librarian.
Do	Marion, Kans.	Mrs. S. Harms, librarian.
Do	Neodesha, Kans.	Genevieve Mong, librarian.
Bethel College Library	North Newton, Kans.	Leona Krehbiel, librarian.
Bethel College	do.	E. G. Kaufman, president.
Carnegie Free Library	Owasa, Kans.	Elsie L. Heedy, librarian.
Public library	Libsburg, Kans.	Mrs. J. H. Nevin, librarian.
Do	Pratt, Kans.	Onelia Johnson, librarian.
Do	Russell, Kans.	Mrs. N. Kirkman, librarian.
St. Mary's College Library	St. Mary's, Kans.	G. C. Peterson, S. J.
Sterling College Library	Sterling, Kans.	Robert Marsten, librarian.
Sterling College	do.	Attention: The President.
Marymount College Library	Salina, Kans.	Attention: Librarian.
Marymount College	do.	Mother M. Chrysostom.
St. Johns Lutheran College Library	Winfield, Kans.	W. H. Wente, librarian.
Witherspoon College, Albertson Library	Buckhorn, Ky.	Katharine Mandy, librarian.
Louisville Board of Education Library	Louisville, Ky.	V. P. Turner, librarian.
Nazareth College Library	do.	Sister James Ellen Huff, librarian.
Mount St. Joseph College and Academy Library	Maple Mount, Ky.	Sister Joseph Marie Williams, librarian.
Graves County Library	Mayfield, Ky.	Mrs. S. Adkins, librarian.
City library	Mount Sterling, Ky.	Eliza Harris, librarian.
Murray State Teachers College Library	Murray, Ky.	Attention: Librarian.
Calcasieu Parish Library	Shelbyville, La.	Katharine Nichols, librarian.
Quachita Parish Public Library	Lake Charles, La.	Emily Spence, librarian.
Woodland Public Library	Monroe, La.	Frances V. Flanders, librarian.
Jesup Memorial Library	P. O. Woodland, Maine (Bulleyville)	Mrs. Mary Sargent, librarian.
Free Public Library	Bar Harbor, Maine	Mrs. John H. Evans, librarian.
University of Maine Library, Brunswick Branch	Brewer, Maine	Frances Woolverton, librarian.
Stewart Free Library	Brunswick, Maine	K. W. Trickey, librarian.
Baxter Memorial Library	Corinna, Maine	Mrs. E. A. Hutchins, librarian.
Doreas Library	Gorham, Maine	Mrs. E. D. Liddack, librarian.
Library Association	Post Office, Prospect Harbor, Maine (Gouldsboro, Maine)	Mrs. M. E. Ray, librarian.
Public library	Livermore Falls, Maine	Cora M. Wyman, librarian.
Fogg Memorial Library	Madawaska, Maine	Mrs. E. Robinson, librarian.
Public library	South Herwick, Maine	Louise D. Leib, librarian.
Do	Andigo, Wis.	Edna Wu, librarian.
Finney Public Library	Burdock, Wis.	Anna J. Stevens, librarian.
Public library	Burlington, Wis.	Alice Weyrough, librarian.
Do	Clintonville, Wis.	Mrs. J. E. Billings, librarian.
Dwight Foster Public Library	De Pere, Wis.	Helen S. Mathews, librarian.
Public library	Edgerton, Wis.	Mao Hitchcock, librarian.
Do	Fort Atkinson, Wis.	Mrs. O. Metke, librarian.
City and Rusk County Library	Hartford, Wis.	Evelyn Luitroop, librarian.
Elisa D. Smith Library	Hurley, Wis.	Alice Jackson, librarian.
Public library	Ledy Smith, Wis.	Mrs. R. Weber, librarian.
Free library	Menasha, Wis.	Mary de Jong, librarian.
Free public library	New London, Wis.	Mrs. W. G. Freiburger, librarian.
Public library	Sparta, Wis.	Mrs. L. Parmenter, librarian.
Columbia County Library	Platteville, Wis.	Clara Laughton, librarian.
Free library	Plymouth, Wis.	Jean M. Shiereck, librarian.
Joseph Mann Library	Portage, Wis.	Gladys Phelps, librarian.
Free Public Library	Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	Jane Livingstone, librarian.
Public library	Two Rivers, Wis.	Theodora Hamon, librarian.
Do	Wautoma, Wis.	Elizabeth Fisher, librarian.
Fremont County Public Library	Waupun, Wis.	Clara L. Lindsey, librarian.
Carnegie Library	West Bend, Wis.	Belle Schacht, librarian.
Carbon County Public Library	Lander, Wyo.	Oliver S. Bentley, librarian.
Goshen County Library	Root Springs, Wyo.	Mrs. A. Rootzola, librarian.
Washakie County Public Library	Rawlins, Wyo.	Mary Martinez, librarian.
Public library	Torrington, Wyo.	A. E. Redfield, librarian.
Do	Worland, Wyo.	Una Murray, librarian.
Do	Anacortes, Wash.	Ruth Brinkley, librarian.
Do	Albion, Wash.	Mabel Davis, librarian.
Do	Bremerton, Wash.	Ruth M. Babcock, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Carnegie Library.....	Centralia, Wash.....	Mrs. B. B. Barton, librarian.
Free public library.....	Chehalis, Wash.....	Flavel Pearson, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Ellensburg, Wash.....	Mrs. L. Purnell, librarian.
Public library.....	Port Angeles, Wash.....	Jennill Norris, librarian.
Do.....	Port Townsend, Wash.....	Dorothy Jones, librarian.
Seattle College Library.....	Raymond, Wash.....	E. T. Danielson, librarian.
Alice Library.....	Seattle, Wash.....	Arthur S. Wharton, S. J.
St. Edwards University Library.....	Alice, Tex.....	Mrs. R. B. Field, librarian.
Osborne County Central Library.....	Austin, Tex.....	Bro. Hugo Ellis, C. S. C.
Jefferson County Library.....	Trenton, Tenn.....	Mrs. G. W. Dodds, librarian.
Howard County Free Library.....	Beaumont, Tex.....	Reta D. Pland, librarian.
Howard Payne College Library.....	Big Spring, Tex.....	Mrs. B. H. Collins, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Brownwood, Tex.....	Frances Burrage, librarian.
Public library.....	Cleburne, Tex.....	Mrs. V. M. Fulton, librarian.
El Paso County Library.....	Corsicana, Tex.....	Kate Holman, librarian.
Public library.....	El Paso, Tex.....	Mrs. O. Webb, clerk.
Highland Park Library.....	Ennis, Tex.....	Mrs. L. A. Leggin, librarian.
Harris County Public Library.....	Highland Park, Tex.....	Louise Childress, librarian.
Nicholson Memorial Library.....	Houston 10, Tex.....	Bernice Snell, librarian.
Carnegie Library.....	Longview, Tex.....	Ruth S. Reese, librarian.
Public library.....	Marshall, Tex.....	Gertrude Mason, librarian.
Tom Green County Library.....	Paris, Tex.....	Nina Shelton, librarian.
Sam Houston States Teachers College.....	San Angelo, Tex.....	Margaret J. Hoyal, librarian.
Library.....	Huntsville, Tex.....	O. O. Stewart, librarian.
North Texas Teachers College Library.....	Denton, Tex.....	Arthur M. Sampley, librarian.
Texas University Library.....	Austin, Tex.....	Serials Acquis, librarian.
California, University of School of Librarianship.....	Berkeley, Calif.....	LeRoy Charles Merritt.
South Dakota, University of Department of Economics.....	Vermillion, S. Dak.....	Dr. Claude J. Whitlow.
Hope College.....	Holland, Mich.....	Dr. I. J. Lubbers, president.
Huntington College.....	Huntington, Ind.....	Dr. Elmer Becker, president.
Illinois College.....	Jacksonville, Ill.....	Dr. H. G. Hudson, president.
Illinois, University of.....	Urbana, Ill.....	Dr. G. D. Stoddard, president.
Illinois Wesleyan University.....	Bloomington, Ill.....	Dr. M. H. Holmes, president.
Indiana Central College.....	Indianapolis, Ind.....	Dr. I. Lynd Esch, president.
Indiana State Teachers College.....	Terre Haute, Ind.....	Dr. R. N. Tiroy, president.
Indiana Technical College.....	Fort Wayne, Ind.....	Dr. A. T. Keene, president.
James M. McKen University.....	Decatur, Ill.....	Dr. F. W. Malone, president.
John Carroll University.....	University Heights, Cleveland 18, Ohio.....	Rev. J. E. Welke, president.
Kalamazoo College.....	Kalamazoo 49, Mich.....	Dr. J. S. Everton, president.
Keuka College.....	Keuka Park, N. Y.....	Dr. Katherine G. Byley, president.
King College.....	Bristol, Tenn.....	Dr. R. T. L. Liston, president.
Lake Erie College.....	Painesville, Ohio.....	Dr. Helen D. Bragdon, president.
Lake Forest College.....	Lake Forest, Ill.....	Dr. E. A. Johnson, president.
Lake Forest College Library.....	do.....	Martha Biggs, librarian.
Lawrence Institute of Technology.....	Highland Park, Detroit 3, Mich.....	Dr. E. O. Lawrence, president.
Loyola University.....	6323 North Sheridan, Chicago 26, Ill.....	Rev. J. T. Hussey, president.
Public library.....	Dayton 2, Ohio.....	Mrs. G. O. Keator, librarian.
Do.....	Cleveland Heights, Ohio.....	Neil Lynch, librarian.
Columbus Public Library.....	Columbus 15, Ohio.....	Jeanne Lewis, librarian.
Public library.....	Brockton, Mass.....	A. H. Parsons, Jr., librarian.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology Economics Library.....	Cambridge, Mass.....	Mrs. G. R. Hanks, economics librarian.
Public library.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Alice C. Tuck, reference librarian.
Earlham College.....	Richmond, Ind.....	Dr. Thomas E. Jones.
Elmhurst College.....	Elmhurst, Ill.....	Dr. Harry W. Drinkmeyer.
Eureka College.....	Eureka, Ill.....	Dr. Burrus Dickinson.
Evansville College.....	Evansville 4, Ind.....	Dr. L. B. Hale.
Fenn College.....	Cleveland, Ohio.....	Dr. Edward Roduett.
Findlay College.....	Findlay, Ohio.....	Dr. H. C. Fox.
Franklin College.....	Franklin, Ind.....	Dr. H. W. Richardson.
Georgetown College.....	Georgetown, Ky.....	Dr. S. S. Hill.
Georgetown University.....	37th and O N W., Washington 7, D. C.....	Dr. V. Rev. H. Guthrie.
Goshen College.....	Goshen, Ind.....	Dr. Ernest E. Miller.
Greenville College.....	Greenville, Ill.....	Dr. H. J. Long.
Hanover College.....	Hanover, Ind.....	Dr. Albert G. Parks, Jr.
Hartwick College.....	Oneonta, N. Y.....	Dr. Henry J. Arnold.
Heidelberg College.....	Tiffin, Ohio.....	Dr. Terry Wickham.
University of Texas.....	Galveston, Tex.....	D. Bailey Calvin, dean.
Hillsdale College.....	Hillsdale, Mich.....	Dr. H. L. Turner.
Hiram College.....	Hiram, Ohio.....	Dr. Paul H. Fall.
Hobart College.....	Geneva, N. Y.....	Dr. Alan Browne.
Michigan College of Mining and Technology.....	Houghton, Mich.....	Dr. G. C. Dillman.
Michigan State College.....	East Lansing, Mich.....	Dr. J. A. Hannah.
Michigan State Normal College.....	Ypsilanti, Mich.....	Dr. Eugene B. Elliott.

Institution	Location	Governing officials
Michigan University.	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Dr. A. G. Ruthven.
Monmouth College.	Monmouth, Ill.	Dr. J. H. Orlor.
Morris Harvey College.	Charleston 28, W. Va.	Dr. L. Riegelman.
National Union College.	Alliance, Ohio.	Dr. C. B. Ketcham.
Huskingum College.	New Concord, Ohio.	Dr. R. N. Montgomery.
Nassau College.	Springvale, Maine.	Dr. H. M. Davis, Jr.
Nebraska Wesleyan College.	Lincoln 4, Neb.	Dr. J. L. Knight, Jr.
Newberry College.	Newberry, S. C.	Dr. James C. Kihard.
Northland College.	Ashland, Wis.	Dr. M. E. MacDonald.
North Central College.	Marperville, Ill.	Dr. C. H. Geiger.
Northern Michigan College of Education.	Marquette, Mich.	Dr. H. A. Tice.
Northwestern University.	Evanston, Ill.	Dr. J. R. Miller.
Notre Dame University of	Notre Dame, Ind.	Rev. J. J. Ganaugh.
Oakland City College.	Oakland City, Ind.	Dr. James E. Cox.
Ohio Northern University.	Eda, Ohio.	Dr. Robert O. McClure.
Ohio State University.	Columbus 10, Ohio.	Prof. Wyllys G. Stanton.
Ohio Wesleyan University.	Delaware, Ohio.	Dr. A. S. Hemming.
Oklahoma College.	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Dr. C. G. Smith.
Ottoborn College.	Westerville, Ohio.	Dr. J. G. Howard.
Pacific College.	Nowberg, Oreg.	Dr. G. A. Cney.
Pacific University.	Forest Grove, Oreg.	Dr. W. C. Gleisbach.
Principia College.	Elsah, Ill.	Dr. F. E. Morgan.
Purdue University.	Lafayette, Ind.	Dr. F. L. Howde.
Quincy College.	Quincy, Ill.	Dr. Scaphin Tibesar.
Randcliffe College.	Cambridge 38, Mass.	Dr. W. K. Jordan.
Richmond University.	Richmond 22, Va.	Dr. O. M. Modlin.
Rochester University of	Rochester 7, N. Y.	Dr. Alan Valentine.
Rockford College.	Rockford, Ill.	Dr. Mary A. Cheek.
Roosevelt College.	43 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.	Dr. Ed. J. Sparling.
Pose Polytechnic Institute	Terre Haute, Ind.	F. L. Wilkinson, Jr.
St. Francis College.	Burlington, Wis.	Dr. T. Kullnowski.
School for Advanced International	1906 Florida Ave., Wash- ington 9, D. C.	Dr. H. L. Hoskins, director.
St. edo, University of	Toledo 9, Ohio.	Dr. W. W. White.
Valparaiso University.	Valparaiso, Ind.	Dr. O. P. Kretzmann.
Vincennes University.	Vincennes, Ind.	Dr. Walter A. Davis.
Wabash College.	Crawfordsville, Ind.	Dr. Frank H. Sparks.
Washington University.	St. Louis 8, Mo.	Dr. A. H. Compton, chancellor.
West Baden College.	West Baden Springs, Ind.	Rev. Murel Vogel, dean.
Western College for Women.	Oxford, Ohio.	Dr. P. E. Henderson.
Western Michigan College of Education.	Kalamazoo 46, Mich.	Dr. Paul V. Sangren.
Wheaton College.	Wheaton, Ill.	Dr. V. Ray Edman.
College of Education and Industrial Arts (formerly Wilberforce University).	Wilberforce, Ohio.	Dr. C. H. Wesley.
Wilmington College.	Wilmington, Ohio.	Dr. S. D. Marble.
Wilson College.	Chambersburg, Pa.	Dr. P. S. Havens.
Wittenberg College.	Springfield, Ohio.	Dr. R. E. Tulloss.
Wooster College of	Wooster, Ohio.	Dr. Howard F. Lowry.
Youngstown College.	Youngstown 2, Ohio.	Dr. Howard W. Jones.
Wayne Public Library.	Honesdale, Pa.	Dorothy Vanner, librarian.
Library of Junior College	Wharton, Tex.	Mrs. J. Tibels, librarian.
Lincolnton College	Jacksonville, Ill.	Dr. C. P. McClelland, president.
Madison College.	Madison College, Tenn.	Dr. T. W. Steen, president.
Maine, University of	Orono, Maine.	Dr. A. A. Hauck, president.
Manchester College	North Manchester, Ind.	Dr. V. F. Schwaln, president.
Marietta College.	Marietta, Ohio.	Dr. W. Bay Irvine, president.
Marion College.	Marion, Ind.	Dr. W. F. McConn, president.
Massachusetts University of	Amherst, Mass.	Dr. R. A. VanMeter, president.
McKendree College.	Lebanon, Ill.	Dr. Carl C. Bracy, president.
Mercer University.	Macon, Ga.	Dr. Spright Powell, president.
Maine University.	Oxford, Ohio.	Dr. E. H. Hanna, president.
Collingsworth County Library	Wellington, Tex.	Attention Librarian.
Wharton County Public Library	Wharton, Tex.	Flora Reeves, librarian.
Nicholas P. Simms Library	Waxahachie, Tex.	Mrs. J. R. Hood, librarian.
Public Library	Waco, Tex.	Ethel Simmons, librarian.
McLennan County Public Library	do.	Mrs. J. F. Horsfall, librarian.
Wilbarger County Library	Vernon, Tex.	Lillian Newton, librarian.
Lyann County Library	Tahoka, Tex.	Mrs. T. L. Gill, librarian.
Hutchinson County Public Library	Slinnett, Tex.	Lillie Hostetler, librarian.
San Patricio County Public Library	Sinton, Tex.	Mrs. S. F. Hunt, librarian.
Brewer County Free Library	Odessa, Tex.	Velma Barrett, library.
Midland County Library	Midland, Tex.	Mrs. J. W. Carroll, librarian.
Rusk County Public Library	Henderson, Tex.	Mary L. Giraud, librarian.
The Jim Hogg County Library	Hobbsville, Tex.	Mrs. F. M. McDonald, librarian.
Wilson County Free Library	Floresville, Tex.	Mrs. H. B. Jackson, librarian.
Federation Library	Colorado City, Tex.	Mrs. B. Dozier, librarian.
Public Library	Acta, Ohio.	Mrs. Emma Mertz, librarian.
Free Library	Alma, Mich.	Mrs. L. N. Wright, librarian.
Caraga Public Library	Anderson, Ind.	Lois Ringo, librarian.
Public Library	Arcanum, Ohio.	Robert Fishman.
Ashland College Library	Ashland, Ohio.	Lola Grubbs, librarian.
Public Library	Ashtabula, Ohio.	Miss Ethel J. McDowell, librarian.
Do.....	Barnesville, Ohio.....	Emma E. Loughlin, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Bluffton-Richland Public Library	Bluffton, Ohio	Cele Anderson
Montee County Library	Bloomington, Ind.	Bertha Ashby, librarian
Public library	Bowling Green, Ohio	Adella Hallberg, librarian
Wexford County Library	Cadillac, Mich.	Mrs. Gladys Cardinal, librarian
Carnegie Library	Cheboygan, Mich.	Librarian
Lloyd Library and Museum	309 West Court St., Cincinnati, Ohio	Theodor Just, librarian
Grandview Heights Public Library	1658 West 1st, Columbus, Ohio	Mrs. J. J. Swinehart, librarian
Public library	Coshocton, Ohio	Margaret E. Sahling, librarian
Taylor Memorial Library	Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio	Laura Vaughn, librarian
Public library	Elmwood Park, Ill.	Elizabeth Ogan, librarian
Do	Elwood, Ind.	Evelyn Willsbaugh, librarian
Do	Ferndale, Mich.	Elizabeth Baker, librarian
Do	Rock Island, Ill.	Elsie Schucker, librarian
Public school library	St. Johns, Mich.	Minnie Harrington, librarian
South Haven Public Library	South Haven, Mich.	Isabel Jaeger, librarian
Lincoln Library	Springfield, Ill.	Grace W. Gilman, librarian
Free public library	Three Rivers, Mich.	Mabel L. Solomon, librarian
Public library	Waukegan, Ill.	Ruth Gregory, librarian
Do	Wooster, Ohio	Mary Jane Merritt, librarian
Public school library	Zeeland, Mich.	Mrs. Minnie Fairbanks, librarian
Public library	Binghamton, N. Y.	Helen A. Stratton, librarian
Do	Bronxville 8, N. Y.	Mrs. Elizabeth C. Martin, librarian
Wood Library Association	Canandaigua, N. Y.	Mrs. R. C. Palmer, librarian
Gouverneur Reading Room Association	Gouverneur, N. Y.	Lola Mitchell, librarian
Phillips Exeter Academy	Exeter, N. H.	Wm. G. Battenhall, headmaster
Lawrenceville School	Lawrenceville, N. J.	Dr. Allan V. Heely, headmaster
Princeton University, department of economics	Princeton, N. J.	Stanley E. Howard, chairman of department
Brooklyn College	Bedford Ave. at H St., Brooklyn 10, N. Y.	Harry D. Gleason, president
Brooklyn College Library	do	Ruth Eliandson, reference librarian
St. John's University, School of Law Library	75 Lewis Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.	C. L. McDermott, librarian
Fordham University Library	Fordham Rd., New York, N. Y.	W. J. Rootenbeck, librarian
Public library	Findlay, Ohio	Catherine Achord, librarian
Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County	Fort Wayne 2, Ind.	D. A. Degitz, reference librarian
McClellan Public Library	Fostoria, Ohio	Louise Dunford, librarian
School district library	Godwin Heights, Grand Rapids, Mich.	Miss Marie F. Simpson, librarian
Mitchell Public Library	Hilledale, Mich.	Louise Hawks, librarian
Public library	Holland, Mich.	Dora Schermer, librarian
Do	Jacksonville, Ill.	Frances Bailey, librarian
Millwood Public Library	Kalamazoo, Mich.	Mrs. Bessie Kelley, librarian
Public library	La Salle, Ill.	Tessie Yopp, librarian
Manistiquia Library	Manistiquia, Mich.	Mrs. D. M. Shuman, librarian
Public library	Marion, Ind.	M. A. Shepherd, librarian
Peter White Public Library	Marquette, Mich.	Phyllis S. Rankin, librarian
Public library	Martins Ferry, Ohio	Dorothy Baker, librarian
Do	Massillon, Ohio	Florence Hulings, librarian
Do	Mount Pleasant, Mich.	Elsie Struble, librarian
Muskegon County Library	Muskegon, Mich.	Catherine Wilson, librarian
Public library	New Castle, Ind.	Mrs. Feryl Clear, librarian
Do	New Philadelphia, Ohio	Mrs. Philip Olmstead, librarian
Morrison Reeves Library	Richmond, Ind.	Mrs. Harriet E. Bard, librarian
McCulloch County Free Library	Brady, Tex.	Mrs. E. A. Burrow, librarian
Marshall County Free Library	Lewisburg, Tenn.	Mrs. C. P. Cox, librarian
Greene County Library	Greeneville, Tenn.	Kathleen Pipe, librarian
Meigs County Library	Decatur, Tenn.	Agnes Cross, librarian
Hickman County Public Library	Centerville, Tenn.	Mrs. B. M. Warren, librarian
Carnegie Library	Brownsville, Tenn.	Mrs. C. R. Sherman, librarian
Moody County Public Library	Flandreau, S. Dak.	Mrs. B. McFarland, librarian
Carnegie Public Library	Hot Springs, S. Dak.	Mrs. Mary Minors, librarian
Coker College Library	Hartsville, S. C.	Helen Hagen, librarian
Limestone College Library	Gaffney, S. C.	E. D. Johnson, librarian
Harris Institute Library	Woonsocket, R. I.	Doris Obapdelaine, librarian
Old Warwick League Library	Warwick, R. I.	Mrs. H. S. Jerrett, librarian
East Providence Free Library	Rumford, R. I.	Bessie D. Paul, librarian
Elmwood Public Library	Providence, R. I.	Mrs. E. E. Sherman, librarian
Free library	Portsmouth, R. I.	Mrs. B. L. Numan, librarian
Deborah Cook Sayles Public Library	Pawtucket, R. I.	Dr. F. J. Canning, librarian
Fronton Free Library	Exeter, R. I.	Mrs. L. V. Dutemple, librarian
Weaver Memorial Library	East Providence, R. I.	H. M. Briggs, librarian
Anne Ida Fuller Library	do	Mrs. V. Conner, librarian
Public library	Yeadon, Pa.	Gertude M. Bossard, librarian
Do	Wilkesburg, Pa.	Margaret P. Lowry, librarian
Wilkes College Library	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Joseph H. Myers, librarian
Chester County Library	West Chester, Pa.	M. Conklin, librarian
Public library	do	Eleanor Street, librarian
Do	Vandergrift, Pa.	Helen King, librarian

Institution	Location	Governing official
Upper Darby Township and Sellers Memorial Free Public Library	Upper Darby, Pa.	Margaret Cateley, librarian.
Do.	Tamaqua, Pa.	Mrs. B. G. Towle, librarian.
Do.	Tarentum, Pa.	Mrs. F. Mardorf, librarian.
Do.	Swarthmore, Pa.	Bettina Hunter, librarian.
John R. Kaufman, Jr., Public library	Sunbury, Pa.	Alice C. Moore, librarian.
Public library	Rochester, Pa.	Dixie A. Popert, librarian.
Free library	Punxsutawney, Pa.	Mildred Harlan, librarian.
Public library	Pottstown, Pa.	Freda E. Gloss, librarian.
Do.	Plymouth, Pa.	Catherine West, librarian.
Do.	Phoenixville, Pa.	Attention: Librarian.
Do.	Monessen, Pa.	Mrs. A. E. Barker, librarian.
Free Library Association	Media, Pa.	E. Louise Stuckenrath, librarian.
Mifflin County Library	Lewistown, Pa.	Mrs. C. Keller, librarian.
Public library	Farrall, Pa.	Lydia Heller, librarian.
Do.	Dubois, Pa.	Mrs. Susan Himmowright, librarian.
B. F. Jones Memorial Library	Alliquippa, Pa.	Mrs. M. B. Clark, librarian.
Public library	Sapulpa, Okla.	Mrs. O. K. Sterba, librarian.
Do.	Ponca City, Okla.	Clarence S. Paine, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Jo E. Phillips, librarian.
Garnfield County Library	Enid, Okla.	Esther M. McKuer, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Ardmore, Okla.	Mrs. F. E. Gore, librarian.
Public library	Altus, Okla.	Mrs. B. B. Riddle, librarian.
Do.	Ada, Okla.	Elma Whitney, librarian.
Do.	Worthington, Ohio.	Mary McCann, librarian.
Library Association	Sandusky, Ohio.	Fatrlia Daniels, librarian.
Public library	Ravenna, Ohio.	Mrs. I. Chalounka, librarian.
Putnam County Library	Ottawa, Ohio.	Mrs. M. H. Pierce, librarian.
Newark Public Library	Newark, Ohio.	Marian King, librarian.
Public library	Lorain, Ohio.	E. E. Hale, librarian.
Free Public Library	Middletown, Ohio.	Emma Lewis, librarian.
Public library	Jackson, Ohio.	Attendant librarian.
Do.	Gallipoli, Ohio.	E. K. Allwardt, librarian.
Do.	Gallion, Ohio.	Mrs. H. Grimes, librarian.
Birchard Library	Fremont, Ohio.	Dorothea Conrad, librarian.
Capital University Library	Columbus 9, Ohio.	Grace J. Fuller, librarian.
Public library	Bucyrus, Ohio.	N. S. Sheffield, librarian.
Do.	Linton, N. Dak.	Mrs. Ella Myers, librarian.
Do.	Grafton, N. Dak.	Emily Shober, librarian.
Do.	Wilkinson, N. C.	Mrs. M. F. Kearney, librarian.
Warren County Community Center Library	Warrenton, N. C.	
Flora MacDonald College Library	Red Springs, N. C.	Mrs. H. L. Perry, librarian.
Avery County Library	Newland, N. C.	Mrs. G. P. Oahoon, librarian.
Cannon Memorial Y. M. C. A. Public Library	Kannapolis, N. C.	Mrs. H. T. Shinn, librarian.
Halifax County Library	Halifax, N. C.	Mrs. G. H. Spivery, librarian.
Public library	Scotia, N. Y.	Mrs. A. H. O'Brien, librarian.
Do.	Olean, N. Y.	Attendant librarian.
Free library	Oceanside, N. Y.	Mrs. M. Sager, librarian.
Guernsey Memorial Library	Norwich, N. Y.	Mrs. O. S. Cobb, librarian.
Queens Borough Public Library	Queens, N. Y.	Mrs. O. H. Whisenant, extension librarian.
Free public library	Newark, N. Y.	Mrs. L. E. VanDuser, librarian.
Public library	Mount Kisco, N. Y.	Attendant librarian.
Woodward Memorial Library	Leroy, N. Y.	A. M. Burton, librarian.
The Tompkins County Traveling Library	Ithaca, N. Y.	Bernard Nass, librarian.
Village Improvement Society Library	Katonsa, N. Y.	Mrs. J. Cornwall, librarian.
Free public library	Ilion, N. Y.	Bonnie Elliott, librarian.
Free Library Association	Hudson Falls, N. Y.	Eather Sherman, librarian.
Free library	Herkimer, N. Y.	Mrs. P. T. Baldwin, librarian.
Kings Daughters' Public Library	Haverstraw, N. Y.	Mrs. M. B. Babcock, librarian.
Darwin R. Barker Library Association	Fredonia, N. Y.	C. H. Dale, librarian.
Public library	Floral Park, N. Y.	Frances Hale, librarian.
Do.	Stewart Manor, N. Y.	Lynn M. Harris, librarian.
Free library	Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.	E. R. Ackerson, librarian.
Public library	Dansville, N. Y.	Mrs. Nora Wells, librarian.
Do.	Cornwall-on-the Hudson, N. Y.	Lawrence Lancaster, librarian.
Free library	Cheektowaga, N. Y. (Buffalo)	Mrs. Jessie Dye, librarian.
Do.	Canton, N. Y.	
Hampton Library	Bridgehampton, N. Y.	Florence S. Hall, librarian.
Howland Circulating Library Co.	Beacon, N. Y.	May T. VanSooey, librarian.
Swan Library	Albion, N. Y.	Attention: Librarian.
Carnegie Public Library	Las Vegas, N. Mex.	L. E. Fancher, librarian.
Public library	Deming, N. Mex.	Mrs. J. C. Hope, librarian.
Do.	Vineland, N. J.	Mrs. R. O. Robbin, librarian.
Ocean County Library	Toms River, N. J.	Doris W. Trippe, librarian.
Free public library	Tenafly, N. J.	Laurel Kries, librarian.
Do.	Somerville, N. J.	Margaret M. Doyle, librarian.
Public library	Secaucus, N. J.	Bessie Newirk, librarian.
Do.	Ridgefield, N. J.	Marian Dudley, librarian.
Do.	North Plainfield, N. J.	Mrs. J. J. Williams, librarian.
		Mabel Parson, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Sussex County Library	Newton, N. J.	Dorothy Henry, librarian.
Middletown Township Library	Navesink, N. J.	Mrs. U. S. Walling, librarian.
Burlington County Free Library	Mount Holly, N. J.	Hazel C. Clark, librarian.
Public library	Highland Park, N. J.	H. E. Skevington, librarian.
Do.	Glen Rock, N. J.	Mrs. H. Griffin, librarian.
Free public library	Garfield, N. J.	Olga P. Katz, librarian.
Do.	Dover, N. J.	Attention, librarian.
Public library	Denville, N. J.	Marion Gould, librarian.
Free public library	Chatham, N. J.	Kathleen Wallace, librarian.
Public library	Bound Brook, N. J.	Robertta Dowse, librarian.
Do.	Bogota, N. J.	Margaret McCoy, librarian.
Hall Memorial Library	Tilton, N. H.	Mary Ellen Osgood, librarian.
Public library	Plaistow, N. H.	Mrs. C. E. Cook, librarian.
Do.	Post Office, Groveton, N. H. (Northumberland).	Mary Chapman, librarian.
Do.	Lisbon, N. H.	Mrs. M. G. Clough, librarian.
Do.	Laconia, N. H.	Mrs. B. D. Cotton, librarian.
Weeks Memorial Library	Lancaster, N. H.	Mrs. E. F. Hickey, librarian.
Goodwin Library	Farmington, N. H.	Mrs. K. Dolliver, librarian.
Public library	Conway, N. H.	Alice S. Pollard, librarian.
Minot-Sleeper Library	Bristol, N. H.	Mary Rogers, librarian.
Township library	Spencer, Nebr.	Mrs. H. M. Ogren, librarian.
Public library	Wymore, Nebr.	Gladys Pirle, librarian.
Free public library	Wayne, Nebr.	Mrs. R. Mildner, librarian.
Public library	So. Sioux City, Nebr.	Mrs. M. W. Murphy, librarian.
Do.	St. Paul, Nebr.	Mrs. I. M. Luick, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Plainview, Nebr.	Mrs. L. O. Barbour, librarian.
Township library	Pawnee City, Nebr.	Mary E. French, librarian.
Do.	Ord, Nebr.	Marjole L. Smith, librarian.
Kilpatrick Memorial Library	Loup City, Nebr.	Harriet Galloway, librarian.
Public library	Imperial, Nebr.	Mrs. A. Kilpatrick, librarian.
Do.	Gering, Nebr.	Mrs. M. Jordan, librarian.
Do.	Geneva, Nebr.	Mrs. I. Boxby, librarian.
Township library	Fullerton, Nebr.	Mrs. P. M. Jorgensen, librarian.
Public library	Creighton, Nebr.	Mrs. C. T. Britt, librarian.
Do.	Crawford, Nebr.	Mrs. M. Simeak, librarian.
Do.	Cozad, Nebr.	Mrs. C. E. Wareham, librarian.
Carnegie Library	Burwell, Nebr.	Mrs. J. Ingenfritz, librarian.
Public library	Broken Bow, Nebr.	Mrs. Z. Thompson, librarian.
Do.	Hollevue, Nebr.	Bertha Spratt, librarian.
Do.	Auburn, Nebr.	Laurine Anderson, librarian.
Do.	Albion, Nebr.	Mrs. Edna Hull, librarian.
Phillips County Free Library	Malta, Mont.	Mrs. E. O. Ward, librarian.
Chouteau County Free Library	Fort Benton, Mont.	Eugenia Martino, librarian.
Stillwater County Library	Columbus, Mont.	Virginia Walton, librarian.
Public library	Willow Springs, Mo.	Marthalice Ballard, librarian.
Do.	Wellsville, Mo.	Mrs. F. L. Brookiebank, librarian.
Do.	St. Charles, Mo.	Kathryn Linneman, librarian.
Rolla Free Public Library	Rolla, Mo.	Alcee Winslow, librarian.
Platte County Library	Platte City, Mo.	Florence Winslow, librarian.
Public library	Perryville, Mo.	Blanche Killian, librarian.
Do.	Palmyra, Mo.	Bess Owsley, librarian.
Do.	North Kansas City, Mo.	Frances Wuest, librarian.
Do.	Neosho, Mo.	Sallie Stewart, librarian.
Do.	Mount Vernon, Mo.	Vivian Hinrichson, librarian.
Do.	Mountain Grove, Mo.	Mrs. G. Neighbors, librarian.
Do.	Macon, Mo.	Harriette Jones, librarian.
Do.	Louisiana, Mo.	Elizabeth Irwin, librarian.
Do.	Lebanon, Mo.	Mrs. C. E. Base, librarian.
Do.	Jackson, Mo.	Bess Lizelleluer, librarian.
Do.	Holden, Mo.	Elizabeth T. Currant, librarian.
Do.	Hannibal, Mo.	Dorothy Atkins, librarian.
Do.	Festus, Mo.	Mrs. Ann Horne, librarian.
Do.	Ferguson, Mo.	Mrs. A. Slemplekamp, librarian.
Knox County Library	Edina, Mo.	Mrs. N. Hunolt, librarian.
Ripley County Library	Doniphan, Mo.	Mrs. L. H. Shermwell, librarian.
Public library	De Soto, Mo.	Anne Fisher, librarian.
Do.	Chillicothe, Mo.	Mabel Reynolds, librarian.
Do.	Cassville, Mo.	Mamie Mitchell, librarian.
Do.	Carrollton, Mo.	Mrs. S. E. Baker, librarian.
Do.	Brentwood, Mo.	Lillian Kierch, librarian.
Do.	Bethany, Mo.	Mrs. E. M. Crossman, librarian.
Henry County Library	Ollinton, Mo.	Mrs. G. A. Cohenour, librarian.
Public library	Wadena, Minn.	Rose V. Wagner, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library	Two Harbors, Minn.	Leona Mason, librarian.
Public library	Tracy, Minn.	Mrs. James Finnigan, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library	Redwood Falls, Minn.	G. Louise Gibbons, librarian.
Public library	Pipestone, Minn.	Attention, Librarian.
Do.	Montevideo, Minn.	Lillian Livingston, librarian.
Do.	Litchfield, Minn.	Mrs. B. F. Harmon, librarian.
Carnegie-Tryon Public Library	Lake City, Minn.	Mrs. S. W. McIntyre, librarian.
Public library	Grand Rapids, Minn.	Mrs. M. C. Bennett, librarian.
Do.	Fairmont, Minn.	Mary Edwards, librarian.
Do.	Ely, Minn.	Mrs. Ruth King, librarian.

Institution	Location	Governing official
Carnegie Public Library.....	Crookston, Minn.....	Mrs. C. W. Madden, librarian.
Public library.....	Chisholm, Minn.....	Mrs. Evelyn Bowen, librarian.
Do.....	Anoka, Minn.....	Mrs. R. L. Smith, librarian.
Iosco County Library.....	Tawas City, Mich.....	Leonora Hass, librarian.
Carnegie Public Library.....	Stambaugh, Mich.....	Lydia A. Koebbe, librarian.
Do.....	Sparta, Mich.....	Mrs. H. Anderson, librarian.
City and township library.....	St. Clair Shores, Mich.....	Mrs. D. B. Waldner, librarian.
Public library.....	River Rouge, Mich.....	Attention: Librarian.
Hosmer Township Public Library.....	Ramsey, Mich.....	Mrs. E. Paulson, librarian.
Putnam Public Library.....	Nashville, Mich.....	Mrs. E. Nash, librarian.
Village and township library.....	Millan, Mich.....	Mrs. E. Gotts, librarian.
Ingham County Library.....	Mason, Mich.....	Alta Parks, librarian.
Public library.....	Marshall, Mich.....	Marguerite Geer, librarian.
Aleona County Library.....	Harrisville, Mich.....	Mrs. E. D. Cole, librarian.
Public library.....	Grand Blanc, Mich.....	Bernice Berdan, librarian.
Do.....	Gaylord, Mich.....	Mrs. G. Germaine, librarian.
Do.....	Fremont, Mich.....	Mrs. E. L. Sauer, librarian.
Flushing Township Public Library.....	Flushing, Mich.....	Mrs. E. Kitchinmaster, librarian.
City library.....	East Detroit, Mich.....	Mrs. S. A. Hoye, librarian.
Public library.....	Decorah, Mich.....	Gertrude Van't Zelfde, librarian.
William H. Aitken Memorial Library.....	Croswell, Mich.....	Mrs. G. Wedge, librarian.
Public library.....	Bozoye City, Mich.....	Mrs. L. B. Cook, librarian.
Philips Free Library.....	Big Rapids, Mich.....	Mrs. U. P. Lynch, librarian.
Public library.....	Allegan, Mich.....	Lenora E. Porter, librarian.
Do.....	Woburn, Mass.....	Thomas H. McIlwain, librarian.
Do.....	Winthrop, Mass.....	Dorothy L. Kinney, librarian.
Do.....	Winchester, Mass.....	Corrine Mead, librarian.
Do.....	Westwood, Mass.....	Mrs. B. A. Murphy, librarian.
Westfield Athenaeum.....	Westfield, Mass.....	Roland Wilcox, librarian.
Library Association.....	Stockbridge, Mass.....	Rosalie Ellis, librarian.
Atlantic Union College.....	So. Lancaster, Mass.....	Attention: The president.
Free Public Library.....	Saugus, Mass.....	Mrs. A. H. Boyd, librarian.
Essex Institute Library.....	Salem, Mass.....	Harriet S. Tapley, librarian.
Wheeler Memorial Library.....	Orange, Mass.....	Mabel Glasson, librarian.
Morrill Memorial Library.....	Norwood, Mass.....	Edna Phillips, librarian.
Stevens Memorial Library.....	North Andover, Mass.....	Marian F. Bateholder, librarian.
Public library.....	Milton, Mass.....	Marian E. Morse, librarian.

ECONOMIC COUNCIL LETTER

(Published Semi-monthly by National Economic Council, Inc.)

EMERGENCY

To Members and Subscribers of the National Economic Council:

There is need for your special help in Washington today in the interest of preserving our American system of private enterprise.

Last June 17 we sent you Council Letter 217-A, in which we called your attention to the amendment to the ECA appropriation bill, introduced by Senator James P. Kem of Indiana, which read as follows:

"No part of the appropriations contained in this Act shall be furnished to any participating country; the government or any agency or subdivision thereof, which shall, after the date of enactment of this Act, acquire or operate, in whole or in part, any basic industry thereof, other than industries the acquisition of which has been completed prior to the date of the enactment of this Act."

Letters written by you last year to your Senators were a substantial factor in persuading 25 Senators to vote in favor of this amendment. Several others said they would have voted for it if it had not been for a certain technicality, the nature of which it is not worthwhile to take time to describe.

The purpose of this present letter is to tell you that in the week commencing April 24, Senator Kem will again introduce this same amendment.

He will seek, in other words, to amend the ECA appropriation bill in such a way as to forestall any extension of socialism by Britain or any other recipient country so long as they receive American dollars.

The situation of course has changed materially since last June. In the British Parliament that held office between July 1945 and March 1950, the Labor Government had a majority of some 180 seats. They were able to do as they pleased with almost every proposal the socialistic cabal that has been running Britain cared to introduce.

Things are different now in Britain. At the election held February 23 last the Labor majority was cut to a half-dozen seats.

This election showed what the people of Britain really think of socialism. It simply is not working. It has been a failure. And yet, unless the Kem amendment prevails this year, the taxpayers of the United States will continue to pour some 700 million dollars into Britain, and Britain will be free to extend socialism—under subsidy from private enterprise America—any time her Labor Government may decide.

This just does not make sense. Since American money is going into Britain to the tune of perhaps 10 or 12 percent of all that Britain is spending, it is fair to say that American money is helping to finance just about everything Britain does.

And one of the things Britain is doing is to send lecturers to America to sing the praises of socialism.

It is true the election has put the damper on the further nationalization of industry in Britain. Nevertheless, theoretically Britain can continue to nationalize industry. Her Socialist Labor Party already has plans for nationalizing insurance, cement, and sugar, though admittedly the party is not pushing them at the moment.

But it is time, if we Americans think well of our own system, to stop the subsidizing by American dollars of a system whose existence in a country with which we are so close as Britain is hostile to the continuance of private enterprise in America. There is no doubt that part of the millions we have sent the Labor Government the past year was in effect used as a slush fund in the recent election campaign.

The Kem amendment should certainly be adopted this year by the United States Senate. With your help it can be adopted.

On the reverse side of this letter is a list of the Members of the United States Senate, each of whom should be addressed at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. We are setting forth also a list of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Will you kindly write a letter immediately to each of your two Senators, urging them to do everything in their power to secure adoption of the Kem amendment.

Second, will you in addition write any of the members of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate whom you happen to know personally, even if they are not from your State, and express your views to them.

Don't send this council letter to any of these legislators. Phrase your letter in your own language. Illustrate your letter with any information that is based on your own experience.

And we shall appreciate it if you will mail us a copy of what you write.

Here is a chance to accomplish a very concrete result. And we urge your help.

MERWIN K. HART,
President, National Economic Council, Inc.

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To: Benedict F. Fitzgerald.

You are hereby commanded to summon Merwin K. Hart, National Economic Council, 7501 Empire State Building, New York, N. Y., to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Hon. Frank Buchanan is chairman and to bring with him such of the records of said council as indicate:¹

- (1) The name and address of each person from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the Council during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including, but not limited to (a) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets and other literature, (b) contributions, (c) loans;
- (2) As to each such person¹ the amount, date and purpose of each payment

¹ Includes any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other organization or group.

LOBBYING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT

which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more in their chamber in the city of Washington on Tuesday, June 6, 1950, Room 362, Old House Office Building, at the hour of 10 a. m., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said committee. Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the city of Washington, this 25th day of May, 1950.

[SEAL]

Attest:

FRANK BUCHANAN, *Chairman.*

RALPH R. ROBERTS, *Clerk.*

Served on Merwin K. Hart at the offices of the National Economic Council, 7501 Empire State Building, New York City, on Friday, May 26, 1950, at about 11:30 a. m., by delivery in hand to the said Merwin K. Hart, by the undersigned.

BENEDICT F. FITZGERALD, Jr.,

Counsel, Select Committee on Lobbying Activities.

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To: Benedict F. FitzGerald:

You are hereby commanded to summon Joseph P. Kamp, Constitutional Educational League, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y., to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Honorable Frank Buchanan is chairman, and to bring with him such of the records of said League as indicate: (1) The name and address of each person¹ from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the League during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose including, but not limited to (a) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature, (b) contributions, (c) loans; (2) as to each such person¹ the amount, date, and purpose of each payment which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more in their chamber in the city of Washington, on Tuesday, June 6, 1950, Room 362, Old House Office Building, at the hour of 10 a. m., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the city of Washington, this 25th day of May 1950.

[SEAL]

Attest:

FRANK BUCHANAN, *Chairman.*

RALPH A. ROBERTS, *Clerk.*

Served on Joseph P. Kamp at the office of the Constitutional Educational League, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, on Saturday, May 27, 1950, at about 2:30 p. m. by delivery in hand to the said Joseph H. Kamp, by the undersigned.

BENEDICT F. FITZGERALD, Jr.,

Counsel, House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities.

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To: Benedict F. FitzGerald.

You are hereby commanded to summon Edward A. Rumely, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., to be and appear before the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Honorable Frank Buchanan is chairman, and to bring with him such of the records of said committee as indicated:

(1) The name and address of each person¹ from whom a total of \$1,000 or more has been received by the committee during the period, January 1, 1947, to May 1, 1950, for any purpose, including, but not limited to (a) receipts from the sale of books, pamphlets, and other literature, (b) contributions, (c) loans;

(2) as to each such person¹ the amount, date, and purpose of each payment

¹ Includes any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other organization or group.

which formed a part of the total of \$1,000 or more, in their chamber in the city of Washington, on Tuesday, June 6, 1950, room 362, Old House Office Building, at the hour of 10 a. m., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the city of Washington, this 25th day of May 1950.

[SEAL]

Attest:

FRANK BUCHANAN, *Chairman.*

RALPH R. ROBERTS, *Clerk.*

Served on Edward A. Rumely at the offices of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Forty-second Street, New York City, on Friday, May 26, 1950, at about 5 p. m. by delivery in hand to the said Edward A. Rumely, by the undersigned.

BENEDICT F. FITZGERALD, Jr.,
Counsel, House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities.

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